



**Maynooth
University**

National University
of Ireland Maynooth

The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; a cultural investigation.

by

Laura Servilan Brown

**THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
MAYNOOTH UNIVERSITY**

Head of department: Professor Filipe Ribeiro de
Meneses

Supervisor of research: Dr. David Murphy

2021

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	ii
Map of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	iv
List of illustrations	v
COVID-10 Impact Statement.....	vi
Introduction	1
Chapter One – Queen Victoria or Jack the Ripper? Popular unrest, public opinion and New Imperialism in Britain in 1899.....	41
Chapter Two – Military to civil administration: The Sudan Political Service – supernumerary gentlemen, athletocracy, or new civilians?.....	92
Chapter Three – Mythmaking, state building and alliances of conveniences; Sudanese, Egyptian and British interactions in the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium	147
Chapter Four – Class, culture and historical metonymy; British literary representations of Egypt and the Sudan.....	202
Chapter Five – Social interaction, personal identity and corporate belonging; material culture as evidence in the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium and Britain	250
Conclusion	284
Bibliography	298

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am incredibly grateful to everyone who supported and encouraged me during the preparation of this thesis. Firstly, sincere thanks are due to my supervisor, Dr. David Murphy for his expertise, support and kindness over the past few years, especially in recent months, when the 2020 COVID-19 outbreak created delays and difficulties for the study. I would also like to extend my appreciation to the Department of History for its support. I would particularly like to thank the head of department, Professor Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses, as well as Ann Donoghue, Catherine Heslin and Dorena Bishop for their endless practical support. I am also hugely appreciative of the encouragement I have received from members of the academic staff, especially Professors Marion Lyons and Terence Dooley, Dr. Alison FitzGerald, Dr. Ian Speller and Dr. Jonathan Wright. The financial support of the John and Pat Hume Foundation is also acknowledged and appreciated for its role in making this thesis possible. Thanks are also due to the postgraduate students of the Centre for Military History and Strategic Studies, particularly James Deery, Hugh Murphy and Neil Richardson, and to the Department of History's wider PhD community, especially Barbara McCormack, formerly of Maynooth University Library and now at the Royal Irish Academy. I would also like to thank Jonathan Carroll, now at Texas A&M University. Everyone's companionship, wisdom and good humour have been indispensable.

I am also grateful for the assistance of Francis Gotto and Mike Harkness of the Sudan Archive at Durham University, and Dr. Patricia Usick of the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan and James Hamill of the Department of Africa, Oceania and the Americas at the British Museum. Thanks are also due to the staff at the Royal Geographical Society and the Imperial War Museum for their help in assisting me with locating sources early on this study. I would also like to thank Dr. Georgina Laragy for her interest and input through the life of this work, Zoe Edwards of the archives of Madame Tussauds Museum for her thoughts on General Gordon and popular culture, Richard Vessey for his supply of rare books and Nigel Milverton, a true Sudan expert, for his insight into the region's colonial legacy.

I would also like to express my appreciation to Lt. Col. Ollie Ellwood for introducing me to this fascinating region and for his ongoing assistance and enthusiasm. My family, particularly my mother Mary, is also due my thanks for its support of and interest in this project.

This project coincided with the untimely deaths of my father, Comdt. David Michael Brown and my cousin Shane Christopher Brown. This work is primarily dedicated to their

memory. I would also like to dedicate this study to my family's circle of friends, military and civilian, particularly Col. Thomas Carter, Lt. Col. Eamonn Fogarty and Col. Ray Quinn, who have been such a source of support over the past few years.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- | | | |
|---------|---|-----|
| Fig. 1. | G.E. Matthews' <i>jibba</i> . | 255 |
| Fig. 2. | John Almeric de Courcy Hamilton's camel whip. | 264 |

COVID-19 IMPACT STATEMENT

The completion of this thesis coincided with the COVID-19 outbreak of 2020/2021, which presented considerable challenges for the satisfactory conclusion of the work, especially in relation to the acquisition of source material for the corrections requested in the viva voce exam in September 2019. The following collections had been identified for use, prior to the COVID-19 outbreak:

1. Photography collection of Alan Cameron.
2. Photography collection and private papers of Robert “Robin” E.H. Baily.
3. Private papers and diaries of Thomas Richard Hornby Owen.
4. Photography collection and private papers of Mabel E. and Gertrude L. Wolff.

Primary challenges associated with this global pandemic were rolling closures of archives and libraries, a series of local and national lock-downs and near-total travel bans.

Consequently, it was impossible to access archival material held by the Sudan Archive at Durham University, due initially to its closure over the summer of 2020 and a travel ban imposed between Ireland and Great Britain in the subsequent months, which continued until the work’s submission. There was also no physical access to academic libraries, which greatly compromised the range of secondary sources available for reference.

These challenges were partially mitigated in a number of ways. Digital sources, including those provided by the Sudan Archive, were used extensively in the study. This included the digitalised catalogues of the material held at Durham University, which allowed for an assessment of the type of material that former colonial administrators donated to the archive. The study also relied on primary printed sources to a greater extent than was initially anticipated, as a means of compensating for inaccessible archival material. These sources included published memoirs, letters, edited collections of interviews and a small amount of digitalised archival material.

As outlined in this study's conclusion, it is hoped that at some point in the future, archival sources that would have been incorporated into this work can be consulted. Such material would constitute a considerable part of the areas for further research suggested in the conclusion, especially the photographic collections and private and semi-private papers identified above.

INTRODUCTION

In February 1979, the Imperial War Museum, mindful that the last generation of the personnel to serve in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was becoming increasingly frail, sent interviewers around Britain to record their memories. One of the people interviewed was William Hamilton Scriven who, in the 1930s, served as a Sudan Defence Force medical officer in El Fashir, in present-day Darfur.¹ His most vivid memory of his time in the Sudan concerned the improvised cricket pitch at El Fashir, constructed from mud and locally produced matting. He recalled helping the local District Commissioner, a keen cricketer, to arrange matches with some of the native officers serving in the Sudan Defence Force, an experiment he describes as ‘not a success’. The games, he noted, were played with ‘very ancient bats’, one of which was ‘bound with crocodile skin’, and he recalled with great joy how the local Sudanese people tended to ‘laugh their heads off’ while watching these rather shambolic fixtures.

We should not be surprised that William Hamilton Scriven remembered those games of cricket, or the makeshift equipment and pitch used, when asked about his time in the Sudan almost fifty years later. The image of a worn, British-made cricket bat, carefully repaired using the skin of a Nile crocodile, is a potent symbol of the interchange between two cultures that collided and occasionally accommodated each other, in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. It also signifies the unique importance of small, portable, personal items in the establishment of the administration’s identity, as well as in the creation of a sense of corporate self-identity among members of that administration.

This study aims to investigate the singular political, social, economic and cultural circumstances in which the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was established and developed, and to

¹ Interview with William Hamilton Scriven, 5 Feb. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4295).

explore how these circumstances created a culturally unique corner of the British Empire. It will also explore the cultural and societal impact of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan on British life. The relative uniqueness of this imperial project will be examined, not only in the context of events elsewhere in the African continent, but within the British Empire at a moment of intense economic, moral and political crisis, during which the very legitimacy and sustainability of the imperial project was being questioned. It also aims to assess the impact that the Empire's expansion into the Sudan had on British popular culture. An important facet of this was the dramatically different manner in which the Sudan was understood and consumed by the British public, when compared to Britain's condominium partner Egypt, a source of near-continual public cultural fascination. It will primarily focus on the administration's early years, between 1899 and the mid-1920s.

From the beginning of Britain's involvement in the Sudan, objects took on great symbolic significance. Initially, this can be partially linked to the quasi-hagiographical nature of the popular adulation of General Charles Gordon, which climaxed with an intense public outpouring of grief after his death at the hands of Mahdist forces in 1885. His long military career in the service of the British Empire, his personal piety and the violence of his death gave late Victorian Britain a secular saint to worship, whose loss was publicly mourned to near-hysterical levels. This is evident in both national and local newspapers, such as *The Taunton Courier*, which published their readers' poetry on the subject, including an especially febrile contribution by J. Bownes, a local clergyman, who lamented that 'the brave defender of Khartoum is dead'.²

Many of Gordon's personal possessions were preserved and venerated, much in the manner of the relics associated with medieval religious figures. His camel saddle was preserved for posterity by the Royal Geographical Society, while at Gordon School in Surrey,

² *The Taunton Courier*, 25 Feb. 1885.

established by Queen Victoria as a living homage to his memory, his bibles, walking cane and other personal effects were displayed and venerated as symbols of patriotism, religious piety and self-sacrifice.

The cult of Gordon, coinciding chronologically with the easy availability of cheap consumer goods, fuelled an entire industry devoted to producing mementos of his life and death. Even as late as the 1900s, the British public remembered and continued to be interested in the death of Gordon, as Arthur Conan Doyle's 1903 Sherlock Holmes work, *The Adventure of the Empty House*, which sees Holmes travel to Khartoum, is testament to.³ These also included low-quality reproductions of George W. Joy's famous painting *Gordon's Last Stand*, depicting Gordon's death, and huge print runs of his letters and diaries.⁴ In his examination of Britain as an imperial nation, Bernard Porter notes that such was the public's adulation of Gordon, he featured in a huge wax tableau at Madame Tussaud's museum in London, which was viewed by tens of thousands of people each year.⁵

Alas, this wax version of Gordon has long since been melted down to make room for the next generation of public heroes. Britain's conquest of the Sudan, and events such as the Siege of Khartoum and the Battle of Omdurman, which were once monumentalised, have similarly slipped out of the British public's collective imagination. The Gordon-themed books, biscuit tins, cigarette packets, lithographs and song-sheets, once found in many British homes, exist only as archival ephemera or as junk shop stock. In the present day, there appears to be little cultural memory of these events, save for occasional oblique ones, such as

³ Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The adventure of the empty house' in *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* (London, 1903), pp 3-30.

⁴ The most widely disseminated of these works was *Letters of C.G. Gordon to his Sister, M.A. Gordon* (London, 1888).

⁵ Bernard Porter, *The Absent-minded Imperialists; Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford, 2004), p. 178.

Corporal Jones's reminiscences of serving in the Sudan Campaign in *Dad's Army*, a programme that is itself fifty years old.⁶

Moreover, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan became equally lost in historiographical terms, having largely failed to move past its reputation for stolid personal memoirs and stodgy regimental histories. While recent scholarship has greatly enhanced academic understanding of the region, and of the political and cultural legacy of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Sudan and South Sudan's troubled existence, which has seen civil war, political instability and hunger, has created difficult practical and intellectual circumstances for historical scholarship to flourish. This is particularly true for scholarship within the region, and while there are increasing numbers of Sudanese academics, a long-perpetuated trend for the history of the region being assessed from outside its borders continues to the present day.

This introduction will trace the various approaches taken to the study of Sudanese history, starting in the nineteenth century when the region first appeared in English-language travel books, to the current intellectual state of the field, as well as more general trends in colonial, imperial and British history. It will also assess the historiographical gaps in existing research and outline the nature and location of the primary sources available for the Sudan. Lastly, it will present a proposed methodology for a cultural investigation into the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

Approaches to Sudanese history.

The earliest attempts to study the region were borne out of the practical need to disseminate information to European travellers, as seen in the monograph of the British explorer George Francis Lyons, which was published in 1821.⁷ Although his work is primarily a travelogue, it contains some attempt to explain the historic background to the region's religious and ethnic

⁶ *Dad's Army: 'Two and a Half Feathers'*. Directed by David Croft, BBC, 1970.

⁷ George Francis Lyons, *Narrative of travels in northern Africa with geographical notices of Soudan and the course of the Niger in 1818-20* (London, 1821).

divisions. Similar travelogues appeared during the first three quarters of the nineteenth century, mostly in French, such as Francis de Castelnau's 1851 examination of slavery in the Sudan.⁸ Such works were very general in scale, and largely utilised history as a means of explaining the present.

In her examination of the relationship between chiefs, communities and the colonial state in southern Sudan, Cherry Leonardi notes that written sources for the region date to a slightly later point, appearing in the 1840s and coinciding with 'the coming of the 'Turk'', or the appearance of 'ivory and slave traders and Turco-Egyptian government forces'.⁹ Such encounters, she argues, were primarily focused on the acquisition of ivory and other valuable minerals, with slaving only as a 'secondary objective', but enslavement was nevertheless profoundly imprinted on these encounters, because such adventurers 'took with them slaves or slave-soldiers to act as interpreters, or dragomans'.¹⁰ Consequently, enslavement and tyranny from the North became a permanent feature of how the south was understood in historiographical terms.

Britain's increasing involvement in Egypt from the 1870s onwards fuelled corresponding interest in the Sudan. Many of the resulting works were, according to Graham F. Thomas, part of Britain's 'show of legality', in which the government, hoping to deflect international criticism for its determination to control the region, sought to present itself as an ally to the Egyptian government in the fight against slavery.¹¹ Popular works included A. Hilliard Atteridge's *Towards Khartoum: The Story of the Soudan War of 1896*, which linked British involvement to the abolition of slavery.¹² In spite of this populist and present-centric

⁸ Francis de Castelnau, *Renseignement sur l'Afrique centrale et sur une nation d'hommes à queue qui s'y trouvent d'après le rapport des nègres du Soudan, esclaves à Bahia* (Paris, 1851).

⁹ Cherry Leonardi, *Dealing with Government in South Sudan: Histories of chiefship, community & state* (Woodbridge, 2015), p. 21.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹¹ Graham F. Thomas, *Sudan: Struggle for survival* (London, 1993), p. 3.

¹² A. Hilliard Atteridge, *Towards Khartoum: the story of the Soudan War of 1896* (London, 1897).

tone, more formal approaches to historiography were evident during these years, most notably in the works of Prince Ibrahim-Hilmay, the son of the Egyptian Khedive. Although the young prince was interested in the history of North Africa, his European intellectual training is manifested in his work, which reflects the teleological and occasionally empirical tone of late nineteenth century historiography. His most significant contribution was his 1886 bibliography containing ‘printed books, periodical writings, and papers of learned societies; maps and charts; ancient papyri, manuscripts [and] drawings’.¹³ While his work provides a rare example of a non-European voice in early Sudanese historiography, his European education, coupled with his father’s desire to see Egypt and the Sudan considered part of Europe rather than Africa, means that his focus was not necessarily North African.¹⁴

In historiographical terms, the 1899 Condominium Agreement brought about little innovation. Printed works continued in a similar vein to what had gone before, with a focus on the region’s recent past, and represented mainly through mid-brow memoirs, highly fictionalised accounts of recent events and children’s literature. This is reflected in the remarks of Dane Kennedy, who argued that imperial history ‘acquired a reputation for insularity and inattention to the methodological advances made both by historians in other fields and by scholars in related disciplines’.¹⁵ Indeed, while the popular works of the early twentieth century cannot be credibly assessed for historiographical merit, they became significant markers for how the Sudan was understood in Britain and the wider world.

In his assessment of popular imperialism in Britain, John M. MacKenzie links such works to an emerging cult of the hero, ‘which in British culture invariably meant imperial

¹³ Prince Ibrahim-Hilmay, *The literature of Egypt and the Soudan, from the earliest times to the year 1885* (London 1886).

¹⁴ Author unknown, ‘Obituary: Ismaïl Pasha’ in the *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York*, xxvii (1895), pp 84-5; p. 85.

¹⁵ Dane Kennedy, *The Imperial History Wars: Debating the British Empire* (London & New York, 2018), p. 8.

heroes'.¹⁶ This is particularly exemplified by G.A. Henty's 1902 work *With Kitchener in the Soudan*.¹⁷ MacKenzie links the popularity of such works to the general increase in the availability of books in homes and via schools and Sunday schools, but notes that 'any suggestion that these 'ripping yarns' failed to convey an imperial ideology to their readers surely demeans the capacity of that audience to understand the contemporary contexts, generally imperial, in which the plots are worked'.¹⁸ However, Heather Sharkey argues that such works were influential within the Sudan also, especially in places such as the Gordon Memorial College library, where 'rows and rows of the stirring tales of Defoe, Scott, Dickens, Henty, Ballantine, and Rider Haggard' could be found.¹⁹ Equally, Janice Boddy speculates that G.A. Henty's 'lively yarns with obvious pedagogical intent', which 'suppressed the brutality of imperial ventures' and promoted the dual image of the British abroad as upstanding and 'humanely benevolent' and their savage but 'ameliorable' Sudanese counterparts, 'schooled more than a few officers of colonial Sudan'.²⁰

Genuine academic scholarship on the Sudan was therefore scarce and when present, was Eurocentric and almost entirely untempered by Sudanese voices. In the main, this was due to the non-literate nature of Sudanese society, and the extremely limited interest of the Condominium government in educating local populations. While the colonial administration had established some intellectual infrastructure for the education of the Sudanese, this was scientific and practical in focus and designed to advance fields such as agriculture and

¹⁶ John M. MacKenzie, 'Passion or indifference? Popular imperialism in Britain: continuities and discontinuities over two centuries' in John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *European empires and the people: Popular responses to Imperialism in France, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Italy* (Studies in Imperialism) (Manchester, 2011), pp 57-89; p. 80.

¹⁷ G.A. Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan: a story of Atbara and Omdurman* (New York, 1902).

¹⁸ John M. MacKenzie, 'Passion or indifference? Popular imperialism in Britain: continuities and discontinuities over two centuries' in John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *European empires and the people: Popular responses to Imperialism in France, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Italy* (Studies in Imperialism) (Manchester, 2011), pp 57-89; p. 74.

¹⁹ Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism; Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley & London, 2003), p. 52.

²⁰ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 26.

health.²¹ Even the establishment of Gordon College did little to change this because, as Heather J. Sharkey notes, its emphasis was on ‘acculturation rather than the formation of an educated elite’.²²

The 1918 establishment of *Sudan Notes and Records* was an important historiographical landmark. An annual publication, it contained essays on the history of the region and, in the first volume’s editorial, written by General Sir F.R. Wingate, the region’s former governor-general, aspired to a ‘sympathetic comprehension of the people of the Sudan and their mentality’.²³ Published in Cairo until 1968, the editorial board was entirely British-born and was funded by the Condominium’s Financial Secretary.²⁴ Furthermore, in the same editorial, Wingate notes the absence of articles relating to the outlying areas of the Sudan, complaining that ‘we have received nothing from the Pagan south’, suggesting a northern, or even Khartoum focus.²⁵ Nevertheless, it offered an unrivalled depth of information on the region, and continues to be a critical source for historians interested in how the Sudan was viewed by colonial administrators.

Ironically, the most significant developments in Sudanese historiography came from non-historians, in the main from political anthropologists who, from the 1920s onwards, researched and published scholarly works on political and social structures within Sudanese populations. The production of imperial history by non-historians is not peculiar to the Sudan or to the 1920s; indeed in his survey of British imperial historiography, Dane Kennedy argues that even as early as the 1950s, ‘the freshest, most innovative work on the British imperial

²¹ Mohammed Omer Bashir, ‘Sudanese studies in the Sudan’ in H. Abdalla and David S. Conyers (eds), *Perspectives and challenges in the development of Sudanese studies* (New York, 1993), pp 7-24; p. 8.

²² Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism; Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley & London, 2003), p. 41.

²³ F.R. Wingate, ‘Editorial’ in *Sudan Notes and Records*, i, no. 1 (1918), pp 49-50; p. 49.

²⁴ Mohammed Omer Bashir, ‘Sudanese studies in the Sudan’ in H. Abdalla and David S. Conyers (eds), *Perspectives and challenges in the development of Sudanese studies* (New York, 1993), pp 7-24; p. 10.

²⁵ F.R. Wingate, ‘Editorial’ in *Sudan Notes and Records*, i, no. 1 (1918), pp 49-50.

past' came from non-historians, such was the 'intellectual and methodological time warp' in which imperial studies was trapped.²⁶

These non-historians were responsible for the development of an unofficial historiography, produced mainly by colonial administrators posted to remote areas, whose long and often solitary years of service gave rise to great scholarly insight. E.E. Evans-Pritchard, an anthropologist who worked among the Nuer tribe of southern Sudan, published successive landmark works on the cultural practices of populations living in the Nile Valley.²⁷ Likewise, C.H. Stigand's posthumous 1923 work, *Equatoria: The Lado Enclave*, attempted to make sense of the region by examining the historical context of local customs and linguistic trends.²⁸ Cherry Leonardi notes that these works have been 'extensively revised and critiqued, not only for their ahistorical approach but also for their problematic definitions of political systems', such as their insistence that the colonial state was irrelevant to the existing political cultures of southern Sudanese tribes.²⁹ Indeed, Sara Berry's seminal 1992 article 'Hegemony on a Shoestring' directly challenges much of the presumptions of these anthropologists, particularly their dogmatic belief that 'traditional African societies were well ordered, self-reproducing systems, whose natural evolution had been disrupted by the trauma of colonial conquest'.³⁰ Nevertheless, such works were critical to the development of Sudan studies.

The 1940s saw an expansion in the number of scholarly institutions, which in theory at least, created more favourable conditions for the study of history. In 1938 the Sudanese

²⁶ Dane Kennedy, *The Imperial History Wars: Debating the British Empire* (London & New York, 2018), pp 133-4.

²⁷ Douglas H. Johnson, 'Evans-Pritchard, the Nuer, and the Sudan Political Service' in *African Affairs*, lxxxii (1982), pp 231-46; p. 244.

²⁸ C.H. Stigand, *Equatoria: the Lado Enclave* (London, 1923).

²⁹ Cherry Leonardi, *Dealing with Government in South Sudan: Histories of chiefship, community & state* (Woodbridge, 2015), p. 6.

³⁰ Sara Berry, 'Hegemony on a Shoestring: Indirect Rule and Access to Agricultural Land' in *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, lxii (1992), pp 327-55; p. 334.

Graduates' Congress was established to promote education in the region.³¹ Likewise, the establishment of the Sudan Philosophical Society in 1945 led to a transformation in Sudanese intellectual life. In his examination of the development of Sudanese Studies, Mohammed Omer Bashir notes that after this year, half of all contributions made to *Sudan Notes and Records* and the Philosophical Society's published lectures were the work of Sudanese nationals.³²

There is some debate regarding the impact or otherwise of the intellectual significance of the events of 1924. While the assassination of Sir Lee Stack, the governor-general of the Sudan, by Sudanese nationalists in 1924 had dramatic and immediate consequences, contemporary historians such as Heather J. Sharkey argue that the year may have been less of a watershed than postcolonial Sudanese historians may have viewed it. The events and uprisings of 1924, she argues, 'brought neither the change of revolution nor the mass appeal or ideological coherence of a nationalism programme'.³³ While the participants in such events would later gain 'a place in Sudanese national history books for their heroism as anticolonial figures', their immediate impact on political ideology or historiographical thought was less direct.³⁴

Nevertheless, the 1920s and 1930s saw the emergence of a new class of young, university-educated intelligentsia. Although they demonstrated more interest in politics and economics than in history, their arrival marked a significant departure in Sudanese Studies, which would see Sudanese populations themselves engaged in the production of their own national story.

³¹ Graham F. Thomas, *Sudan; Struggle for survival* (London, 1993), pp 4-5.

³² Mohammed Omer Bashir, 'Sudanese studies in the Sudan' in H. Abdalla and David S. Conyers (eds), *Perspectives and challenges in the development of Sudanese studies* (New York, 1993), pp 7-24; p. 11.

³³ Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism; Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley & London, 2003), p. 78.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

In Sudanese history published outside the region, there was little evidence of historiographical innovation, which is broadly in line with the stagnation into which imperial history fell in the mid-twentieth century. K.D.D. Henderson and Harold MacMichael, colonial administrators turned historians, led the field, producing works which focused on the region's recent history, suggesting that the historiography of the Sudan was dominated by the need to build foundation myths, an issue which will be explored in this study.³⁵ This lack of innovation can also be seen in the non-English publications of this period, such as in Stefano Santandrea's 1948 work *Bibliographia di Studi Africani Delle Missionaire Delle' Africa Centrale*, which is antiquarian in tone.³⁶

The closing years of the Condominium witnessed the emergence of a profound intellectual gulf between the colonial administration and an emerging Sudanese intelligentsia. The 1950s saw the continual publication of memoirs and biographies by former members of the administration, redolent of the early years of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Some of these were light-hearted and anecdotal in tone, such as H.C. Jackson's 1954 work *Sudan Days and Ways*, and Reginald Davies's 1957 memoir *The Camel's Back*.³⁷ Such was the popularity of these works, similar memoirs continued to be published for a number of years after Sudanese independence, such as Hugh Boustead's 1972 work *The Wind of the Morning*.³⁸ Perhaps of more utility to historians were the rare memoirs which came from individuals who had witnessed the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan as either unofficial participants or relative outsiders. These include James Dempsey's 1956 account of his missionary work in the region, which documents life at a remote mission station in southern Sudan.³⁹ Of particular utility are the

³⁵ K.D.D. Henderson, *Survey of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1899 - 1944* (London, 1946) and Harold MacMichael, *The Sudan* (London, 1954).

³⁶ Stefano Santandrea, *Bibliographia di studi Africani delle missionaire delle' Africa Centrale* (Verona, 1948).

³⁷ Reginald Davies, *The Camel's Back: Service in the Rural Sudan* (London, 1957) and H.C. Jackson, *Sudan Days and Ways* (London, 1954).

³⁸ Hugh Boustead, *The Wind of Morning* (London, 1972).

³⁹ James Dempsey, *Mission on the Nile* (New York, 1956).

memoirs of Edward Atiyah, a British-educated academic of Lebanese descent, who spent his youth in Egypt and the Sudan during the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium.⁴⁰

In the 1950s, works produced by members or former members of the administration became more objective and scholarly in tone. The most significant of these was Harold MacMichael's 1954 work, *The Sudan* which, while complimentary of the British administration of the region, offers a critical analysis of the Condominium's so-called 'southern policy'.⁴¹ Another significant historiographical landmark was the publication in 1955 of Ronald Wingate's biography of his father.⁴² While the work was rigourously researched from family papers, the writing style and some of the conclusions drawn reflected the hagiographical tone in which works on Gordon were often written.

In the same decade, the Sudanese historian Mekki Abbas published *The Sudan Question*.⁴³ Abbas's background and intellectual formation typified the emerging Sudanese intelligentsia. After receiving his initial education in the Sudan, he travelled to Europe to attend university and was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford.⁴⁴ Harold MacMichael reviewed Abbas's work, declaring that 'twenty years ago the production of this book ... would have been thought almost inconceivable'.⁴⁵ The work, while well-researched, offered little new insight into the complicated relationship between the Sudan and Egypt, but was an historiographical watershed simply because of the author's ethnicity. The years following Sudanese independence saw, according to Mohammed Omer Bashir, a 'vigorous programme of Sudanizing the senior academic and administrative posts'.⁴⁶ A notable example of this is

⁴⁰ Edward Atiyah, *An Arab tells his story; a study in loyalties* (London, 1946).

⁴¹ H.A. MacMichael, *The Sudan* (London, 1954).

⁴² Ronald Wingate, *Wingate of the Sudan: The Life and Times of General Sir Reginald Wingate, Maker of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (London, 1955).

⁴³ Mekki Abbas, *The Sudan question: the dispute over the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, 1884-1951* (London, 1952).

⁴⁴ H.A. MacMichael, 'Review' in *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, xxii (1952), pp 379-80; p. 379.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

⁴⁶ Mohammed Omer Bashir, 'Sudanese studies in the Sudan' in H. Abdalla and David S. Conyers (eds), *Perspectives and challenges in the development of Sudanese studies* (New York, 1993), pp 7-24; p. 13

the work of L.A. Fabunmi, who published his PhD thesis on the Sudan in 1960.⁴⁷ Although Nigerian by birth, his work typifies an increasingly confident African voice in Sudanese historiography.

Complete sets of official reports generated by the Condominium administration, as well as an array of private papers, became the foundation collection for the Sudan Archive at Durham University. The availability of this archive, coupled with increasing public interest in the Sudan as the optimism of independence gave way to bitter civil war, led to some historiographical development in the 1960s and 1970s. This can be seen in Richard Gray's 1961 work, *A History of the Southern Sudan, 1839-1889*, which drew on a far wider variety of sources than had previously been consulted.⁴⁸

Mohammed Omer Bashir notes that the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement, which officially ended the First Sudanese Civil War, had a considerable cultural impact on Sudanese academia, signalling to the world 'that Sudan was also African', by its acknowledgement of the fact that the south was not part of the Arab world.⁴⁹ The 1970s saw a lively academic interest in the history of the Sudan, with Sudanese and non-Sudanese historians contributing to its development. Abbas Ibrahim Muhammad Ali's 1972 examination of slavery in the Sudan is notable for the author's decision to focus on the nineteenth century.⁵⁰ In Britain, these decades saw publications that reflected the great boost that the availability of the Sudan Archive gave historians, such as Gabriel Warburg's analysis of the early years of the Condominium.⁵¹ Moreover, the publication of an English-language bibliography for

⁴⁷ L.A. Fabunmi, *The Sudan in Anglo-Egyptian relations; a case study in power politics, 1880-1956* (London, 1960).

⁴⁸ Richard Gray, *A history of the southern Sudan, 1839-1889* (London, 1961).

⁴⁹ Mohammed Omer Bashir, 'Sudanese studies in the Sudan' in H. Abdalla and David S. Conyers (eds), *Perspectives and challenges in the development of Sudanese studies* (New York, 1993), pp 7-24; p. 14.

⁵⁰ Abbas Ibrahim Muhammad Ali, *The British, the slave trade, and slavery in the Sudan, 1820-1881* (Khartoum, 1972).

⁵¹ Gabriel Warburg, *The Sudan under Wingate: administration in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1899-1916* (London, 1971).

Sudanese Studies by University College Khartoum in 1970 also hints that archival material was in demand in academic circles.⁵²

As the Sudan slipped back into civil war in the early 1980s, there was continued interest in the area, as evidenced by the number of bibliographies and published primary sources that appeared. Richard Hill and Paul Santi's publication of manuscript sources for the pre-Condominium period proved to be a valuable source book, offering context for the events after 1899.⁵³ Likewise, Richard Hill's publication of the memoirs of Carl Christian Giegler Pasha in 1984 was similarly useful.⁵⁴

The increased availability of primary sources saw Sudanese history studied, possibly for the first time, in the rigorous way that the history of other colonised areas had been. This is evident by the establishment of the Sudan Studies Association of North America in 1981, and the foundation of the Sudan Studies Association of Great Britain in 1985. A strong interdisciplinary flavour developed in Sudanese Studies during these years, which focused in the main on the social circumstances of the British-born administrators who governed the region. This can be seen in J.A. Mangan's 1982 examination of administrators' educational background.⁵⁵ A.H.M. Kirk-Greene also examined colonial administrators through the prism of sociology in the same year.⁵⁶

The deteriorating political situation within the Sudan inevitably created conditions that were unfavourable for research. During the 1980s, just two English-language scholarly works on Sudanese history were published within the region. However, the 1989 appearance of M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng's *Bonds of Silk*, 'a particularly personal record of British

⁵² Author unknown, *Sources of Sudanese studies in Sudanese journals and periodicals 1931-1967* (Khartoum, 1970).

⁵³ Richard Hill and Paul Santi (eds), *The Europeans in the Sudan, 1834-1878: Some manuscripts, mostly unpublished; written by traders, Christian missionaries, officials, and others* (Oxford, 1980).

⁵⁴ Richard Hill (ed.), *The Sudan memoirs of Carl Christian Giegler Pasha, 1873- 1883* (Oxford, 1984).

⁵⁵ J.A. Mangan, 'The education of an elite imperial administration; the Sudan Political Service and the British public school system' in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, xv, no. 4 (1982), pp 671-99.

⁵⁶ A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, 'The Sudan Political Service: a profile in the sociology of Imperialism' in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, xv, no. 1 (1982), pp 21-48.

imperial rule in the Sudan', which examined personal relationships between rulers and the ruled, was a groundbreaking moment in Sudan Studies.⁵⁷ Based upon a mixture of written and oral testimonies from thirty-one British and seventeen Sudanese men, and referring in the main to the last thirty years of the Condominium, the work attempts to examine the personal relationships and daily realities of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, by examining these issues via three sets of personal perspectives, namely British-born rulers, Northern Sudanese and Southern Sudanese. The work also lends considerable context to M.W. Daly's two surveys of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Appearing in 1986 and 1990 respectively, *Empire on the Nile* and *Imperial Sudan* was the first scholarly attempt to write a complete history of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium.⁵⁸ Unlike earlier British explorations of this subject, which often focused on military subjugation and political development, Daly's work examined the governance of the region from wider perspectives such as economics, social change and the relationship between administrators and the peoples they governed.

The last twenty years has seen a moderate increase in scholarly interest in the Sudan. This can be seen as part of a general attempt made by western nations to understand the Islamic world in the wake of the terror attacks of 11 September 2001. The demand for surveys of Sudanese history in the post 9/11 world is represented in Robert Collins's 2008 work, *A History of Modern Sudan*.⁵⁹ Recounting the region's history from 1821, the Sudan's pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial past is presented as a means of understanding its contemporary challenges.

Recent historiographical trends have also been coloured by current political events, such as the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Darfur, which fueled a number of works relating to

⁵⁷ M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), x.

⁵⁸ M.W. Daly, *Empire on the Nile; the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1898-1934* (Cambridge, 1986) and *Imperial Sudan: The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, 1934-1956* (Cambridge, 1990).

⁵⁹ Robert Collins, *A history of modern Sudan* (Cambridge, 2008).

slavery and ethnic conflict in the region, as Stephanie Beswick's 2004 work, *Sudan's Blood Memory: the legacy of war, ethnicity, and slavery in early South Sudan* is testament to.⁶⁰

Likewise, the negotiations that preceded the establishment of the Republic of South Sudan gave rise to a number of works relating to regional power structures, such as Randall Fegley's 2010 work, *Beyond Khartoum; a history of sub-national government in Sudan*.⁶¹

However, there also exists a series of scholarly interventions in Sudanese history that are less motivated by explaining contemporary challenges than by straightforward historical analysis. While surveys of political history such as those written by M.W. Daly and Robert Collins continue to be of utility, general historiographical trends in imperial history have heavily influenced the nature of Sudanese history currently being researched and written. This is particularly noticeable in the current academic and popular interest in personal relationships within empire. An early example of this change of emphasis is Eve Troutt Powell's 2003 examination of the complex relationship between Egypt, the Sudan and Britain during the Condominium years, and its impact on nationalist movements within Egypt and the Sudan.⁶²

This focus on relationships is also evident in Heather J. Sharkey's *Living with Colonialism; Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, which appeared in the same year as Eve Troutt Powell's work. Sharkey attempted to explain 'how colonialism worked, not as a system in the abstract, but as a practice of everyday life', using official and semi-official papers to 'recover the daily lives and human encounters that formed the colonial experience', rather than assess the strengths and limitations of official Condominium

⁶⁰ Stephanie Beswick, *Sudan's Blood Memory: the legacy of war, ethnicity, and slavery in early South Sudan* (Rochester, 2004).

⁶¹ Randall Fegley, *Beyond Khartoum* (New Jersey, 2010).

⁶² Eve Troutt Powell, *A different shade of colonialism; Egypt, Great Britain and the mastery of the Sudan* (Berkeley, 2003).

institutions.⁶³ She also attempted to ‘redress the limitations of Arabic and English textual sources’ by making extensive use of photographic sources throughout the work.⁶⁴

While many of the preoccupations and conclusions of the anthropologists that studied the Sudan in the 1920s and 1930s have been criticised and even disproved by subsequent Sudanese scholarship, anthropology continues to contribute to historians’ understanding of the Sudan’s past. This is evident in the work of Janice Boddy, an anthropologist with a lifelong interest in the region, whose 2007 *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan*, concerning ‘colonial efforts to end infibulation in Sudan’, an undertaking that the author describes as ‘a protracted allegory for imperialism in the early twenty-first century’.⁶⁵ While Boddy’s approach is unapologetically anthropological, ‘situating protagonists in their respective cultural milieus’, the resulting research offers a near-novel perspective in Condominium history, detailing not only the colonial government’s interactions with Sudanese women, but the activities and attitudes of the small handful of British-born women present in the region during these years.⁶⁶

Equally, Cherry Leonardi’s examination of chiefship in southern Sudan is primarily focused on relationships. In an attempt to move beyond English-language official and semi-official papers, the work utilises oral testimonies collected ‘in and around Yei, Juba and Rumbek, mainly between 2004 and 2008.’⁶⁷ These testimonies allow Leonardi to explore Southern Sudanese populations’ ‘broader relationships with the state before South Sudanese independence, an approach, she argues, allows her to reassess and even challenge the

⁶³ Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism; Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley & London, 2003), p. 12.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 8.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁶⁷ Cherry Leonardi, *Dealing with Government in South Sudan; Histories of Chiefship, Community and State* (Woodbridge, 2015), p. 10.

assumption that ‘state-society separation and alienation’ is a key factor in understanding southern Sudanese power structures.⁶⁸

However, contemporary scholarship continues to be interested in traditional topics such as state-building and colonial authority, while examining these issues in a fresh light. This is especially evident in Chris Vaughan’s 2015 work on twentieth-century Darfur, which attempts to address ‘broad questions about the character and significance of the colonial state in the specific context of Darfur’.⁶⁹ However, Vaughan notes that the work is an attempt to move away from older historiographical trends by avoiding ‘conceptions of either the colonial state or “Darfuri” society as being single monolithic structures, or even as necessarily being clearly divided from one another’, an approach, he argues, that is in line with contemporary scholarship which views state formation in the Sudan and other colonised African countries ‘as a process which takes place in the heat of local contest and negotiation’.⁷⁰

Perhaps the most innovative piece of recent scholarship on Sudanese history is Marie Grace Brown’s 2017 work, *Khartoum at Night: Fashion and Body Politics in Imperial Sudan*. Using the *tobe*, a traditional form of female dress in the Sudan, as a basis for her investigation, Brown examines women’s lives in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, vividly detailing not only their domestic worlds, but the continuous process of negotiation, compromise and defiance that made up their relationship with the Condominium government. She argues that the experience of empire was ‘intimately expressed on and through Sudanese bodies’, which made imperialism ‘a visceral reality as much as a political system’.⁷¹ Furthermore, the work is fiercely critical of ‘inherited’ constructed divisions in which scholars ‘write and talk about

⁶⁸ Cherry Leonardi, *Dealing with Government in South Sudan: Histories of chiefship, community & state* (Woodbridge, 2015), p. 5.

⁶⁹ Chris Vaughan, *Darfur; Colonial violence, sultanic legacies and local politics, 1916-1956* (New York, 2015), p. 5.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁷¹ Marie Grace Brown, *Khartoum at Night: Fashion and Body Politics in Imperial Sudan* (Stanford, 2017), p. 6.

Sudan’, arguing that even before the referendum which created South Sudan as a sovereign state, ‘the terms north and south are inadequate to describe the ethnic, geographic, and cultural diversity’ of the region.⁷²

Imperial history; an ‘intellectual and methodological time warp’?

Developments in Sudan Studies can be intimately linked to general historiographical trends, and specifically to historiographical trends in imperial and colonial history, especially since the effective collapse of the British Empire from the late 1950s. In his 2006 work, *The Scandal of Empire*, which examines the legal tribulations of Warren Hastings as a result of his governor-generalship of Bengal, Nicholas Dirks argues that British eighteenth century involvement in India saw the creation of a system that normalised and even promoted scandal.⁷³ This fact, Dirks argues, is reflected in colonial history, which, ‘built on fabrication, ... mirrors the general distortions and displacements of imperial self-representation’, including ‘the use of imputed barbarism to justify, and even ennoble, imperial ambition’.⁷⁴ He points to the first *Cambridge History of India* series, which appeared between 1922 and 1937 as representative of these realities⁷⁵, such as the uncritical manner in which figures such as Clive of India were assessed.⁷⁶ Therefore, the anecdotal memoirs and semi-hagiographical accounts of Gordon and Kitchener that dominated Sudanese historiography until the 1960s were largely in line with how the British Empire in general was being assessed and understood from a scholarly perspective.

In their survey of imperial historiography in the twentieth century, Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose argue that while the 1960s and 1970s witnessed ‘a flowering of social history’

⁷² Marie Grace Brown, *Khartoum at Night: Fashion and Body Politics in Imperial Sudan* (Stanford, 2017), p. 4.

⁷³ Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain* (Harvard, 2006).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷⁵ H.H. Dodwell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of India* (5 vols.) (Cambridge, 1922-39).

⁷⁶ Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain* (Harvard, 2006), p. 326.

in Britain, this flowering was ‘for the most part resolutely domestic in its focus.’⁷⁷ Indeed the advent of the so-called ‘cultural turn’ of the 1970s, which witnessed the study of history moving away from obvious routes of historical enquiry in favour of analyses of symbols and oblique meaning, allowed for the application of innovative historical approaches, which developed in response to this change in perspective.⁷⁸ However, these historiographical innovations had little impact on imperial history.

In an apparent confirmation of Dane Kennedy’s thesis that non-historians have often been responsible for the most innovative imperial history, it was two non-historians who were key influencing factors in the historiography of colonised territories during the 1960s and 1970s. The first of these was Tunisian-born Albert Memmi, whose seminal 1965 work, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, examined the socio-psychological impact of colonialism on both colonisers and those they colonised.⁷⁹ The second was Edward Said, whose 1978 work entitled *Orientalism*, traced the dual fascination and disdain with which Western civilisations viewed ‘the Orient’, which included Asia, the Middle and Near East and extensive parts of Africa.⁸⁰ While both non-historians have been fiercely debated and disputed since their works appeared, their influence continues to be felt. This is evident in the facts that the terms ‘colonizer’ and ‘colonized’ continue to be used by historians of empire. Furthermore, Memmi’s term ‘mediocre men’, middle-ranking men of modest talent who rose to positions of authority in colonies that would have been impossible in their home countries, continues in existence in feminist and postfeminist historical discourse. Similarly, Dane Kennedy notes, Said’s work, which became the foundational text for postcolonial theory, and fixed the term

⁷⁷ Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, ‘Introduction: being at home with the Empire’ in Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (eds), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, 2006), pp 1-31; p. 12.

⁷⁸ For an examination of the sustained impact of the ‘cultural turn’ on historiography, please see V.E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt’s, *Beyond the cultural turn* (Berkeley, 1999).

⁷⁹ Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, trans. Lawrence Hoey (London, 1965).

⁸⁰ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

orientalism ‘from an arcane field of academic study to a synonym for Western imperialism and racism’, has heavily influenced a diverse range of scholarship.⁸¹ These developments can be credited with the reinvigoration of imperial history, albeit from a different perspective to traditional historical enquiry.

Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose argue that ‘the construction of new nation states and the major changes that took place in the world in the 1970s and 1980s’ brought about significant changes in British history writing’, due to the fact that Britain was no longer seen as the powerful centre of a great empire, causing a ‘binary divide between nation and empire [that] had been central to the nationalist historiography that emerged in midnineteenth-century Britain and survived for much of the twentieth’.⁸² They also point to social change in 1980s Britain, particularly racial tensions, mass immigration and the Falklands War, the significance of the latter being pointed to as an important factor in the renewed interest in imperial history by both John M. MacKenzie and Dane Kennedy.⁸³

Furthermore, Kennedy points to the change of emphasis in Empire studies during these years, noting that the 1986 appearance of The Manchester University Press ‘Studies in Imperialism Series’ marked a significant historiographical departure, with a shift away from institutional history and towards social and cultural themes and, increasingly, the empire ‘at home’.⁸⁴ This shift in emphasis, felt throughout the 1990s, is typified by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler’s 1997 collaboration *Tensions of Empire*, whose contributors attempted

⁸¹ Dane Kennedy, *The Imperial History Wars: Debating the British Empire* (London & New York, 2018), p. 9.

⁸² Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, ‘Introduction: being at home with the Empire’ in Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (eds), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, 2006), pp 1-31; p. 8.

⁸³ Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, ‘Introduction: being at home with the Empire’ in Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (eds), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, 2006), pp 1-31; p. 9. John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion 1880-1960* (Studies in Imperialism) (Manchester, 1986), p. 11. Dane Kennedy, *The Imperial History Wars: Debating the British Empire* (London & New York, 2018), p. 136.

⁸⁴ Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, ‘Introduction: being at home with the Empire’ in Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (eds), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, 2006), pp 1-31; p. 12.

to examine the relationship between European metropolitan centres of empire and colonies through the prism of these historiographical changes.⁸⁵

In 1999, the North American Conference on British Studies issued a report entitled *The State and Future of British Studies*.⁸⁶ While the report expressed intense anxiety about the state of the study of British history in general, it noted that Empire Studies were enjoying a renaissance, with a relatively high number of postgraduate researchers working on British Empire-related topics. This is also reflected in the appearance of the *Oxford History of the British Empire* series in 1998, and the sustained academic interest in imperial history.⁸⁷ This is reflected in the popularity of P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins's work *British Imperialism*, which has gone through three editions.⁸⁸

Challenges in the study of Sudanese history.

The problems associated with archival research into the Sudan's imperial past have been well-documented by numerous historians who have made the study of this region their speciality. These difficulties include historical lacunae created by the essentially non-literate or oral nature of many sections of Sudanese society, incomplete or missing official records and, perhaps most problematic of all, English-language, British-authored, official and semi-official records which do not adequately reflect Sudanese populations or the realities of their interactions with Condominium officials. Practical issues, such as continued political instability in the region, have also continued to hamper scholarship.

The non-literate nature of Sudanese populations has forced historians to rely heavily on official and semi-official papers, despite their obvious limitations as primary sources. In

⁸⁵ Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, 1997).

⁸⁶ Nicoletta Gullace, Cynthia Herrup, Dane Kennedy, Brian Levack, Jeffrey Reznick, Peter Stansky and Martin Wiener, *Report of the North American Conference on British Studies; The State and Future of British Studies* (Pittsburgh, 1999).

⁸⁷ Wm. Roger Louis (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire* (Oxford, 1998-9).

⁸⁸ P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: 1688-2015* (London, 2016).

his examination of Condominium-era Darfur, Chris Vaughan notes that the ‘most obvious problem with this reliance on the colonial archive is the absence of oral histories from Darfuris themselves’, the absence of which he compensated for by trawling through these official and personal papers, in an attempt to understand the ‘complex relationship between chiefs and officials’.⁸⁹ Such records nevertheless, he notes, ‘unsurprisingly, do not capture much of popular discourse’.⁹⁰

Cherry Leonardi attempts to understand the southern Sudanese experience of colonialism by using oral testimonies. However, she acknowledges the inherent difficulty of this material, as ‘every quoted or paraphrased interview cited in translation has passed through a considerable interpretative process, with the associated drawbacks of potential loss or shift of meaning’.⁹¹ She likens this difficulty to that presented by official Condominium records, which she notes would have ‘been similarly mediated by clerks, interpreters and primary informants of government officials’.⁹²

In her assessment of official Condominium records, Janice Boddy notes that ‘the historiography of colonial Sudan privileges public individuals, conflictual events, and institutional development over social processes and cultural meanings’, due, in the main because of how ‘officials sorted documentary remnants of their thoughts and deeds’.⁹³ Such archives, she argues are ‘fickle informants’, the contents of which may have been strategically edited or even destroyed by officials in the lead-up to Sudanese independence, should they ‘prove embarrassing to the administration if scrutinized by Sudanese’.⁹⁴ This

⁸⁹ Chris Vaughan, *Darfur; Colonial violence, sultanic legacies and local politics, 1916-1956* (New York, 2015), p. 18.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁹¹ Cherry Leonardi, *Dealing with Government in South Sudan; Histories of Chiefship, Community and State* (Woodbridge, 2015), p. 10.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 7.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp 7-8.

concern of hers is entirely legitimate, given the archival discoveries of Caroline Elkins in preparation for her 2005 work on Kenyan colonial history.⁹⁵

While the establishment of South Sudan in 2011 was widely welcomed by the international community as a watershed moment in a complex and lengthy conflict, the continuation of political instability, famine and ethnic conflict in both Sudan and South Sudan has seen the same international community focus on the region's contemporary challenges. This is reflected in the comments of Cherry Leonardi who noted that in the case of South Sudan, its 'post-conflict' or 'fragile' status can mean that themes such as 'institutional resilience and historical continuity are all too easily overlooked in the urgent work of state-building'.⁹⁶

The past two decades has seen impressive scholarly historiographical attention paid to the region, but nevertheless the Sudan continues to be popularly understood from sociological, political and anthropological perspectives. Such approaches offer fresh insights into issues such as gender, tribal and ethnic identity and the impact of war and food insecurity on civilian populations. While these approaches are admirable in their objective of fostering understanding of and sympathy for the difficult and sometimes dangerous conditions in which Sudanese populations often live, they do not serve the study of history well. It could be argued that such approaches have contributed to the continuation of a popular historiographical trend more intent on criticising colonialism as a geopolitical phenomenon rather than engaging with a rigorous scrutiny of primary sources for the sole purpose of objectively examining the Sudan's past.

Marie Grace Brown, who so admirably traced the social, political, economic and cultural changes felt by Sudanese women via the prism of material culture has also discussed

⁹⁵ Caroline Elkins, *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya* (New York, 2005).

⁹⁶ Cherry Leonardi, *Dealing with Government in South Sudan: Histories of chiefship, community & state* (Woodbridge, 2015), p. 2.

the difficulties of reliance on official or semi-official sources for Sudanese history.⁹⁷ She argues however, that such criticisms must not be seen as ‘a call to abandon the archive’, but to instead ‘mine and supplement it in creative ways’ that acknowledge that ‘intimate spaces and intimate practices hono[u]r stories and experiences not recorded elsewhere’.⁹⁸

It can be argued that such an approach, which acknowledges both the limitations and strengths of existing documentary sources, and attempts to utilise them in novel and historiographically more productive ways, offers a glimpse into how the next phase of Sudan Studies, and the study of its imperial past specifically, will ideally progress. In addition to ‘min[ing]’ such sources in a sensitive, sensible and critical manner, Brown also calls for such sources to be supplemented in ‘creative ways’, which opens up the potential for historiographical innovation and genuine scholarly originality.

This thesis will attempt to examine cultural aspects of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in such a manner. Traditional documentary sources will be examined using a recent historiographical innovation, specifically the study of the history of emotions. These sources will then be contextualised or ‘supplemented’ via an examination of the material culture of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, as well as cultural criticism of English-language, literary depictions and interpretations of the region.

An examination of the existing historiography of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan has identified three significant lacunae which could be adequately addressed by broadly adopting Brown’s approach. Firstly, the manner in which the Sudan as a specific imperial acquisition was understood and consumed in Britain has not yet been addressed in great detail, either by historians of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan or by those interested in the impact of Empire on British public consciousness. Secondly, the role of material culture, particularly small,

⁹⁷ Marie Grace Brown, *Khartoum at Night: Fashion and Body Politics in Imperial Sudan* (Stanford, 2017), p. 12.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

portable personal objects, needs further investigation, not only as a methodology for understanding the administration of the Sudan in general, but such objects' intrinsic importance in this regime. Thirdly, British involvement in the Sudan, particularly that of people who were considered relative 'outsiders' rather than members of the formal administration require reconsideration.

The existing historiography of the Sudan rarely puts events in the region into international context, despite the obvious benefits of doing so. An examination of the administration, alongside the social and political changes that affected the nature of British colonial ambition in these years, would allow for much greater insight than has currently been achieved. Existing historiography tends to minimise the international issues at play in the early twentieth century in favour of a simpler, but less satisfactory explanation, which presents the sparse administration of the Sudan as an economically pragmatic response to the fiscal problems that the British government faced in these years.

The first decade of the twentieth century, when most of the institutions of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium were being constructed, was a period of intense crisis for the colonial project within Britain, in some of her overseas territories, and for other European powers with African colonies. These anxieties are perhaps best expressed by the appearance of Joseph Conrad's groundbreaking novel *Lord Jim* in 1900, which obliquely questions the legitimacy of Britain's apparently 'civilising' mission in the British Empire.⁹⁹ The military shortcomings of the British Army during the Second Anglo-Boer War, and the horror with which the British public reacted to accounts of the mistreatment of Boer civilians and prisoners of war, shook confidence in the moral authority of the British Empire. Moreover, these years saw sustained discussion of the 1904 Casement Report, which revealed systematic exploitation,

⁹⁹ Joseph Conrad, *Lord Jim* (London, 1900).

slavery and violence in the Belgian Congo, and gave rise to intense public questioning of European powers' very presence in Africa.¹⁰⁰

Likewise, the extent to which Britain's involvement in the Sudan influenced popular culture and the arts has yet been only partly examined. The impact of so-called 'Egyptomania' in Britain during the early twentieth century is already a well-explored cultural phenomenon.¹⁰¹ Fuelled by the extensive explorations and surveys undertaken of the Nile Valley by British geographers and explorers and coupled with the excitement of significant archaeological finds, Egyptian-themed music, drama and song found its way into everyday British life.

However, the specific contribution of Britain's involvement in the Sudan to this craze has yet to be considered. The existence of collections of Sudanese-produced items that were displayed in British museums and other cultural institutions during these years suggests that the British public must have been interested in and influenced by their government's involvement in the Sudan. Surviving collections, although limited in scale, offer us the opportunity to consider this question, and the cultural impact such objects may have had in early twentieth century Britain.

The success of A.E.W. Mason's 1902 novel *The Four Feathers*, set in the Sudan in the 1880s, and one of the most popular novels written in Edwardian England, suggests that popular culture continued to be influenced by Britain's involvement in the region even after the shock of Gordon's death and celebration of Kitchener's reconquest of the Sudan had waned.¹⁰² Furthermore, the fact that the book has been adapted for screen seven times since 1915 indicates that its impact upon and popularity with the British public requires further analysis. Likewise, the ubiquity of Henry Newbolt's 1892 poem *Vitai Lampada*, which

¹⁰⁰ These events will be discussed in Chapter Two.

¹⁰¹ This phenomenon is best explored in James Stevens Curl's work *Egyptomania: the Egyptian revival, a recurring theme in the history of taste* (Manchester, 1994).

¹⁰² A.E.W. Mason, *The Four Feathers* (London, 1902).

references the Battle of Abu Klea during the Mahdist Wars in the line ‘the sand of the desert is sodden red’, and its popularity in the first half of the twentieth century as an expression of British values, hints that events in the Sudan were more ingrained in the British public’s cultural memory than has previously been assumed.

The examination of the material culture of imperialism is now an established component of Empire Studies, as demonstrated in the work of cultural historians such as Catherine Hall, Sonya O. Rose, Sarah Longair, John McAleer and John M. MacKenzie.¹⁰³ Their work has allowed us to consider how Empire worked on both a practical and psychological level, leading to significant developments of insight into how the British Empire functioned at home and abroad. However, such approaches are often more likely to focus on the examination of large-scale examples of material culture, such as architecture. The impact of Sir Edwin Lutyens’ redesign of New Delhi after the city was proclaimed capital of India in 1911 for example, has been closely analysed by cultural historians of the British Empire.¹⁰⁴

However, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan lasted for just sixty years, which greatly limited the scale of physical infrastructure that was built, particularly in the south of the region. In such regions, far from Khartoum’s impressive imperial aura, we must look to smaller and more personal objects. Therefore, this part of the administration’s material culture is best traced through the portable, personal items owned, acquired and used by colonial administrators and other participants of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium.

Moreover, an examination of the material culture of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan has the potential to partially fill the historiographical void left by the largely non-literate nature of

¹⁰³ The *Studies in Imperialism* series, published by Manchester University Press from 1984, particularly represents innovative historiographical trends in the study of the British Empire. Available at Manchester University Press, (<http://www.manchesteruniversitypress.co.uk/manchester-studies-imperialism/>) (28 Mar. 2019)

¹⁰⁴ Allan Greenberg, 'Lutyens' Architecture Restudied' in *Perspecta*, xii (1969), pp 129-52.

Sudanese society, a problem which has long hampered our understanding of the relationship between colonisers and the colonised in this region. Incidences in which administrators came to acquire locally produced items, whether through purchase, theft, gift or exchange, have the potential to illuminate alliances, friendships, tyrannies and power structures among administrators and local populations. It would also allow for the greater appreciation of cultural connectivity among the Sudanese, the people who governed them, and public attitudes in Britain, an aspect of the administration that has not yet been comprehensively examined.

Therefore, the existing body of knowledge on Anglo-Egyptian Sudan would benefit greatly from the application of methodologies developed in response to this cultural turn, in order to fully bring the topic into the twenty-first century. To achieve this, this study intends to utilise one of the most recent historiographical innovations, namely a proposed methodology for the history of emotions.¹⁰⁵ This approach, designed to gauge the psychological and emotional dimensions of a specific period of time in the past, has the potential to further augment the gains of a material culture focus, in terms of addressing the key lacunae in our understanding of the personal experience of participation in colonial Sudan.

Lastly, this study attempts to understand the nature of ‘outsider’ experiences of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. These individuals include obvious political, social and economic outsiders, such as enlisted soldiers from the British Army, women who were often unofficial participants in the official administration, and non-British, Sudanese or Egyptian ‘foreigners’, often of European or Middle Eastern descent, living and working in the region. It will also examine in greater depth the men who made up the official Anglo-Egyptian Sudan who were,

¹⁰⁵ Jan Plamper, William Reddy, Barbara H. Rosenwein and Peter Stearns, ‘The History of Emotions’ in *History and Theory*, lxix (2010), pp 237-65.

almost without exception, upper middle-class, public school, Oxbridge graduates and who, superficially at least, typified their class and nationality. This study will examine this cohort in more detail and discuss the possibility that their choice to make a career in the Sudan fundamentally made them outsiders and even emotional refugees from their native country.

Central research questions.

The following research questions will inform the principal lines of inquiry of this study.

1. In what political, social, cultural and economic circumstances did Britain's involvement in the Sudan began?
2. Did the Sudanese experience of empire differ from that elsewhere in the British Empire and if so, how did this manifest itself?
3. Did the fact that administrators in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan were often physically cut off from their colleagues as well as the social, intellectual and emotional infrastructures of Empire, endow material objects with greater significance than those used by colonial administrators in more centralised areas of the British Empire?
4. Did these objects play a role in persuading local populations of the authority of the new colonial administration?
5. What role did mythmaking, particularly that connected to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan's military origins, have on its civil administration?
6. What impact did social class have on personal interactions in this administration?
7. What cultural impact did involvement in the Sudan have on Britain during the Condominium years?

Structure of the study.

An exploration of the cultural dimensions of British participation in the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, will be facilitated through three main lines of inquiry.

1. The broad political and social context in which British involvement in Egypt and the Sudan occurred.
2. The cultural and social psychology of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium.
3. The manner in which these cultural dimensions can be seen in literary and material culture.

Chapter One will explore the first line of inquiry through an examination of the political, social, cultural and economic landscape of late Victorian Britain, on the eve of the establishment of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. This will include an assessment of issues such as contemporary criticisms of New Imperialism, public debate over Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee celebrations, British and international responses to the Second Anglo Boer War and the Congo atrocities, as well as the rapid social and cultural change experienced by Britain during the nineteenth century second Industrial Revolution. It will assess the loss of confidence in the imperial project felt in Britain at the time, and how this loss of confidence influenced the nature of the administration created in the Sudan.

Chapter Two will examine the second line of inquiry through a description of the development of a civil administration in the Sudan and the profiling of the young men who made up this administration. Their family and educational backgrounds, motivations for seeking postings in the Sudan and reaction to the hardships of service there will be examined as a means of creating a cultural and psychological profile of this cohort. This will include an assessment of issues such as administrators' responses to isolation, the prevalence or otherwise of 'Lawrence of Arabia syndrome' and service in the Sudan as both an emotional community and an emotional refuge. It will also discuss the role of mythmaking in the establishment of the new state and as a means of creating corporate cohesion among its administrators.

Chapter Three will also explore the second line of inquiry through the assessment of four significant sets of interpersonal interactions in the administration, as viewed through British eyes. The interactions to be examined are those between British administrators and Sudanese populations, British administrators and Egyptians, Sudanese populations and Egyptians and British army officers and enlisted men. This will allow for an assessment of two previously understudied aspects of colonial Sudan, namely the impact of the administration's foundation mythology on interactions among British, Sudanese and Egyptian participants, and the social class dimensions of these encounters.

Chapter Four will explore the third line of inquiry, by assessing the relative lack of interest among the British public in the Sudan, which was in marked contrast to its enduring fascination with Egyptian pharaonic history, archaeology and culture. It will also propose a set of possible reasons for these differing levels of interest. Six literary works, published between 1889 and 1918, will be examined to illustrate not only these different levels of interest in the two regions, but differences in how both were popularly understood by the British public.

Chapter Five will also explore the third line of inquiry, this time through the examination of material culture as historical documentation. Three items will be used to examine not only key characteristics of the administration of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, but its cultural influence on Britain. This will allow for the examination of issues such as the development of corporate identity among administrators, the enduring utility of mythmaking in the government of the region and cultural accommodation between colonial officials and local populations.

Methodologies

The following methodologies will be used;

Chapter One	the qualitative assessment of newspaper articles, government reports and primary printed sources.
Chapters Two and Three	the qualitative assessment of interviews, memoirs and official documents produced by the Sudan Government, partially through the use of Barbara H. Rosenwein's proposed methodology for the study of the history of emotions.
Chapter Four	the qualitative assessment of literary sources.
Chapter Five	the utilisation of artefacts as historical documents, using E. McClung Fleming's proposed model for artefact study, with some input from Bernard Herman's object-driven approach to the study of material culture.

Barbara H. Rosenwein's proposed methodology for the study of the history of emotions.

This historiographical method will be used in Chapters Two and Three. The study of the history of emotions, one of the most recent results of the cultural turn of the 1970s, is concerned with how emotions are 'experienced, expressed and interpreted', as well as how they are 'shaped by the societies in which they are embedded'.¹⁰⁶ Two aspects of this proposed study may be usefully applied to Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, namely the linked but separate concepts of emotional communities and emotional refuges.

A key component of Rosenwein's thesis is the presence of emotional communities, defined by the author as 'social groups whose members adhere to the same valuations of emotions and their expression'.¹⁰⁷ The administrators and other personnel who governed the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan conform to this definition, and an examination of their thoughts and actions via the prism of Rosenwein's proposed model is likely to yield data critical to the task

¹⁰⁶ Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Problems and methods in the history of emotions*, available at Passions in Context, (<http://www.passionsincontext.de>) (2 Jan. 2016), pp 8-9.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.1.

of understanding how the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan worked on a personal and psychological level.

Rosenwein's model also makes use of the concept of the 'emotional refuge', first proposed by the cultural historian William M. Reddy, in his 2001 work *The Navigation of Feeling*, which examines methodologies and terminologies for the study of the history of emotions.¹⁰⁸ Reddy describes emotional refuges as 'a relationship, ritual, or organization (whether informal or formal) that provides safe release from prevailing emotional norms', a definition with which Rosenwein substantially concurs.¹⁰⁹ As all colonial administrators and most army officers serving in the Sudan did so by choice rather than compulsion, it can reasonably be argued that some participated in the government of the Sudan as a means of avoiding a more conventional lifestyle and career in Britain. This study will utilise Rosenwein and Reddy's theses regarding emotional refuges to explore the question of whether or not the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan itself acted as an emotional refuge from the social and intellectual constraints of Victorian and Edwardian emotional communities.

Rosenwein proposes the following steps for the identification and assessment of emotional communities and refuges, which will be utilised in this study.

1. The gathering of a dossier of sources for each emotional community.
2. The 'problematization' of emotional terms by the recognition of the fact that 'many words and ideas have only fuzzy equivalents in the past'.¹¹⁰
3. The utilisation, where possible, of theorists of emotions for the time period to be studied.
4. The reading of silences, metaphors and ironies.
5. The consideration of the social roles of emotions.

¹⁰⁸ William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: a framework for the history of emotions* (New York, 2001).

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

¹¹⁰ Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Problems and methods in the history of emotions*, available at *Passions in Context*, (<http://www.passionsincontext.de>) (2 Jan. 2016), p. 13.

6. The tracing of changes regarding emotional experience, expression and interpretation over time.

E. McClung Fleming's proposed model for artefact study.

This historiographical method will be used in Chapter Five, as a means of assessing artefacts as historical documents. It was developed by McClung Fleming while working at the Winterthur Museum in Delaware in the 1970s.¹¹¹ Although this model is therefore almost fifty years old, its ability to capture both the context in which an artefact was produced, and modern analyses of the object, makes it a valuable tool for scholarly research focused on material culture, and continues to be of utility to cultural historians.¹¹² In essence, this model consists of two elements, namely a 'fivefold classification' of the object's properties, which captures its physical and historical characteristics, and four 'operations' which includes identification, evaluation, cultural analysis and interpretation of the object in question.¹¹³

McClung Fleming's model is particularly well-suited to a study of this kind because of the open-ended nature of its scope, which allows for the classification and analysis of a physically, culturally, geographically and chronologically disparate variety of artefacts. Moreover, it allows for the evaluation of items, both within the cultures that created them and in those which consume them. This feature is particularly useful in the consideration of the cultural interplay between the Sudan and Britain, especially in the case of items that were produced and acquired in the Sudan but were brought to Britain at a later date. It also allows for the assessment of items with potentially dual or multiple roles, such as, for example, a Sudanese-produced devotional item which, in the hands of a colonial administrator could

¹¹¹ E. McClung Fleming, 'Artefact study: a proposed model', in *Winterthur portfolio*, ix (1974), pp 153-73.

¹¹² McClung Fleming's model was particularly skilfully utilised by Cameron L. Saffell in 'An alternative means of field research: extending material culture analysis to farm implements' in *Agricultural History*, lxxxviii, (Fall, 2004), pp 517-537.

¹¹³ E. McClung Fleming, 'Artefact study: a proposed model', in *Winterthur Portfolio*, ix (1974), pp 153-73; pp 154-6.

become a personal memento, a decorative curio, a status symbol, an educational tool or even part of a museum collection.

Bernard Herman's object-driven approach to the study of material culture.

McClung Fleming's model will be supplemented by Bernard L. Herman's 'object-driven' approach to the study of material culture. In his work *The Stolen House*, Herman proposes a methodology involving two approaches, namely 'object-centred' and 'object-driven' research.¹¹⁴ Object-centred research examines the physical artefact, while object-driven attempts to investigate its wider cultural or sociological significance by taking 'the evidence and questions generated by material culture and extend[ing] them into a broader inquiry aimed at the interpretation of society and culture'.¹¹⁵

Sources for the history of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

The historiographical gaps identified above are at odds with the comprehensive extent and varied nature of primary source material relating to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The Sudan Political Service, widely considered by colonial governors to be among the best-run and best-staffed of the African colonial administrations, kept meticulous monthly, quarterly and annual records, allowing us fascinating insights into how the territory was run on a local, regional and national level. Government reports, parliamentary proceedings, national newspapers and contemporary books and journal articles provide further context. The material culture focus of this study can be examined through surviving collections of Sudanese artefacts, assembled in the main by administrators serving in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, as well as through general museum collections of African artefacts.

However, all of these sources share a key weakness, namely the fact that they are predominantly English-language and British in their focus. As a result, the voices of local

¹¹⁴ Bernard L. Herman, *The Stolen House* (Charlottesville and London, 1992), p. 4.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

populations are often entirely absent. The non-literate nature of Sudanese society during the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium and the frequent failure of colonial administrators to learn local dialects, leaves a considerable historiographical silence, even in primary sources. While Sudanese voices can sometimes be heard via reports of legal disputes and accounts of inter-tribal hostilities, such sources are at best second-hand. This shortfall must therefore always be taken into account when considering documentary sources for this period of Sudanese history.

Archival sources.

The principal archival sources for this study are located across three locations, namely the Sudan Archive at Durham University, the archives of the Imperial War Museum in London, and the archives of the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan in the British Museum, also in London. However, because this study was completed during the COVID-19 pandemic of 2019/20, it was not possible to access these records in person. Where possible, electronic versions have been consulted, although these have been severely limited in scale.

The Sudan Archive at Durham University was established in 1957 by Richard Hill, a former colonial administrator and occasional lecturer at Khartoum University College.¹¹⁶ In addition to holding a large volume of official reports for the Condominium, the Sudan Archive became a key repository for the private papers of over three hundred people who served or lived in the Sudan. This material is made up of over 800 boxes of papers, 50,000 photographs, 136 cinefilm reels, 1,000 maps, some museum objects and a large amount of related printed material, mostly dating from the 1920s to the 1960s, but with some material dating to as early as the 1880s.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Gabriel Warburg, 'Richard Hill (1901-1996): In Memoriam' in *Middle Eastern Studies*, xxxiii (1997), pp 193-5; p. 194.

¹¹⁷ *Summary guide to the Sudan Archive*, available at Durham University Special Collections, (<http://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ead/sad/sudan.xml>) (5 Mar. 2016).

The archives of the Imperial War Museum are housed in its main branch in London and contain a large volume of material relating to the Sudan. As part of its remit to further the public's understanding of modern warfare and personal wartime experiences, its Sudanese collection is extensive and varied. The museum's digital repository contains a significant and, to date, unused resource in the form of over 150 interviews with veterans of various conflicts within the Sudan, mostly dating from the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. This will be extensively used. While these interviews mostly concentrate on military matters, they offer extensive information of living and working conditions for British-born individuals serving in the region, offering valuable insight into the personal experience of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

The British Museum holds over 2,500 Sudanese-produced artefacts, most of which were acquired by colonial administrators and British-born army officers serving in the region. Extensive acquisition files, housed in the museum's archives of the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan, chart the acquisition, conservation, cataloguing and presentation of artefacts. The collection is largely made up of the private papers of archaeologists and museum curators, as well as photographs, glass negatives and hand drawn sketches and plans.

Artefacts and material culture.

The Sudan Archive at Durham University also contains a modest number of Sudanese-produced artefacts. Because the provenance of such items can be difficult to establish, their utility for this study may be limited, but they nevertheless help us to understand what objects were acquired and eventually brought back to Britain by members of the Anglo-Egyptian administration. Likewise, the Sudanese and Egyptian collections of the British Museum are useful for understanding patterns of collection and donation.

Printed primary sources.

The meticulous record-keeping of the Sudan Political Service means that printed primary sources available to historians abound. However, it must be noted that the utility of many of

these documents is limited by the fact that they were often produced from a template and therefore, while making the task of comparing the nature of the administration in different areas relatively straightforward, are likely to be less useful in the transmission of the minutiae of administration on a local level.

Digital copies of the following official reports are available via Durham University Library's Special Collections portal and will be utilised throughout this study.¹¹⁸

Title and description	Date extents
Sudan Intelligence Reports. Military intelligence bulletins from the pre-Condominium period.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Main series - 1891-1902. 2. Suakin - 1889-91. 3. Eastern Sudan - 1891-2. 4. Frontier Force - 1889-92.
Governor-Generals' Reports. General annual reports covering all aspects of the administration of the Sudan.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Annual reports on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1902-1952. 2. <i>Memorandum by General Sir Reginald Wingate on the finance, administration and condition of the Sudan</i> (Khartoum, 1914).
Sudan Staff Lists. Covers appointments of British and Sudanese-born individuals appointed to the Sudanese Political Service and other government offices.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Monthly return of senior officials, Sudan government, and British officers temporarily employed in Sudan government service, showing appointments & stations, and probable moves during the month 1899 – 1918. 2. Quarterly list Sudan government showing appointments and stations, 1919 – 1920. 3. Quarterly list Sudan government showing appointments and stations, 1923 – 1933. 4. Quarterly list of the Sudan government, 1933 – 1940. 5. Half yearly list of the Sudan government, 1941 – 1947. 6. Sudan government list, 1949-1959.
Sudan Government Gazettes. Monthly gazette of government ordinances and appointments, also containing commercial advertising.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 1899-1970.

¹¹⁸ *Summary guide to the Sudan Archive*, available at Durham University Special Collections, (<http://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ead/sad/sudan.xml>) (5 Mar. 2016).

These printed sources will be contextualised with the press coverage that Egypt and the Sudan received in British national newspapers such as *The Times* and *The Illustrated London News*, as well as *The London Gazette*, the official journal of the British government which covers military and some civilian appointments. Local newspapers, pamphlets and special interest newspapers such as *The Illustrated News* have also been consulted to add local and specialised context. Another key printed source is *Sudan Notes and Records*, which is of particular historiographical value as it was authored in the main by colonial administrators.

CHAPTER ONE

Queen Victoria or Jack the Ripper? Popular unrest, public opinion and New Imperialism in Britain in 1899.

This chapter will offer domestic and international context for the near-unique political, social, economic and cultural circumstances in which the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was established, in an attempt to answer Research Questions One and Two. These concern the context in which British involvement in the region began, as well as the question of whether or not the Sudanese experience of imperialism differed from that elsewhere in the British Empire.

Unlike earlier phases of expansion in the British Empire when, despite the existence of some dissenting voices, the practical and ideological benefits of colonialism were largely seen to outweigh the disadvantages, the Sudan was reconquered in a moment of intense crisis for the imperial project. This largely took the form of sustained public criticism of old certainties such as the validity of the British Empire, the monarchy, other traditional institutions of state, and even established late-Victorian morality. Furthermore, the formation of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan occurred amid unprecedented international hostility to the British Empire. This chapter will argue that these unique domestic and international circumstances, and the cooperative nature of the endeavour, created in the Sudan a version of the British imperial project that, while not wholly different to the British Empire elsewhere, was politically, culturally, socially and economically singular.

In January 1900, David Lloyd George, a backbench opposition M.P. already considered a rising star of the dramatically reordered post-Gladstone Liberal Party, addressed the Palmerston Club at Balliol College, Oxford. In the context of the problems faced by the British Army in its prosecution of the Second Anglo Boer War, he launched a stinging attack on so-called 'New-Imperialism', blaming it not only for British 'military reverses', but for

Britain's 'universal unpopularity throughout the civilised world', and the 'aggrandisement of the Empire at any price, and especially the price of the common principles of honesty'.

¹ His audience reacted with enthusiastic cheers to his comments, and the club president proposed a change of name for the club from that of Palmerston, widely credited as a chief architect of new Imperialism, to that of Gladstone, who had died just eighteen months earlier, in May 1898.² This incident, of little interest to a newspaper readership more attentive to events in South Africa than the resolutions of a student society, was reported upon by *The Times* as a minor aside. However, it offers us a fascinating insight, not only into contemporary critiques of New Imperialism and public opposition to Britain's prosecution of the Second Anglo Boer War, but also into the general sense of distrust and hostility felt by some sections of society towards the very concept of imperialism and, by extension, Britain's overseas empire.

On a superficial level, Lloyd George's comments might easily be dismissed as those of a frustrated opposition politician intent on criticising the government of the day, expediently using any available current difficulty. Indeed, his was not the only dissenting parliamentary voice on the topic, and the Liberal Party, still struggling to define itself without Gladstone, was arguably given a refreshed sense of purpose by its role in opposition to the Second Anglo Boer War. While the party was not entirely united on the subject - Lord Rosebery, the former Liberal prime minister, supported the war - it allowed most members to criticise the Conservatives from a moral perspective, pointing to the brutalisation of Boer civilians and the overriding economic and capitalistic imperative which, they argued, was at the heart of motivations for the war and New Imperialism itself.³ In *The Trouble Makers*, A.J.P. Taylor's examination of British foreign policy, this opposition is linked to a pre-First

¹ *The Times*, 29 Jan. 1900.

² *Ibid.*

³ Elie Halévy, *Imperialism and the rise of Labour 1895-1905* (London, 1951), pp 99-100.

World War phase of ‘new radicalism’, which saw intense political criticism of foreign policy.⁴ Indeed, the 1900 British general election, often called the ‘Khaki Election’, was largely fought by the Liberal Party on the basis of its opposition to the war.⁵ However, this proved to be a miscalculation. In response, the Conservatives employed jingoistic counter-rhetoric to mobilise votes in their favour, creating an especially toxic election campaign, and producing an outright Conservative majority.⁶

Despite the Conservative victory of 1900, events in Britain in the closing years of the nineteenth century indicate that Lloyd George and the Liberal Party were not unique in their increasing discomfort at the imperial project or established political and social values.

Traditional historiography claims that imperial zeal reached its zenith in June 1897, when Queen Victoria publicly marked her sixtieth year on the throne. Celebrated across the British Empire in ways as varied as the colonies themselves, this moment would later be interpreted as Empire’s last gasp, and a relic of ideologies and practices that had diminishing relevance, and even less moral authority, as the world entered the twentieth century. In Britain, the occasion was marked by a Festival of the British Empire and a six-mile procession from Buckingham Palace to St. Paul’s Cathedral, events which drew large and cheering crowds. Even the *Pall Mall Gazette*, less prone to effusions on the glories of monarch and Empire than other newspapers, admitted that the event had transformed London into ‘a city of the future’.⁷ This focus on the Queen’s subjects was in marked contrast to that of her Golden Jubilee of 1887, which was celebrated with a lavish banquet for over fifty European royals, yacht races and military parades, events which involved minimal interaction with her subjects. A newspaper article entitled ‘Arrangements for the Jubilee Week’ recounts a

⁴ A.J.P. Taylor, *The Trouble Makers; Dissent over Foreign Policy, 1792-1939* (London, 1957).

⁵ The political and social context of the 1900 General Election is analysed in Paul A. Readman’s ‘The Conservative party, patriotism, and British politics: the case of the general election of 1900’ in the *Journal of British Studies*, xl, no. 1 (2001), pp 107-45.

⁶ Elie Halévy, *Imperialism and the rise of Labour 1895-1905* (London, 1951), pp 99-100.

⁷ *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 Jun. 1897.

mixture of private family dinners and diplomatic receptions, mostly held at Windsor Castle, away from the capital and from the prying eyes of the public.⁸ The 1897 celebrations were ostensibly more populist and democratic in their scope than their 1887 counterparts, and were in no doubt a response to the surprising strength of the republican movement in Britain, which sought to abolish the monarchy.⁹

Nevertheless, the festivities fell short of the expectations of an increasingly cynical public. Despite the apparent appetite for the excitement of spectacle, at its centre was an aging and largely disconnected monarch who, through age, infirmity and grief had long lost any meaningful connection to her people or parliament. While not explicitly stated by the press, it was obvious that the celebration marked the moment in which the public looked to the future and privately wondered how much longer the old Queen could be expected to live. However, the heir apparent inspired little confidence. Aged sixty, he was widely perceived to be a self-aggrandising debauchee, was tainted by dozens of scandals and appeared to lack the personal strength of character for consecrated kingship. The empire had never looked so magnificent, nor so frail.

Court circulars and newspapers of record sought to present the Jubilee as an event that showcased monarch, parliament and people firmly united behind the concept of the British Empire, and the wealth of benefits it brought to both Britain and the regions it governed. *The Times* recorded that ‘the eyes of the whole Empire and of millions of men beyond its pale, will be fixed on London’, and upon ‘the revered and beloved figure’ of Queen Victoria who, for many across the Empire, ‘has represented.... the principles of order, of civilisation, and of rational progress’.¹⁰ However, not all of the Queen’s subjects relished the occasion, or at the very least, the prospect of paying for it. House of Commons proceedings throughout the

⁸ *The Times*, 20 Jun. 1887.

⁹ The 1887 and 1897 jubilees are expertly compared in Walter L. Arnstein’s article ‘Queen Victoria’s diamond jubilee’ in *The American Scholar*, lxvi (Autumn 1997), pp 591-7.

¹⁰ *The Times*, 22 Jun. 1897.

summer of 1897 record continual and often swingeing squabbles about both practical arrangements and financial costings for the Jubilee celebrations. A particularly bad-tempered exchange took place in the House of Commons on 3 June 1897, when M.P.s questioned with intense hostility various practical arrangements for the festivities. These included fire suppression provision made for the illumination of the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, the participation of the India Office in celebrations, prisoners' meals on Jubilee day, traffic restrictions, policing arrangements and controversy surrounding the granting of Jubilee medals to veterans of the Crimean War.¹¹ The pettiness of some of the squabbles indicates that while elected politicians were almost universally self-declared monarchists, the trappings, pomp and immense cost of maintaining a monarch with little legitimate connection to public life was becoming increasingly tiresome, however carefully personal criticism of the Queen was phrased.

Similarly, of the 184 letters written to the editor of *The Times* in 1897 concerning the Queen's Jubilee, half complained about the expense of the celebrations or the lack of access that ordinary subjects had to events. Others used the occasion of the Jubilee year to plead on behalf of various causes including the Irish University question, rural and city health, and the apparent exclusion of so-called 'native troops' from participating in the celebrations. This is well-illustrated in an anonymous letter from the parish of Auchterless in Scotland to the *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* in April of the Jubilee year. Noting that while the Queen was 'in every sense of the word a good woman as well as a good Queen', it argued that her Jubilee should be marked by charitable works including the provision of a local hospital, as the parish lacked even a single doctor in residence.¹² While such letters were slow to directly criticise the monarch or the Jubilee itself, such preoccupations reflect an increasingly

¹¹ *The parliamentary debates*, fourth series, *House of Commons*, 3 Jun. 1897, 1, cols 155-61; Queen's Diamond Jubilee.

¹² *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 8 Apr. 1897.

complex, educated and individualistic society, which was more likely to be critical of political and social authority figures, to question the status quo, and to seek a fairer and more egalitarian social economy.

Lloyd George's warning against the dangers of New Imperialism was therefore reflective of a sizable and growing body of public opinion that was increasingly uncomfortable with Britain's imperial project, particularly its apparent lack of practical or moral relevance to contemporary mores. However, his comments also reflected a growing discomfort with the social and political status quo in general. Even in parliamentary politics, which had stagnated somewhat during the mid-nineteenth century, change could be felt. The 1895 General Election saw the Conservative Party gain more votes than the Liberals for the first time since 1841, and the formation of a Conservative government under Lord Salisbury. This Conservative dominance was achieved through a risky and previously unheard-of coalition with the Liberal Unionist Party. The Liberal defeat was gleefully described by the *Belfast Weekly News* as 'the rout of the English Radicals', an achievement which would bring 'happy results for the cause of the Union'.¹³ The 1895 election also saw a fatal split in the Irish Home Rule Party, dividing into Parnellites and anti-Parnellites, even though Charles Stewart Parnell had died in 1891. Across the Irish Sea, militant nationalism continued to present problems on both a local and national level, despite the attempts of successive Liberal governments to pacify Ireland.

Historiographical explanations for this political shift continue to be contested, with political historians such as Paul A. Readman challenging the arguments of older generations such as J. P. Cornford, who argued that the 1895 General Election was won by the Conservatives because of the fractured nature of the Liberal Party.¹⁴ Whatever the reason, the

¹³ *Belfast Weekly News*, 10 Aug. 1895.

¹⁴ Paul A. Readman, 'The 1895 general election and political change in late Victorian Britain' in *The Historical Journal*, xlii, no. 2 (Jun., 1999), pp 467-93; p. 478.

political landscape was changing rapidly, mainly in response to the societal and economic effects of the late-Victorian technological boom and the 1832 Representation of the People Act, which had significantly increased the franchise among British men. The Labour Party, although not yet an official political party or an electoral threat, was becoming increasingly organised and was gradually viewed as having the potential to collapse the two-party parliamentary system that had existed since the seventeenth century. Outside parliament, women's claims for equality had found voice in the suffragette movement, which used a variety of means, peaceful and militant, to campaign for votes for women. Trade unions, which argued that the industrial revolution and late nineteenth century technological boom had adversely impacted upon the lives of poorer Britons, became increasingly vocal, organised and vociferous in their demands for workers' rights. Near-universal primary education and increased literacy fed a growing print media, which expanded exponentially in this period, offering regionalised perspectives of world events in an accessible writing style and populist tone. The abolition of the so-called 'newspaper tax' in 1855 made newspapers more affordable, augmented circulation and facilitated a glut of new titles.¹⁵ National newspapers rushed to keep up with this new journalistic tone, as evidenced by the appearance of the *Daily Mail* in 1896. An advertisement, ironically appearing in *The Times* in the week before the *Daily Mail*'s first publication, promised that this new newspaper would 'considerably surprise its purchasers'.¹⁶ Such a claim well-illustrates the changing tone and slick marketing tactics of newspaper publishing, which increasingly sought to entertain and shock, rather than inform.

The rise of New Imperialism, the support offered by some sections of society for the Second Anglo Boer War, and the Conservative electoral victories in both the 1895 and 1900

¹⁵ Martin Hewitt, *The dawn of the cheap press in Victorian England: the end of the 'taxes on knowledge', 1849-69* (London, 2013), p. 21.

¹⁶ *The Times*, 2 May 1896.

general elections can perhaps be viewed as anachronistic, illogical and atypical of the prevailing cultural ethos of change, populism and criticism of traditional authority. However, they can also be interpreted as reactions to a world of rapid transformation, in which old certainties and the proud confidence which the British public was presumed to feel for its monarch and Empire, was being systematically eroded, not only by events such as those in South Africa, but within Britain itself. This is particularly evident in public debate over the concept of monarchy, and can be successfully traced in national and regional newspapers, even during the 1897 Jubilee celebrations. While such publications reported on the emergence of republican movements in Spain, Ireland and Belgium, they also reflect the mood of a populace that was increasingly hostile to the concept of monarchy, but nevertheless suspicious of republicanism. This is reflected in the *Cardiff Times* which, in a conflicted and sometimes contradictory editorial on the topic of the Jubilee, claimed that Britain's 'limited monarchy' allowed its subjects 'greater personal liberty and security than have yet been possible in a Republican state'.¹⁷

The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was therefore created in social, political and cultural conditions that were radically different to those from which other colonial experiments sprang. Crucially, the region was acquired and developed during a phase of intense dissatisfaction with the status quo in Britain, which gave rise to the belief that the Empire was in military, political and moral crisis. The nature of this crisis for the imperial project, and its consequences for the type of colony created in the Sudan will be examined in this chapter, allowing for the contextualisation of the acquisition of this new frontier of the British Empire with broader societal developments in late Victorian Britain.

¹⁷ *Cardiff Times*, 10 Jul. 1897.

A moment of moral crisis for the British Empire?

In his introduction to his self-professed 'old-fashioned' history of African partition, H.L. Wesseling argues that the traditional historiographical approach to the subject, dating the Scramble for Africa between the 1881 establishment of a French protectorate in Tunisia and the 1912 Treaty of Fez, holds as the most accurate interpretation of the subject.¹⁸ While this is chronologically reasonably accurate, and while his assertion that, by 1914, 90% of African territory was in European hands is correct, this interpretation belies the fact that the apparent success of this process was messy, uneven and often fiercely contested in Europe, particularly in Britain. In addition to the various economic problems and social uncertainties that beset Britain and the British Empire by 1899, the moral basis on which African territories were acquired and administered was in a state of continual shift. Intellectual, political and public opinion reacted violently to challenges such as E.D. Morel's Congo campaign and the political fall-out from the Second Anglo Boer War. Such circumstances created not only something of a distaste for further colonial expansion, but even caused many Britons to reconsider the very moral basis upon which the British Empire had been established.

The nineteenth century saw considerable shifts in European attitudes towards Africa and Africans, as various social and intellectual movements such as abolitionism, mercantilism, missionary zeal, Social Darwinism, constructive imperialism and ethnic paternalism were initiated, developed, waned and were replaced, often in reaction to mesmerising social change in Britain rather than events in Africa. In his contribution to the *Oxford History of the British Empire*, T.C. McCaskie notes that, in the early nineteenth century, most Britons encountered Africa through the prism of missionary activity, the details of which were well-disseminated to the public.¹⁹ This is particularly evident in provincial

¹⁸ H.L. Wesseling, *Divide and rule: the partition of Africa, 1880-1914* (Westport, 1996), p. 9.

¹⁹ T.C. McCaskie, 'Cultural encounters: Britain and Africa in the nineteenth century' in Andrew Porter (ed.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire: the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1999), pp 665-89; pp 674-5.

newspapers of the period, which often reported extensively on the activities of missionary societies at home and in the field. An 1838 report in the *Manchester Times and Gazette* typifies this sort of information, describing with great relish the anniversary celebrations and overseas activities of a local missionary organisation, and noting that the society had recently expanded their activities ‘in consequence of the decisive encouragement of this part of the world’.²⁰

The failure of such organisations to convert large numbers of Africans to Christianity, and later to develop industry, gradually convinced public opinion that, according to McCaskie, ‘Africans were barbarians and unable to govern themselves’.²¹ Therefore, from the mid nineteenth century onwards, writings on Africa tended to focus on barbarity and the necessity of its being brought into European control. This perspective is well-explored by Hana Horáková’s 2007 article on European perceptions of Sub-Saharan Africa in the late nineteenth century, which links the ‘uneven and asymmetrical relations’ between Africans and Europeans to the ‘enormous technological gap’ that emerged as Europe entered an age of mass media and rampant industrialisation.²² An 1897 *Times* report concerning the irrigation of land in Egypt notes that ‘a new indication of scientific progress in Africa’ was the fact that water levels in Lake Nyanza were being recorded daily, with the inference that this vital work, which allowed for the calculation of flood patterns, had never been undertaken in the region before.²³ Although missionary work continued in most parts of Africa throughout the twentieth century and into the present day, the late nineteenth century witnessed the arrival of a secular missionary movement, which sought to bring to bear technology and science as solutions to Africa’s moral problems. In the introduction to their work on the relationship

²⁰ *The Manchester Times and Gazette*, 2 Jun. 1838.

²¹ T.C. McCaskie, ‘Cultural encounters: Britain and Africa in the nineteenth century’ in Andrew Porter (ed.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire: the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1999), pp 644-89; p. 675.

²² Hana Horáková, ‘Past and present: sub-Saharan Africa in European perception’ in *Asian and African Studies*, xvi (no. 1), pp 45-54; p. 52.

²³ *The Times*, 28 Dec. 1897.

between colonial cultures and the metropole, Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler argue that one contemporary view of colonies was that of laboratories, where ‘missionaries, educators, and doctors could carry out experiments in social engineering without confronting the popular resistances and bourgeois rigidities of European society at home’.²⁴ To some extent, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan conforms to this view of empire as a secular missionary movement, as seen in the rhetoric applied to the attempted introduction of western-style midwifery practices to the region by Mabel and Gertrude and Wolff, which will be discussed in Chapter Five.

However, this shift in emphasis must be considered within the context of the British Empire at large, especially in relation to how events in mid-nineteenth century India had coloured attitudes to race, empire and reform. Earlier in the century, emphasis had been placed on industry and economic development, but the uprising of 1857 had hardened the British mindset towards India and shifted its focus to the establishment and maintenance of law and order. In her examination of nineteenth century British imperial policy, Karuna Mantena describes this rebellion as both ‘a rude awakening and a deeply disillusioning affair’ which not only compromised Britain’s confidence in what it had already achieved as imperialists in India, but heralded ‘a particularly turbulent and violent decade in imperial politics during which a number of key uprisings broke out across the empire’.²⁵ In historiographical terms, the rebellion has been controversial and contested, as evidenced by Harold E. Raugh Jr.’s recent two part article on the subject.²⁶ In her interpretation of these controversies, Mantena argues that the British Empire went through its most significant

²⁴ Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, ‘Between Metropole and Colony; Rethinking a Research Agenda’ in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds), *Tensions of Empire: colonial cultures in a bourgeois world* (Berkeley and London, 1997), pp 1-58; p. 5.

²⁵ Karuna Mantena, *Alibis of Empire; Henry Maine and the Ends of Liberal Imperialism* (Princeton and Oxford, 2010), p. 1.

²⁶ Harold E. Raugh Jr., ‘The Battle of the Books: An Indian Mutiny Historiography Parts One and Two’ in the *Journal for the Society for Army Historical Research*, xciv, no. 380 (Winter, 2016), pp 294-313 and xcv, 381 (Spring, 2017), pp 34-51.

phase of expansion when the ‘liberal, reformist ethos’ of the early nineteenth century, which sought to reform the non-Western cultures it encountered, was most contested.²⁷ Indirect rule, she argues, was a direct by-product of this new emphasis, which saw ‘native social and political forms’ directly ‘inserted into the institutional dynamics of imperial power’.²⁸ However, it can be argued, as Nicholas B. Dirks does in his examination of an earlier phase of Indian imperial history, that the concept of scandal was linked in British propaganda to India’s intrinsic barbarism, which linked imperial scandal to ‘Indian customs rather than British activities.’²⁹ Therefore, hostility to colonised populations, fostered from a belief in their inherent barbarity, was a long-standing feature of the British imperial project, decades before the events of 1857.

Nevertheless, Mantena’s arguments in favour of the ‘strategic abandonment of the liberal agenda’ is especially relevant to the type of imperial rule that developed in the Sudan, as evidenced in Cromer’s policy in Egypt, and Lord Lugard’s ‘Dual Mandate’ in Africa more generally.³⁰ Regrettably, such ideologies were also fuelled by the rise of Social Darwinism, an ugly, pseudo-scientific corruption of Charles Darwin’s theories that found voice in Herbert Spencer’s 1896 work *The Synthetic Philosophy*.³¹ The phrase ‘survival of the fittest’ was misappropriated to assert white intellectual and moral superiority over non-Europeans. While Spencer’s ideas had some limited traction among parts of British public opinion, they were also fiercely contested, and by the establishment of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, were almost thoroughly debunked. In his examination of the development of the imperial state, Christopher Prior argues that Social Darwinism was ‘of less importance in shaping

²⁷ Karuna Mantena, *Alibis of Empire; Henry Maine and the Ends of Liberal Imperialism* (Princeton and Oxford, 2010), p. 2.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain* (Harvard, 2006), pp 23-4.

³⁰ Karuna Mantena, *Alibis of Empire; Henry Maine and the Ends of Liberal Imperialism* (Princeton and Oxford, 2010), pp 6-7.

³¹ Herbert Spencer, *The Synthetic Philosophy* (London, 1896).

metropolitan thinking than has previously been assumed' and that quotidian political and social developments, such as the signing of the Anglo-Japanese treaty in 1902, was instrumental in reducing the 'racial 'gulf' that the media felt existed between the British and Japanese'.³²

A form of racial paternalism evolved in its stead, which argued that the British Empire had a responsibility to train less developed nations in civility and to prepare them for eventual limited independence through tolerance and education. In his classic examination of opponents of New Imperialism, Nicholas Owen links this paternalism to Joseph Chamberlain's policy of 'constructive imperialism', which saw the British government grant economic concessions to various parts of Empire in an attempt to hold together an increasingly discordant group of interests.³³

Economy-based criticisms of New Imperialism were also continual during these years, most of which were based on broadly socialist economic dogmas. The most influential piece of anti-imperialist rhetoric came from John Hobson's widely read 1902 work *Imperialism: A Study*, which was written in response to his experiences as a reporter for the *Manchester Guardian* covering the Second Anglo Boer War.³⁴ Arguing that the profound unfairness of wealth inequality in Britain had led to under-consumption and forced the mercantile classes to seek markets elsewhere, Hobson believed that New Imperialism was little more than a coalition of factory owners, arms manufacturers, shipping magnates and minor aristocrats of little talent who sought employment abroad. Later critics such as John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson disagreed with Hobson's thesis, arguing that too much emphasis had been placed by theorists on the official Empire, at the expense of the informal empire of trade and diplomacy which was at least as influential, if not more significant, as the

³² Christopher Prior, *Exporting Empire: Africa, colonial officials and the construction of the British Imperial State, c. 1900-39* (Manchester, 2013), p. 54.

³³ Nicholas Owen, *The British left and India: metropolitan anti-imperialism, 1885-1947* (Oxford, 2007), p.192.

³⁴ John Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study* (London, 1902).

formal one.³⁵ Therefore, while much of Hobson's argument failed to stand up to the detailed analyses made by later generations of economic historians, and largely ignored the complicated, multi-faceted political, social and economic reality of Empire, his ideas chimed well with a growing undercurrent of dissatisfaction, and intellectual distaste for the traditional tropes of establishment and Empire.

Hobson's work, and that of the many writers who admired his views, fully utilised the convenient example of the economic cost of Britain's most important colony. By 1897, the cost of running the Indian Civil Service, whose numbers had increased exponentially since its foundation in 1858, was of particular concern to the British public.³⁶ Addressing the annual Civil Service dinner in June 1897, Lord Dufferin, seemingly cognisant of this public concern, defended the Indian Civil Service from its critics, noting that the service rarely felt 'the sunshine of public appreciation'.³⁷ In spite of the presentation of Britain as an imperial nation in the Jubilee year, there was a growing feeling that Empire was becoming a fiscal as well as moral liability, rather than an asset.

However, it was the series of humanitarian crises that came into British public consciousness at the end of the nineteenth century that did most to create a sense of disdain for New Imperialism. The horrors of King Leopold II's personal fiefdom in the Belgian Congo, particularly the atrocities committed in the search for and processing of rubber, is one of the best-known episodes of African and colonial history, provoking outrage to the present day. Often presented as a *de facto* argument against all colonial experiments, it placed the region under the theoretical personal protection of King Leopold of the Belgians.

Administrators, selected in the main from Brussels and with little experience of and no sympathy for African life, were quickly and carelessly appointed, and given personal

³⁵ John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, 'The imperialism of free trade' in *The Economic History Review*, vi, no. 1 (1953), pp 1-15.

³⁶ A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, *Britain's Imperial Administrators, 1958-1966* (Oxford, 2000), p. 51.

³⁷ *The Times*, 12 Jun. 1897.

financial incentives to oversee the production of rubber, a highly valuable commodity in the rapid industrialisation of the late nineteenth century.³⁸

The consequences of the decision to effectively outsource the production of such a valuable commodity to private individuals are well-known and have been intensely studied for the past century.³⁹ The Congo rubber atrocities, presented to the British public in photographic form, and via an increasingly sophisticated popular press, forever altered its perception of Africa, offering the public at large easily-digested visual images of savagery, exploitation and death. What is less understood in the present age is the extent to which the British, rather than the Belgian government, faced the brunt of public hostility for its part in the outrage. Much of this outrage focused on the apparent unwillingness of the British government to become involved in the issue, a fact that many groupings in British society rushed to make political and moral capital of.

The Foreign Office was especially concerned by the campaigns of H.R. Fox-Browne, who had championed the rights of Africans via his Aborigines' Protection Society, which eventually called for the reconvention of the Berlin Conference as a strong and Europe-wide response to the crisis.⁴⁰ Instead of such a radical and potentially destabilising move, which had the capacity to destroy the carefully-crafted *Pax Britannia*, the Foreign Office opted instead to use diplomatic channels to formally object to Belgium's breaching of the mercantile and humanitarian terms of the Berlin Act. Such a response seemed impotent, and even cynical, in the face of such brutality.

Today, Roger Casement's 1904 report of the abuses in the region is perhaps the best-known aspect of the Congo rubber atrocities, but according to William Roger Louis's seminal

³⁸ Roger Anstey, 'The Congo rubber atrocities – a case study' in *African Historical Studies*, iv, no. 1 (1971), pp 59-76; p. 61.

³⁹ The best-known recent examination of these incidents is Adam Hochschild's *King Leopold's ghosts: a story of greed, terror and heroism in colonial Africa* (London, 1998).

⁴⁰ Kenneth D. Nwurah, 'The Aborigines' protection society, 1889-1909: a pressure-group in colonial policy' in the *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, v, no. 1 (1971), pp 79-91; p. 83.

1964 article on the subject, the lack of response from official sources to this report is surprising.⁴¹ Revealingly, while the report was widely commented upon in the international press, particularly in America, where Casement's campaign had received greatest support, at no point did *The Times* publish a leading article on the subject. Likewise, although the Congo was the topic of a House of Commons debate, the tone of the official government response was pragmatic to the point of cynicism, focusing on procedural matters, such as the legal status of the Congo and the possible use of unofficial diplomatic processes to resolve the crisis.⁴² Unsurprisingly, such apparent political impotence, disinterest and even pessimism, reinforced among many parts of British public opinion a prevailing sense of unease with the political status quo and Britain's involvement in African affairs.

Parallel to the public outrage expressed at events in the Congo was the outcry over the prosecution of the Second Anglo Boer War, creating intense distaste for the martial values that were so crucial to the expansion and continuation of the British Empire. War had first broken out in the region in the 1880s, after several generations of uneasy peace between British and Dutch settlers in the region. The discovery of mineral wealth in Boer-held areas, and the rational determination of the Boer Prime Minister Paul Kruger to exploit this find for his own people's purposes, significantly increased tension in the region, especially when Kruger proposed a rail line directly to Mozambique, giving the Boers a communication line to the greater world that was not dependent on British goodwill.

Arguably, the British public's initial reaction to the Second Anglo Boer War foreshadowed some aspects of the First World War, with a significant upsurge in public and practical patriotism. Numerous charities, established on a local level to support soldiers and their families, appeared during the campaign, and in the years that followed there was

⁴¹ William Roger Louis, 'Roger Casement and the Congo' in *The Journal of African History*, v, no. 1 (1964), pp 99-120; p. 117.

⁴² *The parliamentary debates*, fourth series, *House of Commons*, 9 Jun. 1904, cxxxv, cols 1201-1324; Casement Report.

continual fundraising to provide care to injured soldiers and to fund the erection of commemorative monuments. In October 1899, three weeks after the outbreak of war, the London-based *Daily News* reported that £63,000 had already been collected for the care of injured soldiers, widows and orphans and other charitable activities connected to the war.⁴³ To some extent at least, Britain seemed united behind the colonial project. Yet below the surface lay a far less united Britain, with a public that was increasingly vocal in its opposition to the brutal manner in which the war was prosecuted. Events in South Africa, John M. MacKenzie argues, which on one level saw an enhanced public interest in the British imperial project, may also have been responsible for ‘cracking the imperial spirit’.⁴⁴

The motivations behind Kitchener’s decision to detain Boer non-combatants continues to be both under-researched and fiercely contested by historians, but there is more or less consensus on the impact that images of sick and starving Boer women and children, which flooded print media, had on public opinion. The work of Emily Hobhouse, who publicised in Britain the conditions in places of Boer detainment such as the Bloemfontein concentration camp in her 1902 work *The Brunt of the War and Where it Fell*, was particularly effective in the dissemination of these images.⁴⁵ In addition to selling approximately 300,000 copies in Great Britain, a further 100,000 copies were sold in the United States, Canada, Germany and France.⁴⁶

Hobhouse used, to great effect, the British Army’s own disciplinary procedures to criticise its prosecution of the war in South Africa, noting that its 1899 *Manual of Military Law* explains that ‘as the object of war is confined to disabling the enemy, the infliction of

⁴³ *Daily News*, 31 Oct. 1899.

⁴⁴ John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion 1880-1960* (Studies in Imperialism) (Manchester, 1986), p. 9.

⁴⁵ Emily Hobhouse, *The Brunt of the War and Where it Fell* (London, 1902).

⁴⁶ John M. MacKenzie, ‘Passion or indifference? Popular imperialism in Britain: continuities and discontinuities over two centuries’ in John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *European empires and the people: Popular responses to Imperialism in France, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Italy* (Studies in Imperialism) (Manchester, 2011), pp 57-89; pp 70-1.

any injuries beyond that which is required to produce disability is needless cruelty'.⁴⁷ This was a deft piece of rhetoric employed by Hobhouse, presenting the British Army in South Africa as a fundamentally amoral force, which had lost faith even in its own self-imposed values of fairness and compassion. Furthermore, the fact that the images and accounts emerging from these camps depicted white women and children of European ancestry, cast a dark psychological shadow over the war, and over the very idea of British colonial expansion in general.

Therefore, even when the moral argument of 'saving' the Sudan from Mahdist brutality was being vociferously and articulately made by some sections of British public opinion, such as the pamphlet-producing Patriotic Association, expansion into another part of Africa never looked so unappealing.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the assumption of a new set of moral responsibilities to an unknown people, and over a vast and varied territory, never looked so dauntingly out of step with popular opinion.

Contemporary popular depictions of late Victorian Britain vacillate between the lurid violence and carnality of London street culture and the staid world of upper- and middle-class domestic life. We are still uncertain whether the figure which most epitomises Victorian Britain is Jack the Ripper or Queen Victoria. Both are equally encrusted in successive layers of myth and misunderstanding, and both continue to fascinate us on both a scholarly and popular level. Today, the Victorian age is both remote and familiar. In contemporary popular culture it is used as a lazy shortcut to embody the prosperity and propriety of the 'olden days', as well as poverty and ignorance. While these vacillations are indicative of the inherent confusions and contradictions of the age, they may also be representative of our contemporary insistence on over-simplifying the period in question, despite the existence of

⁴⁷ Emily Hobhouse, *The Brunt of the War and Where it Fell* (London, 1902), xiii.

⁴⁸ The impact of the Patriotic Association's pamphlet, *The Soudan 1882 to 1897; a memory and a nemesis. The story of Gordon and the great betrayal* (London, 1897), will be discussed in Chapter Three.

extensive primary sources that chart this era of dizzying social uncertainty, political fragmentation and technological change.

Behind the façade of Victorian moral clichés of monarch, empire, family, emotional reticence and duty lay a febrile, hysterical and frequently squalid world, which even today seems lurid and distasteful. In reality, people's moral compass had been shaken by modernity, with traditional practices effectively collapsing in the last decade of Victoria's reign where, according to the cultural historian J. Jeffrey Franklin, weekly church attendance fell to around 27% in the 1890s to 1910s.⁴⁹ No amount of jingoistic martial music, lithographic images of the Queen or printed copies of pious sermons, tropes we continue to associate with late Victorian Britain, could sanitise the selfish, corrupt, immoral world that was grist for the mill of so many novelists, then and now.

In her recent examination of the presentation and depiction of the human body in Victorian Britain, Kathryn Hughes uses the murder of Fanny Adams, an eight-year-old child, to illustrate the sordidness and cynicism of mid-Victorian Britain, noting that paedophilia did not legally exist, and while Victorians were neither 'naïve [n]or stupid' about such matters, the rape of a child was a 'minor offence' if under twelve, and not a criminal act if over that age.⁵⁰ Fanny Adams' rape, murder, dismemberment and dispersal among the hop fields of Hampshire, her attacker's trial and his eventual Christmas Eve execution were all reported upon in slavering detail by cheap and sensationalist newspapers such as the *Illustrated Police News*. In a world without libel laws or press regulations, such newspapers were effectively free to print what they wished, provided the subject was poor and powerless. During the trial of Adams' murderer, a particularly disturbing edition of the *Illustrated Police News* contained lurid line drawings of the crime scene, including that of the victim's dismembered

⁴⁹ J. Jeffrey Franklin, *Spirit matters: occult beliefs, alternative religions and the crisis of faith in Victorian Britain* (Ithaca and London, 2018), p. 178.

⁵⁰ Kathryn Hughes, *Victorians undone; tales of the flesh in the age of decorum* (London, 2017), p. 358.

body.⁵¹ Kathryn Hughes contends that contemporary middle-class responses to the case, focused around the character of the victim, her family's low economic status, and her alleged sexual precociousness which made her a consenting participant in her own demise, reflected Victorian anxieties about poverty, class, morality and crime.⁵² Such anxieties mirror a people that had lost confidence in its own national moral compass. It is hardly surprising therefore that the British public, obsessed with immorality and wrongdoing among certain classes in their own country, suddenly felt ill-qualified or prepared to spread British values to the wider world.

While large numbers of Victorian philanthropists - and philanthrocapitalists - attempted to address the joint evils of poverty and immorality through education, good works, campaigns and public debates, little progress, either in the elimination of social ills, or in official responses to them, had been achieved by the end of the century. The second Industrial Revolution in Britain in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, more rapid and all-consuming than its eighteenth century predecessor, saw a significant rise in the living standards of the middle and lower-middle classes, who benefitted from cheaper consumer goods and better public services.⁵³ However, these developments did little to improve the lives of large numbers of unskilled workers moving into cities such as London and Manchester in search of employment, or the emergence of a vast urban underclass whose transitory and fractured lives caused them to be classed by charitable institutions as 'undeserving poor'. Even the enormous industrial machine of late-Victorian London was unable to provide the jobs and infrastructure to house and feed this mass of humanity.

If nothing else was achieved by newspapers' obsessive reporting of the Ripper murders in 1888, it laid bare the world of prostitution, poverty and despair in which the

⁵¹ *The Illustrated Police News*, Jan. 1868.

⁵² Kathryn Hughes, *Victorians undone; tales of the flesh in the age of decorum* (London, 2017), pp 314-6.

⁵³ For a description of this process please see H. Stanley Jevons' classic article 'The second industrial revolution' in *The Economic Journal*, xli, no. 161 (Mar., 1931), pp 1-18.

outrages had taken place. The trial of Oscar Wilde in 1895, similarly reported on obsessively by an almost hysterically sensationalist press, also laid bare the exploitative nature of the upper echelons of society, particularly the strata inhabited by aristocrats and artists, which pointedly challenged the prevailing assumption that crime and immorality were the preserve of the poorer classes in Britain.

In the same month as Oscar Wilde's trial, in a world far away from London, the husband and relatives of Brigid Cleary from Ballyvadlea in Co. Tipperary were accused of her murder by torture and burning, conducted, they argued, because they believed that Cleary had been bodily and metaphysically possessed by an evil spirit.⁵⁴ This trial added a new dimension of fear and loathing, largely based on crude racial stereotypes, to the Irish Question, which despite a series of Gladstone-era attempts at pacification, refused to go away. Alongside such irrational hysteria, the late Victorian scientific boom had ushered in a host of inventions and technologies such as electric lighting, telephony, x-rays and fingerprinting, which continue in their utility to the present age. At no point in human history did the new clash with the old, or the external appearance of civic virtue clash with such a murky and confusing reality.

It is hardly surprising that one of the most popular books of the era was Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, which charts a tale of bodily corruption and carnal violence as literary representations of public moral degeneration. While critical responses to the work have varied in perspective over the years, it is virtually impossible not to link the story of Count Dracula's English sojourn to Victorian anxieties about women's calls for liberation, homosexuality, the threat posed by the overseas empire and even the increasingly intrusive and sensationalist nature of the press. It is equally unsurprising that Lloyd George finished

⁵⁴ For a discussion of this case, please see Angela Bourke's *The burning of Bridget Cleary; a true story* (Dublin, 2001).

his speech to the Palmerston Club by calling for a return to the ‘sound, healthy and robust principles of Fox, Cobden, Bright and, above all, Gladstone’, essentially likening the body politic to a diseased and corrupted physical body.⁵⁵ It came to pass therefore, that almost by chance, this fractured, atomised and emotionally febrile world gave birth to a new frontier of the British Empire.

While the nature of Britain’s acquisition and administration of the Sudan must be primarily assessed via the prism of the systematic crises of confidence experienced by the British imperial project at the end of the nineteenth century, other factors, not wholly unconnected to these crises, must also be examined. The most significant of these factors was the structural uniqueness of the enterprise, being the only known example of cooperative colonialism in the late-nineteenth century world. Moreover, this experiment in cooperative colonialism was conducted alongside a nation that Britain was historically suspicious of, and whom it hoped to side-line from the agreement it made with her as quickly as possible. Secondly, for reasons both pragmatic and ideological, the administration adopted firstly an unofficial, and later on a formal policy of governing the north and the south of the region as separate entities. Thirdly, the administration created for itself a series of foundation myths, which became incorporated into practically every part of the Sudan Government. This foundation mythology is especially apparent in British accounts of personal interactions with Egyptian and Sudanese participants of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium and will be discussed elsewhere in this study. These three factors are key to our understanding of not only the administration itself, but how and why Anglo-Egyptian Sudan operated in a manner so different from other parts of the British Empire.

⁵⁵ *The Times*, 29 Jan. 1900.

Cooperative imperialism - a diplomatic ‘fourth dimension’?

It is not in the usual nature of imperial ambition for a state to ally itself to another power in the government of another nation. Therefore, this arrangement, described by Winston Churchill as a ‘diplomatic fourth dimension’, was *terra incognita* and fraught with difficulty and complication from the outset.⁵⁶ Added to this difficulty was the fact that while Egypt was a familiar place to well-educated Britons, and which fascinated them as a nation infused with culture and history, a long-held national dislike of Egyptian people would make the relationship between the Condominium partners tense, almost to the extent of making the Condominium Agreement unworkable.

In her examination of the late nineteenth century *Pax Britannica*, Jan Morris sums up the complicated nature of Britain’s feelings towards Egypt. Describing it as a place which ‘possessed for the British an almost pathological fascination’, it held sentimental and cultural interest as well as practical value, becoming ‘inextricably linked.....with the story of the Pax Britannica; Nelson at the Nile, the romance of the Overland Route, Gordon’s death, Gladstone and Alexandria, [and] the passage of liners down the Suez Canal’.⁵⁷ This, Morris argues, made Egypt ‘alternatively a beacon and a blind spot’ for Victorian Britain, and would therefore have a profound impact on how the Condominium worked on a practical level, particularly as British administrators vacillated between fascination with the majesty and splendour of Egypt’s pharaonic past and the alleged shabbiness and corruption of its contemporary reality.⁵⁸

Egypt’s geographical location, where Europe, Africa and the Middle East intersect, has resulted in millennia of invasion, immigration and cultural assimilation, creating a complex and sometimes clashing mixture of cultural, ethnic and religious identities. Writing

⁵⁶Winston Spencer Churchill and F.W. Rhodes (ed.), *The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan*, vol. i, (London, 1899), p. 326.

⁵⁷ Jan Morris, *Pax Britannica: The climax of an empire* (London, 1998), p. 206.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

of a visit to the pyramids at Giza in 1897, a traveller marvelled at the diversity of ethnicities, and resulting variety of consumer goods in Cairo, noting with excitement that ‘there are all sorts of bazaars – Syrian, Egyptian, Soudanese, and Turkish’.⁵⁹ In her examination of the British takeover of Egypt in the 1880s, Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid-Marsot explains this mixture, noting that in 1882 there were over 90,000 foreigners living in Cairo.⁶⁰ Among the indigenous population, Egyptians might identify as Arab, African, Levantine, French or even another cultural identity.

Therefore, in attempting to govern the Sudan in conjunction with Egypt, Britain allied itself not to one culture or nation, but to a myriad of competing cultures. This can be seen in the memoirs of the writer André Aciman, which describe his childhood in Alexandria, where his Jewish parents had settled in the early twentieth century. Although his family was of Turkish and Italian origin, he grew up in a culturally French household, attended a British school and listened to his relatives speaking Greek, Arabic and Ladino.⁶¹ Britain’s inability to understand and negotiate these complexities, and the dislike for Egyptians which it fostered, will be a major theme in this work, particularly in Chapter Three, which will explore, among other relationships, personal interactions between British-born administrators and the Egyptians they encountered.

British involvement in Egypt stretched back to the sixteenth century, with the Levant Company, established in 1581, building factories and developing mercantile links in Alexandria during these years. Robert Feddin notes that in cultural terms, Egypt has been of interest to Britons long before the significant archaeological discoveries of the late nineteenth century, becoming an extension of the Grand Tour by the early 1700s.⁶² In his examination of

⁵⁹ *The Dundee Courier & Argus*, 14 Jan. 1897.

⁶⁰ Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid-Marsot, ‘The British occupation of Egypt from 1882’ in Andrew Porter (ed.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire: the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1999), pp 651-64; p. 652.

⁶¹ André Aciman, *Out of Egypt; a memoir* (London, 1996).

⁶² Robin Feddin, *Egypt: land of the valley* (Southampton, 1977), pp 14-5.

travel literature, John Barrell identifies the mid-nineteenth century as ‘the high point of admiration in Europe and the United States of the culture of the Ancient Egyptians’, but notes that in ‘the tourist literature of the period, admiration of the Ancient Egyptians seems to grow at the expense of any respect for the civilisation of modern Egypt’.⁶³ Such attitudes are evident in contemporary pseudo-historical works on Egypt, including those of George Birbeck Hill who, in his highly popular edition of Charles Gordon’s letters from Central Africa, repeats Speke’s opinions on the Egyptians, describing them as ‘vile ruffian traders’ for whom ‘fighting, robbing, and capturing slaves and cattle’ was routine.⁶⁴

Much of this anti-Egyptian sentiment was symptomatic of a piece of late-eighteenth century “junk science” that linked Egypt’s political instability to its climate. Hot climates, this so-called degeneration thesis argued, gave rise to political circumstances that fostered brutality and tyranny. The degeneration thesis was, in effect, a widely believed and influential form of pseudo-scientific racism, many decades before the Social Darwinism of the late nineteenth century or the eugenics of the twentieth. Evidence exists to suggest that it is even older than John Barrell’s arguments claim. In an anonymous article in 1790, *The Times* lists the Egyptian king among a list of ‘the reliques of despotism in Africa, Asia, and America’.⁶⁵ Indeed, before the nineteenth century, most Europeans’ only information about Egypt or Egyptians came from the Old Testament, which depicts pharaonic Egypt as brutal, corrupt and impious.

The degeneration thesis was slow to disappear and can be identified in writings about Egypt throughout the twentieth century. Even as late as the 1960s, faint traces of this bias can be seen in discussions of Egyptian history and politics, with the American spy and writer

⁶³ John Barrell, ‘Death on the Nile: fantasy and the literature of tourism 1849-60’ in Catherine Hall (ed.) *Cultures of empire: colonizers in Britain and the empire in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; a reader* (Manchester, 2000), pp 187-206; p. 187.

⁶⁴ Captain Speke, ‘What led to the discovery of the sources of the Nile’ (p. 367), quoted in George Birbeck Hill (ed.), *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa 1874-1879* (London, 1881), xxxiii.

⁶⁵ *The Times*, 22 Nov. 1790.

Donald N. Wilber commenting that ‘throughout recorded history, one of the main features of political organisation in Egypt has been its authoritarian character as represented by a highly centralised form of government and a strong chief executive’.⁶⁶ However, in terms of British attitudes towards the Egyptians, the most significant writings on the degeneracy of the region are those resulting from or in response to Napoleon Bonaparte’s short sojourn in Egypt, when he attempted to impose the ideals of the French Revolution on the country through the establishment of a French-style civil administration. Works such as Jacques Miot’s *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire des expéditions en Égypte et en Syrie*, relate not only tales of French savagery toward local populations, but the inherent brutality of Egyptian life.⁶⁷ Such writings offer a fascinating glimpse into the reality of early attitudes to African races, and bore little connection to the lofty ideas proposed in the classic texts of the Enlightenment canon, such as Rousseau’s *Discourse on Inequality*, where less urbane societies are lauded over more sophisticated European social and political regimes.⁶⁸

In 1798, attempting to disrupt sea trade between Britain and India, approximately 36,000 French troops, personally commanded by Bonaparte, invaded Egypt. This force was initially successful, defeating Ottoman and Egyptian troops at the Battle of the Pyramids, but British forces, who augmented the now-weakened Ottoman troops, entered Egypt and defeated Bonaparte at the Battle of Abu Kir Bay.⁶⁹ This was partially accomplished by the destruction of the French naval fleet by Nelson. Although Bonaparte attempted to create a French colony by appointing General Baron de Menou governor of the region and initiating the formation of a French-style bureaucracy, his serious attempt to conquer the country came to an end when he left Egypt in 1799. After further British and Ottoman aggression, the

⁶⁶ Donald N. Wilber, *Egypt; its people; its society; its culture* (New Haven, 1969), p. 133.

⁶⁷ J. Miot, *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire des expéditions en Égypte et en Syrie* (Paris, 1814).

⁶⁸ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Discourse on inequality* (Geneva, 1754).

⁶⁹ These events are described in detail in Juan Cole’s *Napoleon’s Egypt; invading the Middle East* (New York, 2007).

French army left the region entirely in 1801, thus officially ending French presence in Egypt. Bonaparte's exploits and eventual defeats in Egypt were watched with interest in Britain, to the extent that, as John M. MacKenzie describes in his exploration of popular imperialism, Nelson became 'a major theatrical hero of the age', whose exploits were depicted 'within the proscenium arch or the tanks of the aquatic theatres' of London.⁷⁰

However, the disruption of trade between Britain and India was only one of several stated reasons for Bonaparte's interest in Egypt. In her examination of Egyptian life through the ages, Barbara Watterson argues that Bonaparte also sought to remedy the social, political and cultural degeneration that was, in European minds, associated with modern Egyptian life by spreading the ideals of the French Revolution.⁷¹ Using an appointed advisory body of 189 prominent Egyptians, Bonaparte attempted to set up French-style regionalised government, and via a series of decrees introduced modern conveniences such as a postal system, stage coaches, newspapers, coinage, health care, and began an ambitious programme of mapping the region.⁷²

Such work was overseen by a large body of scholars from various fields, who made up the Institut d'Égypte in Cairo, which was a branch of the Institut de France. Its greatest achievement was the 1802 publication of *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte*.⁷³ The illustrations in the work, which were produced by Vivant Denon, were later reproduced in the multi-volumed, *Description de l'Égypte*, which was published by the French government.⁷⁴ Like Jacques Miot's military memoirs, these works were well-disseminated in Europe and had, according to Watterson 'a profound effect on European scholarship, and were in large

⁷⁰ John M. MacKenzie, 'Passion or indifference? Popular imperialism in Britain: continuities and discontinuities over two centuries' in John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *European empires and the people: Popular responses to Imperialism in France, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Italy* (Studies in Imperialism) (Manchester, 2011), pp 57-89; p. 65.

⁷¹ Barbara Watterson, *The Egyptians* (London, 1997), p. 265.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp 265-6.

⁷³ Vivant Denon, *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte* (Paris, 1802).

⁷⁴ *Description de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1809-29).

part the means through which the western world would learn of Egypt's great cultural heritage'.⁷⁵ The discovery of the Rosetta Stone by the French further linked French scholarship to Egyptian culture and heritage, even after it was seized by the British.⁷⁶

The sense of competing cultures felt in Egypt is particularly evident in the civil administration of the country which, although considered reasonably well-organised, was hampered by structural problems that reflected its variety of identities and complex historical legacy. The country's cultural connection to Turkey meant that relatively efficient Istanbul-type administrative practices were used in most parts of civil government. However, Bonaparte's short-lived attempt to govern the region partially overlaid existing administrative structures with a French system of regional government, dividing the country into a network of prefectures and sous-prefectures.⁷⁷

The primary reason for Britain's decision to launch a total military conquest of the region in 1896 continues to divide historians, but it is clear that strategic considerations, public opinion, mercantilism and genuine humanitarian motives played a part in the decision. The Sudan had too few natural resources to make it intrinsically attractive enough to incorporate into the British Empire by itself, but its political and cultural ties to Egypt, existing since ancient times, made it a geopolitically important zone, especially after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, which linked Britain to her possessions in the east.

Egypt, long a vassal state to Turkey, began expanding southwards into the Sudan, citing a desire to end the slave trade in the region. This development made Britain nervous, as any instability in the region would potentially affect her access to the Suez Canal. It was also a worry that France would gain influence in the region, a possibility that would later appear to be confirmed by the Fashoda Incident in 1898. However, involvement in Egypt also meant

⁷⁵ Barbara Watterson, *The Egyptians* (London, 1997), p. 266.

⁷⁶ M. V. Seton-Williams, *A short history of Egypt* (London, 1989), p. 39.

⁷⁷ Randall Fegley, *Beyond Khartoum; a history of sub-national government in Sudan* (New Jersey, 2010) p. 2.

involvement in the ever-complicated relationship between Egypt and the Sudan, which was further complicated by Egypt's strengthening ties to the Ottoman Empire.

Britain, although conscious of these issues, avoided all-out military action until 1885 when the Mahdi, Muhammad Ahmad bin Abd Allah, overthrew Egyptian control of the Sudan, establishing instead the Mahdiyya, an Islamic religious state.⁷⁸ This development greatly worried Britain, because the Mahdi, declaring his regime to be divinely ordained, believed that he was obliged to start a holy war against Egypt and, by extension, the British Empire. While contemporary political rhetoric continually reinforced the idea that Britain was involved in the region only to support the rule of the Khedive, mercantile considerations were paramount. Decades of financial mismanagement had eroded confidence in the Egyptian economy, which plunged the country into economic and political crisis from 1875. Letters to national newspapers during this period interweave the issue of financial and political uncertainty with Britain's obligation to oppose slavery in the region. However, as early as 1874, some commentators identified this stance as little more than moral opportunism, with one letter to *The Times* pointing out that slavery was 'so far discountenanced in Egypt that any person, male or female' could seek manumission by simply demanding it at any police station.⁷⁹

British and French investments in the region were potentially jeopardised by political uncertainty or, as Robert Feddin argues in his 1977 survey of Egyptian history; the recovery of Britain's financial stake in the country depended on a measure of prosperity. Egypt was greatly in need of that organisation, easily available justice, and lack of corruption, which followed.⁸⁰ These ideas were not new in Britain; Queen Victoria's speech to parliament in February 1884 was clearly intended to promote the idea that involvement in the region was a

⁷⁸ Randall Fegley, *Beyond Khartoum; a history of sub-national government in Sudan* (New Jersey, 2010), p. 3.

⁷⁹ *The Times*, 2 Jul. 1874.

⁸⁰ Robin Feddin, *Egypt: land of the valley* (Southampton, 1977), pp 137-8.

moral duty rather than an act of mercantile and political expediency. Declaring that her government had 'every reason to be satisfied with the tranquillity of Egypt', she qualified this by observing the difficulty of the 'social conditions of the country'.⁸¹

These economic problems were further intensified by colonial rivalry. Although the Treaty of Berlin saw Britain and France agree to seek separate spheres of colonial influence in Africa, Egypt, and by extension the Sudan, the region was a flashpoint, as the Fashoda Incident had demonstrated. Graham F. Thomas notes that 'it was out of the question that Egypt, although under British control should be allowed to annexe the Sudan, while it was equally unacceptable to create an undistinguished British colonial administration'.⁸² In essence, the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Agreement of 1899 gave Britain a diplomatic fig-leaf by which it could influence Egypt and govern the Sudan under the guise of supporting the existing rule of law. Of particular propaganda importance to British interests in this respect was Article 11 of the Condominium Agreement, which outlawed slavery in the region which, according to M.W. Daly, 'gave expression to one of the cherished and oft-repeated reasons for British participation in the conquest: the abolition of the slave trade had been one of Gordon's principal objects'.⁸³ Given the failure and frequent unwillingness of colonial administrators to actively enforce anti-slavery measures, it is difficult not to view this article as cynical in the extreme.

In January 1899 the frontier between Egypt and the Sudan was established along the 22nd Parallel, creating a geographic basis for the new state.⁸⁴ Whatever the practical reality, the terms of the Condominium Agreement emphasised the parity of esteem upon which the arrangement was based:

⁸¹ *The London Gazette*, 8 Feb. 1884.

⁸² Graham F. Thomas, *Sudan: Struggle for survival* (London, 1993), p. 3.

⁸³ M.W. Daly, *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1898-1934* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 18.

⁸⁴ Abdelrakman Ali Mohammed and Derek Weslsly, 'Early states on the Nile' in Sulimar Baldo, Madut Jok, John Kyle and Justin Willis (eds), *The Sudan Handbook* (London 2011), pp 58-69, p. 23.

The text of the agreement of 1899, on which the administration is based, provides for the administration of the territory south of the 22nd parallel of latitude by a Governor-General, appointed by Egypt with the assent of Great Britain, and declares the general principles in accordance with which the administration shall be carried on. The British and Egyptian flags shall be used together; laws shall be made by proclamation; no duties shall be levied on imports from Egypt; and duties on imports from other countries shall not exceed those levied in Egypt; the import and export of slaves is prohibited.⁸⁵

In theory at least, this document put into place a fair and well-defined framework for the joint administration of the Sudan, with ‘the two Governments acting in concert’.⁸⁶ It is debatable however, whether the lofty-sounding Condominium Agreement, in which her 'Britannic Majesty's government and the Government of His Highness the Khedive of Egypt' agreed to co-rule the Sudan in respectful unity, was ever believed to be a realistic prospect, however careful and diplomatic their choice of language was.

M.W. Daly argues that Britain’s condominium arrangement made for the government of the Sudan was not based upon a decision ‘hastily taken after the battle of Omdurman but was the result of several years of desultory consultation between Lord Cromer and London’, dating back to the beginning of the Sudan campaigns in March 1896.⁸⁷ At no point, Daly argues, was the condominium solution any more than an attempt to ‘overcome Egyptian opposition to what was (correctly) seen as a campaign undertaken in pursuit of British rather than Egyptian interests, and partly to forestall European criticism of British expansionism’.⁸⁸ In reality, these circumstances created a *de facto* corner of the British Empire that was legally, structurally and culturally unique, as demonstrated by the fact that, as Christopher

⁸⁵ Edward Gleichen (ed.), *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; a compendium prepared by officers of the Sudan Government* (London, 1905), p. 2.

⁸⁶ ‘Agreement between her Britannic Majesty’s Government and the Government of his Highness the Khedive of Egypt relative to the future administration of the Sudan’ (1899), published in Edward Gleichen (ed.), *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; a compendium prepared by officers of the Sudan Government* (London, 1905), pp 283-4, p. 283.

⁸⁷ M.W. Daly, *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1898-1934* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 11.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

Prior argues, the Sudan was in 1913 the only part of the British Empire that continued to be overseen by the Foreign rather than Colonial Office, ‘thanks to its special Condominium status’.⁸⁹

This distinction, described by Grace Marie Brown as a ‘bureaucratic sleight of hand’, was to colour how colonial administrators saw themselves, the Sudanese, and the relationship between the two, for the rest of the administration.⁹⁰ This is echoed in the interviews with British-born ex-colonial officials interviewed for Daly and Francis Deng’s examination of personal relationships in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, many of whom ‘objected quite strongly to the use of the word “colonialism” to describe what they considered a unique arrangement’.⁹¹ While Daly and Deng argue that their objections to the word “colonialism” in relation to the Sudan, might simply indicate ‘an unmistakable judgement of value about what they were doing and a genuine sense of discomfort about the moral connotations of the word “colonialism”’, it is nevertheless indicative of administrators’ somewhat naïve or perhaps disingenuous view of Britain’s role in the region.⁹² Administrators’ unwillingness to accept the word “colonialism” has been similarly examined by Heather J. Sharkey, who argues that denial of the Sudan’s status as a colony was ‘a badge of professional faith’.⁹³

In her examination of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Janice Boddy argues that another crucial aspect of the region’s legal status as a non-colony was the fact that the Sudan was ‘merely governed’ but ‘never settled by the British’.⁹⁴ In other parts of Africa, she argues, ‘European missionaries, settlers, and commercial interests were ensconced well before the

⁸⁹ Christopher Prior, *Exporting Empire: Africa, colonial officials and the construction of the British Imperial State, c. 1900-39* (Manchester, 2013), p. 7.

⁹⁰ Marie Grace Brown, *Khartoum at Night: Fashion and Body Politics in Imperial Sudan* (Stanford, 2017), p. 23.

⁹¹ M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), p. 6.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism; Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley & London, 2003), pp 5-6.

⁹⁴ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 5.

start of colonial rule'.⁹⁵ The Sudan however was radically different, with the creation of an *ab initio* political administration, which made 'colonial transition a top-down affair'. Unlike British colonies elsewhere in Africa, 'land alienation was preserved by limiting foreign ownership' and non-Sudanese residents in the region, whether senior government figures or poorly-paid manual labourers, did not settle permanently there.

Foundation myths as state building.

Mythmaking as a form of state building is not peculiar to the establishment of the Sudan, and can be traced back to the ancient world and forward into contemporary geopolitics. Victorian Britain was especially skilled at promoting itself as an inheritor of ancient wisdom, myth and ceremony, intended to reflect or even create *ab initio* contemporary values rather than accurately represent the past. This is particularly evident in the development of rituals such as the coronation of monarchs, the state opening of Parliament and garter knight processions which, while appearing medieval, were devised for the purposes of public spectacle, social cohesion and the promotion of the concept of the *Pax Britannica*. In his examination of English coronation rituals through history, Roy Strong notes that while the core ritual of coronation is unchanged from its medieval origins, its music and other subsidiary ceremonies associated with the ritual have been continually adapted to serve contemporary purposes.⁹⁶ This was especially evident at Queen Victoria's coronation in 1838, when the anthem 'the king shall rejoice' was strategically omitted, amid public concern that Prince Albert, a German, would become *de facto* monarch.⁹⁷ This is also evident in the popular art and literature of the age, particularly in the work of the pre-Raphaelites, who crudely attempted to depict an England of chivalry, beauty and national prowess in a past that hardly existed, but could nevertheless provide an aspirational template for modern British society.

⁹⁵ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 53.

⁹⁶ Roy Strong, *Coronation: a history of kingship and the British monarchy* (London, 2005), p. 378.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

In the case of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, myth-making was of vital importance, allowing British administrators to create a state almost from nothing, with an ally they mistrusted, peopled by local populations with little in common, and in a short space of time. These myths, which will be further discussed in later chapters, were well-embedded into the psychology of the early administration, and into how colonial administrators viewed both themselves and the people they governed. Some of the mythologies of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan were ancient and Biblical in origin, particularly those based on the belief that Egyptians were tyrants, were hated by the Sudanese, and therefore could not be trusted to administer the Sudan. Quite a few were nineteenth century and originated in British responses to Bonaparte's short-lived attempt to conquer Egypt. Others were contemporary and developed as a pragmatic need to justify, and make sense, of Britain's so-called reconquest of the Sudan in the 1890s. These contemporary foundation myths focused on the sacrifice of Gordon, the military prowess of Kitchener and on British self-perception, in which administrators saw their responsibilities in the Sudan as mitigating Egyptian rule, overseeing fair play, and reducing the possibility of French influence, in an attempt to transmit British values of industry and justice to an otherwise wild and uncivilised land.

The ancient tropes of pharaonic Egypt as a place of brutality, tyranny and corruption, and their reassertion in the nineteenth-century regeneration thesis have already been explored in this chapter, particularly in relation to the anti-Egyptian sentiment which was common among British administrators and the British public in general. However, what gave these ancient tropes fresh energy and even political and cultural currency was firstly, their masterful incorporation into British arguments in favour of continued and increased involvement in Egypt and, by extension, the Sudan, and secondly, their assimilation into anti-French sentiment, itself an ancient and enduring trope in British history.

The most able assimilation of these dual tropes into one another was that produced by Ralph Richardson, a Scottish geographer, philosopher and public intellectual, as an apology for the reconquest of the Sudan.⁹⁸ In an 1898 article entitled ‘What Britain has done for Egypt’, Richardson noted that ‘none are more cogni[s]ant of, or grateful for the benefits conferred by Britain upon their country than the Egyptian natives themselves’, skilfully assembling almost every Anglophone stereotype of both Egyptian and French identity.⁹⁹ Due to this influence, Richardson claimed, Egyptians enjoyed ‘universal observance of law and order’, overseen by Egyptian policemen compared to who, according to Richardson, ‘a more intelligent or sturdier force could not be found’.¹⁰⁰ Richardson interpreted this as proof that Egypt could not only ‘boast of a great historic Past’, but could also ‘confidently look forward to a great economic Future, provided she secure a wise, honest, and energetic administration’.¹⁰¹

This depiction of Egypt as a place of immense antiquarian value which, through careful and British administration could look forward to a similarly prosperous future, was a common contemporary opinion of the time, echoing the writings of Lucie Duff Gordon, who lived and travelled in Egypt in the 1860s, and who claimed, possibly exaggeratedly, that the *fellahin* frequently claimed ‘let the English Queen come and take us’.¹⁰² The imagery of a kindly and moderating British influence was expertly contrasted by Richardson to the threat of tyranny and brutality, for which both Egyptian pharaonic culture and the actions of Bonaparte in Egypt had a reputation:

Probably the Pyramids and the Temples of the Pharaohs were built in this way, but in those old pagan days cruelty and oppression went hand in hand. It is

⁹⁸ ‘Obituary: Mr. Ralph Richardson, W.S., F.R.S.E.’ in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, lxxix, no. 5 (1933), pp 295-6.

⁹⁹ Ralph Richardson, ‘What Britain has done for Egypt’ in the *North American Review*, clxvii, no. 500 (Jul., 1898), pp 1-15; pp 1-2.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp 4-5

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15

¹⁰² Lucie Duff Gordon, Letter to her mother, May 21 1863 in David Price (ed.), *Letters from Egypt* (London and New York, 1902), p. 64.

extraordinary, however, to find Pharaonic practices existing so late in Egypt as during the making of the Suez Canal, when the forced labour of the natives involve the sacrifice of thousands of lives, under French auspices. Since 1888 forced labour has only been used for the protection of the Nile banks during the periods of flood.¹⁰³

He also bound Egypt, France and tyranny together linguistically, noting that the three French-language newspapers in Cairo ‘daily abuse the British Administration’.¹⁰⁴

Furthermore, he remarked that ‘the *corvée* and the *courbache*’, means of brutalisation and humiliation, were ‘French terms which have no English equivalent, being foreign to Anglo-Saxon ideas’.¹⁰⁵ Lastly, he obliquely referred to the emergence of one of the administration’s newest but deeply-held foundation myths concerning the sacrifices made by the region’s early military commanders by asking of the French critics of British rule:

are they not aware that all the way up the Nile, ay, as far as Khartum [sic], are the graves of those who gallantly fought and bled and died in Britain’s and in Egypt’s cause, and will they, Frenchmen and *gallant hommes*, deny that these graves form an indissoluble link between Britain and Egypt?¹⁰⁶

Marie Grace Brown notes that the linguistic rhetoric used during the establishment of the Condominium, in which the Sudan Campaign was known as the ‘reconquest’, was a deliberate and explicit attempt to present the new administration as a ‘second act rather than a new beginning’.¹⁰⁷ This alluded to, Brown notes, an imagined past in which British interests governed the region in cooperation with Ottoman forces in the years before the Mahdi.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, in her examination of death rites and rituals in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Kate Hickerson argues that the use of the term ‘reconquest’ was an attempt to ‘wrap imperial expansion in a veil of aggrieved righteousness [and] invoked historical precedence’ in an act

¹⁰³ Ralph Richardson, ‘What Britain has done for Egypt’ in *North American Review*, clxvii, no. 500 (Jul., 1898), pp 1-15; p. 5.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁰⁷ Marie Grace Brown, *Khartoum at Night: Fashion and Body Politics in Imperial Sudan* (Stanford, 2017), p. 23.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

that implied recovery, regeneration and a move away from the destruction and violence of the Sudan's recent past.¹⁰⁹ However dubious such a claim was, it nevertheless implanted itself into the administration as a central foundation myth. This is especially true when we consider the centrality of Gordon who, Hickerson argues, was adulated by the administration 'both as an individual and as a stand-in for the collective dead from the Reconquest.'¹¹⁰

The Imperial War Museum interviews of former soldiers who served in the Sudan reflect the strength of this foundation myth, even well into the twentieth century, when the Sudanese Wars were passing out of living memory. Joseph 'Chelsea' Lambe, when interviewed in the 1970s, described Khartoum as the 'place where General Gordon was killed' and recalled going to see 'his palace' when stationed there.¹¹¹ Similarly, he described the village of Omdurman as the place 'where the big battle was'.¹¹² The psychological impact of Britain's defeats and victories in the region, the manner in which Gordon died and Kitchener avenged him, and these stories' integration into the administration's foundation mythology cannot be underestimated. Charles Allen noted that even as late as 1922, there existed 'old campaigners', usually the 'Bog Barons' of the south, who personally remembered both Gordon and Kitchener.¹¹³ Another old campaigner, James Angus Gillan, felt that they 'owed something' to the memory of these two men in particular.¹¹⁴ The extent to which Sudanese populations adopted and adapted the centrality of Gordon and Kitchener in the administration's foundation mythology, usually for pragmatic reasons of economic survival, will be examined in later chapters.

¹⁰⁹ Kate Hickerson, *Death Rites and Imperial Formations in Sudan, 1865-1935* (Pennsylvania State, 2017), p. 198.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

¹¹¹ Interview with Joseph 'Chelsea' Lambe, undated (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 11213).

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ Charles Allen, *Plain Tales from the British Empire* (London, 2008), p. 280.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

It is testament to the long-term impact of Richardson's article that in 1954, when Harold MacMichael, one of the region's most prominent and long-serving civilian administrators, wrote his much-celebrated history of the Sudan, he explained the diplomatic background to the Condominium agreement using arguments first developed by Richardson. While more temperate and scholarly in tone, MacMichael's remarks bear a remarkable similarity to Richardson's 1898 assertions:

annexation by Great Britain was also out of the question for several reasons. It would have been an unwarrantably high-handed proceeding, unjustifiable on any reasonable grounds and in obvious conflict with the assurances repeatedly given regarding the rights of Egypt; nor would it have accorded the weight that was due to the part played by Egyptian troops in the re-conquest and the fact that the Egyptian Treasury had borne most of the cost. Moreover, its annexation by Great Britain would certainly have led to a violent recrudescence of trouble with France, who smarted under the enforced withdrawal from Fashoda and had reconciled herself to it only by acceptance of the principle that we were acting primarily as a trustee for Egypt and that Egypt and Great Britain were to exercise in partnership the rights conferred by a joint conquest.¹¹⁵

These foundation myths, so deeply ingrained into both the cultural identity and political structure of the new administration would, for better or worse, shape and govern it for the entirety of its life, even after 1924, when the validity and utility of such myths had long disappeared.

The 'Pagan South'.

In 1918, two years after his governor-generalship of the Sudan came to an end, General Sir F.R. Wingate penned the editorial for the first edition of *Sudan Notes and Records*, which had been established to promote study into and understanding of the region. While complimentary of the attempts made to further the 'sympathetic comprehension of the people of the Sudan and their mentality', he notes the absence of articles relating to the outlying areas of the Sudan, complaining that the journal contained 'one grave lacuna' because, 'we

¹¹⁵ H.A. MacMichael, *The Sudan* (London, 1954), p. 62.

have received nothing from the Pagan south'.¹¹⁶ This comment prompts a number of questions regarding the geographical extent of British rule in outlying areas of the Sudan, the relationship between central government in Khartoum, the Bog Barons that governed the southern provinces, and the Southern Policy of the Condominium government which, although not official policy until later in the administration, appears to have been pursued, albeit unofficially, from its earliest days. Furthermore, this north-south divide, based on legitimate and historic differences between the two areas, was accentuated by the emergence of two distinct styles of government in northern and southern Sudan, which corresponded roughly to the dramatic cultural, religious and geographical differences between the north and south of the region, and which is reflected in Wingate's somewhat sarcastic description of the 'Pagan south'.

The Sudan is a frontier between the Middle East and what was previously known as 'Black' Africa. Geographically, it may be roughly divided up into north and south, with the north making up two-thirds of the region's landmass, and consisting of a large plain of desert, scrublands and sandy hills.¹¹⁷ The remaining third is made up of swamps and tropical rainforests, which was known in Condominium times as 'the Bog'. Northern Sudan is inhabited by a mostly Muslim population, while the south is peopled by over six hundred ethnically African tribes, some of whom were Christianised by Austrian missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century.¹¹⁸ Described by Graham F. Thomas as 'diverse and often discordant', these tribes share few cultural commonalities, with sharp contrasts in identity, cultural norms, language and religious practices.¹¹⁹ The largest of these tribal groupings are the Dinka and Nuer tribes, whose constant conflicts would prove problematic to the administration of the

¹¹⁶ F.R. Wingate, 'Editorial' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, i, no. 1 (Jan., 1918), pp 49-50.

¹¹⁷ Graham F. Thomas, *Sudan; Struggle for survival* (London, 1993), p. 1.

¹¹⁸ G.O. Whitehead, 'Some authors of the southern Sudan' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xi (1928), pp 83-101, p. 84.

¹¹⁹ Graham F. Thomas, *Sudan; Struggle for survival* (London, 1993), pp 1-2.

Sudan in the Condominium and continue to hamper the newly-established Republic of South Sudan. Another consideration was the Darfur region, which, while not officially part of the Condominium's territory until 1916, was closely observed by puzzled administrators, one of whom later explained the ethnic make-up of the area by suggesting rather fancifully that it was created by 'Nubian intermarriage with immigrant Arabs'.¹²⁰

Cherry Leonardi describes early nineteenth-century southern Sudan as 'the furthest limits of any long-distance commerce and beyond the reach of any state powers', becoming the frontier of Turco- Egyptian expansion.¹²¹ She concurs with the arguments of Gray and Collins, who contend that the peoples of southern Sudan were ill-prepared from the various 'foreign incursions' they experienced in the nineteenth century.¹²² M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng argue that the pre-existing racial and cultural divisions between the north and south had been 'formalised and reinforced by political interventions', most notably the Muslim Turco-Egyptians which limited their influence in the south to 'a flourishing trade and a succession of terrorizing expeditions' rather than systematic control of the region.¹²³ It is unsurprising therefore that three decades before the administration's iteration of a formal 'southern policy', southern Sudanese states would be governed differently to those of the north.

The south was considered by Europeans to be hazardous to health, as evidenced in a 1919 article authored by Dr. Cyril Crossland, in which he described the southern part of the Sudan as a 'malarious district', which only 'duty compels' Europeans to reside in.¹²⁴ Robert Popham later reported that the north was considered to be healthier because, although hot, its

¹²⁰ H.A. MacMichael, 'Nubian elements in Darfur' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, i, no. 1 (Jan., 1918), pp 30-48; p. 37.

¹²¹ Cherry Leonardi, *Dealing with Government in South Sudan: Histories of chiefship, community & state* (Woodbridge, 2015), p. 18.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹²³ M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), p. 2.

¹²⁴ Cyril Crossland, 'Comfort and health in the Tropics' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, ii, no. 3 (Jul., 1919), pp 198-210; p. 199.

aridness meant that malaria was less of a problem.¹²⁵ On the other hand, the south of the region was humid, damp and boggy, providing an optimal environment for mosquitoes and water-borne diseases. As Popham explained, it was so humid and unhealthy that even simple sores and scratches could be dangerous.¹²⁶

The southern provinces of the region were particularly inhospitable, not only because of their remoteness from Khartoum, the administrative capital of the Condominium, and tendency to test the health of British-born administrators, but also because of their physical terrain. Their boggy topography, coupled with what earlier travel writers called its 'cotton soil', a light mixture of sand and organic matter, made the construction of European-style roads and other pieces of key infrastructure virtually impossible in a number of provinces, which greatly compromised the development of the Condominium's physical resources in these areas.¹²⁷ The key town of Akobo for example, located on the Ethiopian border, was described as being flooded with more than a foot of water each year from September to January.¹²⁸

The physical differences between north and south created obvious corresponding contrasts in cultural norms and agricultural activities, as expressed in a 1922 Monthly Intelligence Report written by a newly-appointed District Commissioner in the southern district of Pibor. He noted with surprise that unlike the northern provinces, his district contained 'no cattle because there is no grazing for them, only forest'.¹²⁹ Likewise, a 1920 *Sudan Notes and Records* essay on the topic of inland water navigation in the region notes that parts of this region suffer from 'an absence of any form of local sailing craft'.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ Interview with Robert Home Stewart Popham, 11 Jan. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4288).

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ A.E. Robinson, 'Road construction across the cotton soils of southern Sudan' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, iv, no. 2 (1921), pp 108-11; p. 108.

¹²⁸ C.R. Bacon, 'Sobat Pibor District' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, i, no. 3 (Jul., 1918), pp 207-9; pp 207-8.

¹²⁹ *Monthly intelligence report*, Pibor district, March 1922, p. 31.

¹³⁰ C.H. Page, 'Inland water navigation of the Sudan' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, ii, no. 4 (Oct., 1919), pp 293-96; p. 293.

The administration's view of the south as 'wild, primitive and unpacified' greatly coloured how, and by whom, the region was governed.¹³¹ Christopher Prior contends that this belief in the south's wildness meant that Khartoum-based administrators were 'generally more worried about the potential for peoples of the south to rise against the British than those of the north' and that 'long wars of 'pacification' in the south were punctuated by anti-European violence', such as the 1927 murder of Vere Ferguson by the Nguong people, with retaliatory ground patrols and RAF attacks, essentially confirming this view.¹³² As a result, even when a civilian administration was being created to govern the region, 'Khartoum maintained its policy of filling southern posts with military men who remained in Sudan'.¹³³

Although southern Sudan was officially governed in a manner that was structurally identical to the north, the "Bog Barons", ex-military officers who for the most part had participated in the Sudan Wars, were appointed to govern the south. While this cohort endured basic living conditions, an unhealthy climate and social and physical isolation, they oversaw a corner of the British Empire that was notable for its violence, to the extent that, as Leonardi notes, by 1920 the Khartoum government was 'expressing concern at the extent of force being employed by the provincial administrations on a regular basis, both in terms of corporal punishment, and punitive patrols'.¹³⁴

The unspoken policy of governing the south in a manner radically different to the north became official policy in 1930. The chief architect of the official iteration of this policy was Harold MacMichael, who came to the Sudan in 1905 as one of the first generation of civilian administrators who directly joined the Sudan Political Service.¹³⁵ His early posting to

¹³¹ M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), p. 163.

¹³² Christopher Prior, *Exporting Empire: Africa, colonial officials and the construction of the British Imperial State, c. 1900-39* (Manchester, 2013), p. 70.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹³⁴ Cherry Leonardi, *Dealing with Government in South Sudan; Histories of Chiefship, Community and State* (Woodbridge, 2015), p. 59.

¹³⁵ M.W. Daly, *Sir Harold Alfred MacMichael* (23 Sept. 2004), available at the *Dictionary of National Biography*, (<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/34797>) (1 Feb. 2018).

Kordofan, a largely unexplored area to the West of the Nile, and pressure from Cairo and London to devise 'ways of administering this latest accretion of unremunerative territory', caused him to develop his Southern Policy, which effectively left the south to govern itself through a system of British support for existing tribal leaders.¹³⁶ The extent to which MacMichael was solely responsible for the initiation of a deliberate policy of separation is contentious and unclear. What is clear however, is the fact that the varying approaches taken by the administrators operating in the north and south was further intensified by the different types of personnel sent to the two regions. Although this approach was intended to enhance local acceptance of the regime, and can even be interpreted as an act of cultural sensitivity on the part of the Condominium, it served to further the already problematic gulf between the two areas, a trend that continues to the present day. This north-south divide, and the evolution of differing styles and cultures of governance, was a key characteristic of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, remaining as one of its most historiographically contentious features.

Sam L. Laki, who has examined the long-term consequences of the southern policy on the region, argues that its key aim was to 'foster Islamic culture in North Sudan and indigenous African culture in South Sudan'.¹³⁷ One of the effects of this policy was a series of ordinances which began in 1918, creating a system of open and closed districts and the necessity of passports for travellers between the north and south. This, Laki argues, 'was an honest recognition by the British of the distinct difference in culture, religion, peoples and geography' and effectively 'sealed off South Sudan from Arab influence until the reversal of the "Southern policy" in 1947'.¹³⁸ Most historians are scathing of the southern policy, seeing it as little more than a justification for neglect, failure to develop infrastructure, educational

¹³⁶ M.W. Daly, *Sir Harold Alfred MacMichael* (23 Sept. 2004), available at the *Dictionary of National Biography*, (<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/34797>) (1 Feb. 2018).

¹³⁷ Sam L. Laki, 'Self-determination: a solution to the Sudan problem' in *Northeast African Studies*, iii, no. 2 (1996), pp 7-20; pp 8-9.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

and health resources or even to develop economic, judicial or political structures. M.W. Daly is fiercely critical of the southern policy, describing it as a 'tacit agreement' by which the Bog Barons preserved law and order with little interest in improving or developing their districts, allowing Khartoum to 'forget about the south'.¹³⁹ Indeed, the development of Khartoum's infrastructure and commercial capacity, often at the expense of the south, appears to confirm Daly's belief that the policy was little more than a 'charter for self-perpetuating backwardness'.¹⁴⁰ However, this perspective fails to place the southern policy into the problematic religious, geographical and cultural contexts in which it was formulated. More recent assessment of the policy, possibly in response to contemporary events in the region, has been less critical, such as David Nailo N. Mayo's 2017 analysis of the policy, which concludes that:

...the SP [southern policy] was consistent with colonial "Indirect Rule." The latter justified the exclusion of the non-indigenous effendi (master) from participating in the administration of different peoples, while encouraging the local people's participation in governing themselves.¹⁴¹

This neglect of the outlying provinces of the south made their colonial administrators, the Bog Barons, distrustful of, and even hostile to Khartoum. In response, Khartoum became increasingly suspicious of the efficacy of the Bog Barons, whom it accused of failing to effectively deal with inter-tribal conflict. They were also accused of failing to report back to Khartoum on local issues as requested. This is evident in the notes of G.E. Matthewson who, having been sent as Interim District Inspector to Fashoda, claimed that he 'found everything relating to organisation so conspicuous by its absence', and stated that he was unable to estimate the population of the province because 'so little of it has been visited'.¹⁴² This is not

¹³⁹ M.W. Daly, *Imperial Sudan; the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium 1934-1956* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 234.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ David Nailo N. Mayo, 'The British southern policy in Sudan: an inquiry into the Closed District Ordinances (1914-1946)' in *Northeast African Studies*, i, no. 2/3 (1994), pp 165-85; p. 175.

¹⁴² *Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1902* (1903), p. 345.

wholly improbable however; as late as 1919 there continued to exist areas, mostly in the south, that were described as not 'previously visited by any official'.¹⁴³

Therefore, it can be argued that the divide between north and south was generational and emotional as well as practical. For these ex-army officers, who had been part of Britain's earlier phase of involvement in the Sudan, their presence in the region was a psychological continuation of the somewhat hysterical British response to both Gordon's death and Kitchener's victory. They governed as per the principles set out in Kitchener's 1899 memorandum, favouring high levels of personal contact with and informal influence over local populations. This was in contrast to the younger, university-educated cohort that joined the Sudan Political Service, for whom the Sudan was simply a potentially lucrative and professionally prestigious posting.

The administration's policy of isolating the south from the rest of the Sudan created a variety of negative consequences for the area, not least the creation of the distrust and hostility described above. The most obvious manifestation of this was the belief that Khartoum, and nearby towns such as Omdurman, were allowed to prosper at the expense of the south. Indeed, there is much evidence that this was the case. The 1902 *Sudan Report* notes that £20,000 had been spent on a military barracks for the city and a further £33,000 on civil works, but nothing was spent elsewhere in the Sudan.¹⁴⁴ The report also notes that the city had seen 'much greater demand than formerly for...goods such as tobacco, soap and sugar' and that a municipal committee, a new market and a National Bank had been established 'due to the economic boost created by jobs in construction and brickmaking'.¹⁴⁵ Likewise, a 1905 notice in the *Sudan Government Gazette* indicates that extensive areas of land were being acquired around Khartoum for the building of public works.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Hawarden, 'Notes on the Azande' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, ii, no. 1 (1919), pp 24-30; p. 25.

¹⁴⁴ *Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1902* (1903), p. 8.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp 303-5.

¹⁴⁶ *Sudan Government Gazette*, lxxv (Apr., 1905), pp 321-4.

Given Khartoum's prosperity, it was reasonable for the governor-general to generalise about the economic state of the entire region, noting that 'trade in the Sudan only wants a little encouragement to make it develop and flourish'.¹⁴⁷ However, this optimism must have been tempered by the frequent failure of private commercial enterprise in Khartoum. *The London Gazette* continually printed notices of the bankruptcies of exploration and engineering companies attempting to operate in the region during these years, such as the 1908 failure of the Sudan Gold Field Company.¹⁴⁸

However, the 1902 report depicts a very different reality in outlying areas. In Suakin, for example, the material condition of the people is described as 'poor compared to former days'.¹⁴⁹ Reports from remote districts such as Dongola and Kordofan are similarly worded. Wingate's 1914 *Memorandum* notes that an administrative headquarters is only then being built in Malakel, despite its strategic importance, adding that it will be 'impossible to send this year an administrative patrol'.¹⁵⁰

The gulf between Khartoum and the south can be seen from Wingate's own words in his 1914 *Memorandum*, in which he notes the 'enormous amount of extra work and responsibility' that the outbreak of war has placed on Khartoum.¹⁵¹ Indeed, this probably was the case, especially after Britain declared Egypt a protectorate when the Ottoman Empire entered the war at the end of 1914.¹⁵² He also notes however, that 'it is not anticipated that the European War will affect' outlying areas.¹⁵³ This suggests that the south was politically, economically and socially cut off, not only from Khartoum, but from the rest of the British

¹⁴⁷ *Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1902* (1903), p. 308.

¹⁴⁸ *The London Gazette*, 4 Dec. 1908.

¹⁴⁹ *Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1902* (1903), p. 26.

¹⁵⁰ *Memorandum by General Sir Reginald Wingate on the finance, administration and condition of the Sudan* (1914), p. 65.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

¹⁵² M.W. Daly, 'The development of the governor-generalship of the Sudan, 1899-1934' in *The Journal of African History*, xxiv, no. 1 (1983), pp 77-96, p. 87.

¹⁵³ *Memorandum by General Sir Reginald Wingate on the finance, administration and condition of the Sudan* (1914), p. 66.

Empire. Although the southern policy was officially abandoned in 1947, its effects on the south, particularly on its economic and infrastructural development, continue to hinder the region to the present day.

Sudan on a shoestring?

The administration's 'Southern Policy' was of course a version of Indirect Rule, which allowed colonial governments to administer a large or underdeveloped region relatively cheaply by, as Heather J. Sharkey explains, 'delegating petty authority to locals and by adapting to each terrain'.¹⁵⁴ In the case of the British Empire in Africa, this was perhaps best expressed by Lord Lugard's belief in the "dual mandate", which he set out some years later in his 1922 work, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*.¹⁵⁵ Sharkey states that this policy consisted of a twofold mission to 'rule for the mutual advantage of Europe's own industrial classes, and of the native races in their progress to a higher plane'.¹⁵⁶ However, Sharkey argues that the reality of indirect rule was considerably more morally dubious than Lugard's lofty-sounding pronouncements on preparing local elites for self-government. Instead, she argues, the British maintained an empire 'on the cheap' by compensating for low numerical numbers of administrators by both threatening and prosecuting 'coercive violence', by engaging in treaties and collaboration with local elites and lastly, by promoting 'an impression of mastery and control'.¹⁵⁷ All three approaches were extensively used throughout the Sudan.

In her landmark 1992 essay entitled 'Hegemony on a Shoestring: Indirect Rule and Access to Agricultural Land', Sara Berry highlights the inherent problems in attempting to

¹⁵⁴ Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism; Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley & London, 2003), p. 15.

¹⁵⁵ Lord Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (London, 1922).

¹⁵⁶ Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism; Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley & London, 2003), p. 40.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp 66-7.

govern 'most of sub-Saharan Africa' that colonial administrators experienced.¹⁵⁸ The scale of such territories, coupled with 'scattered and diverse' populations, made the undertaking 'a vast and potentially expensive project'.¹⁵⁹ These difficulties were further complicated by the fact that such regions were expected to be self-financing, with only limited exchequer support from London. These problems were addressed by cutting personnel costs to an absolute minimum, employing Africans to fulfil a variety of administrative and manual jobs and by, as much as possible, 'integrating existing local authorities and social systems into the structure of colonial government', which was not only cheaper than appointing British-born administrators to fill the lower levels of the colonial government, but had the potential to make the new administration more acceptable to local populations.¹⁶⁰

Berry's description of attempted 'hegemony on a shoestring' echoes the arguments made by A.H.M. Kirk-Greene some years before, who contended that figures such as a colonial District Commissioner acted as a 'steel frame', around which non-British local men made up the colonial administration.'¹⁶¹ He noted that such a system coincided with a 'period of, in the imperial vocabulary, pacification' and uses the example of Northern Nigeria which in 1900 had just nine civilian administrators, a figure that only reached 80 in 1906.¹⁶²

The government of the Sudan conforms to the arguments made by Berry and Kirk-Greene regarding the administration of the British Empire in general. M.W. Daly notes that throughout the life of the Condominium, it relied heavily on cheap and non-British labour:

The British element, both military and civilian, in the Condominium administration was always numerically weak. Even if officers had been easily recruited and retained, and if suitable civilians could be enlisted, the Sudan Government's financial position allowed their recruitment only for the highest posts. Beneath the British in the government structure were relatively large numbers of officials of Egyptian,

¹⁵⁸ Sara Berry, 'Hegemony on a Shoestring: Indirect Rule and Access to Agricultural Land' in *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, lxii (1992), pp 327-55; p. 329.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, 'The Thin White Line: The Size of the British Colonial Service in Africa' in *African Affairs*, vol 79, no. 314 (1980), pp. 25-44; p. 25.

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 26.

Lebanese, and other nationalities, and, as they passed through the education system, Sudanese for subordinate posts.¹⁶³

Heather Sharkey argues that the extensive use of local staff was not only cheap, but had the added potential bonus that ‘by offering salaried jobs and the hope of promotion in return for work well done, the British neutralized the opposition among the newly-educated’.¹⁶⁴ Although young, educated Sudanese men would eventually become the cohort most opposed to British rule, there is evidence that this added potential benefit was indeed the case during the Condominium’s early years, a possibility that will be explored in Chapter Three.

While the administration invested in infrastructural projects such as bridges, roads, telegraph systems, railways and the construction of a new port on the Red Sea, the scale of investment needed to truly transform the country and its economy was not forthcoming.¹⁶⁵ This is reflected in the comments of Harold MacMichael, who noted that the British government was not keen to invest heavily in the Sudan, however much it claimed that its reasons for seeking British control of the region were purely humanitarian:

Nor was there any desire on the part of her Majesty’s Government – or the British Treasury, to saddle themselves with what seemed likely to be a heavy burden. Imperialist and humanitarian motives, it is true, were strong and popular, but the latter could be satisfied without annexation and the former did not extend to the acquisition of vast territories which were expected to be useless, unremunerative and extremely troublesome.¹⁶⁶

While the Egyptian government provided financial assistance which totalled over 11 million Egyptian pounds by 1914, the changing political climate, and increased hostility between the Condominium partners meant that Britain was less able to demand funds from the Egyptian government as the years went by.¹⁶⁷ Consequently, indirect rule, whether presented as the Sudan government’s unofficial and then official policy of

¹⁶³ M.W. Daly, *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1898-1934* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 91.

¹⁶⁴ Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism; Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley & London, 2003), p. 3.

¹⁶⁵ M.W. Daly, *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1898-1934* (Cambridge, 1986), pp 202-3.

¹⁶⁶ H.A. MacMichael, *The Sudan* (London, 1954), p. 62.

¹⁶⁷ M.W. Daly, *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1898-1934* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 219.

Southern Policy or the more general concept of the colonial Dual Mandate, was practically as well as ideologically appealing to the administration.

However, there were exceptions to this rule, such as the insistence of Sir Reginald Wingate, that the extensive rebuilding of Khartoum as an imperial capital and a conspicuously luxurious standard of living at the governor-general's palace were vital to the reputation of the Condominium. Spending on ambitious building works, lavish entertaining in the form of garden parties and levees and the costly ritualisation of everyday life at the governor-general's palace was undertaken during Wingate's term of office, suggesting that extensive resources were available if demanded.¹⁶⁸ Kate Hickerson links the elaborate building works in Khartoum to the foundation myths of the regime, noting that the cities of Omdurman and Khartoum became living memorials within a new imperial order.¹⁶⁹ Khartoum, she observes, 'was inhabited mostly by the new administration and their gardens, headquarters, and social clubs' while Omdurman, often described as the 'native city' peopled by ethnic enclaves and narrow, winding streets, 'was a living testament to the diversity of the Sudan'.¹⁷⁰ The lavish spending on the construction of an imperial capital for the Sudan might also be considered in the context of Justin Willis's argument that the Sudan was 'a regime of pomp, in which visual markers of authority and permanence, such as architecture and uniforms 'were a priority from the creation of the Condominium in 1899'.¹⁷¹

In the conclusion to his survey of the early years of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, M.W. Daly argues that 'personality, not policy, determined the course of the Condominium'.¹⁷² Indeed, there is much evidence to support such a stance. From the mythologising of

¹⁶⁸ M.W. Daly, 'The development of the governor-generalship of the Sudan, 1899-1934' in *The Journal of African History*, xxiv, no. 1(1983), pp 77-96; p. 83.

¹⁶⁹ Kate Hickerson, *Death Rites and Imperial Formations in Sudan, 1865-1935* (Pennsylvania State, 2017), p. 198.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

¹⁷¹ Justin Willis, 'Tribal gatherings: Colonial spectacle, native administration and local government in Condominium Sudan' in *Past and Present*, ccxi (May 2011), pp 243-68; p. 248.

¹⁷² M.W. Daly, *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1898-1934* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 452.

individual figures such as Gordon, Kitchener and to a lesser extent Hicks and Slatin, the brutal but deeply personal style of government that District Commissioners applied to remote areas, and the semi-regal manner in which Sir Reginald Wingate presided over the administration's new imperial capital in Khartoum, outsized personalities, rather than logical policy coloured, for better or worse, the administration from its earliest days. The following chapter will examine in more detail the backgrounds, mindsets and personalities of one significant group of individuals in the administration of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, namely members of the Sudan Political Service.

CHAPTER TWO

Military to civil administration; The Sudan Political Service – supernumerary gentlemen, athletocracy, or new civilians?

This chapter seeks to provide answers to Research Questions Five and Six, which attempt to explore more comprehensively the role of mythmaking, particularly that connected to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan's military origin, on the civil administration of the region, as well as the impact of social class on the colonial project, especially on the Sudanese experience of colonialism, in the Sudan. This will be attempted through the profiling of a representative sample of the civilian and military administrators who lived and worked in the region during the first half of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, and through charting the establishment and development of the Sudan Political Service as the primary civilian administrative arm of the Sudan Government.

In addition to an examination of administrators' family, social and educational backgrounds, it also seeks to understand their personal motivations for going to the Sudan, as well as the unique set of psychological conditions in which they lived and worked. Through the examination of the effects of social and cultural isolation, the problem of loneliness and the prevalence or otherwise of so-called "Lawrence of Arabia" syndrome, the inner life of colonial administrators, difficult to access in an emotionally reticent society, will be explored. It will also seek to examine the Sudan as both an emotional community and an emotional refuge.

While some aspects of the Sudan Political Service have been intensely studied from a sociological perspective by a number of scholars, Christopher Prior argues that recent scholarship has been 'focused on statistics and the mechanics of recruitment', with an emphasis on questions such as how many officials joined during particular years'.¹ He is

¹ Christopher Prior, *Exporting Empire: Africa, colonial officials and the construction of the British Imperial State, c. 1900-39* (Manchester, 2013), pp 1-2.

particularly critical of the influence of A.H.M. Kirk-Greene in this respect, arguing that ‘scholars have to date neglected or marginalised the importance of the desire for a ‘good’ job’, a factor that makes it ‘hard to accept Kirk-Greene’s argument that public school inculcated a selfless attitude above all else’.² While the efforts of Kirk-Greene, Robert Collins and J.A. Mangan have provided a solid statistical foundation for the subject, and have been referenced in this chapter, their research requires contextualisation with other data in order to understand more fully the psychological and intellectual make-up of individuals within this cohort, and the impact that this had on the administration and upon the peoples it governed.

It is something of a truism that the post-Victorian British upper middle and upper classes were profoundly emotionally reticent, but an examination of the letters and other written documents produced by the administrators of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan seems to bear this out. The Sudan Archive’s collection of the papers of over three hundred participants in the administration of the Sudan contains tens of thousands of private letters, but few offer any significant insights into the emotions, private opinions, crises of confidence or domestic problems of their writers, reading as travelogues or news bulletins rather than personal recollections of what must have been at times intense and stressful human experiences. Lia Paradis, who has studied these letters in forensic detail, notes that both dramatic and stressful incidents, as well as more quotidian events, ‘were presented to those at home in a cheery but also often rather neutral voice’, which was at odds with this cohort’s habit of ‘fetishizing’ the same events upon their return to England.³ Furthermore, Paradis notes, many of these letters recounted life in the Sudan in ‘remarkable detail’, suggesting that despite their neutral and

² Christopher Prior, *Exporting Empire: Africa, colonial officials and the construction of the British Imperial State, c. 1900-39* (Manchester, 2013), p. 28.

³ Lia Paradis, *Return Ticket: The Anglo-Sudanese and the Negotiation of Identity* (Rutgers, 2004), p. 60.

occasionally offhand tone, these experiences were significant and worthy of preservation in the minds of their authors.⁴

In her framework for the study of the history of emotions, Barbara H. Rosenwein, one of the first and leading proponents of this field, discusses the importance of correctly interpreting silences in the historiographical record, noting that individuals and communities often avoid the expression of some emotions in favour of others.⁵ Therefore, the absence of such detail in administrators' letters does not necessarily mean an absence of emotions, but rather a decision, conscious or unconscious, against expressing them. These lacunae must therefore be sensitively and carefully interpreted, with alternative means of accessing administrators' private feelings identified when possible. This reticence, or perhaps just extreme emotional continence, was a core component of the administration's psychological make-up, and will be examined in this chapter.

As it was not possible to access archival material during the preparation of this chapter, it has utilised eleven Imperial War Museum interviews and six memoirs, all reflecting upon various aspects of life and service in the Sudan. The earliest of these are the memoirs of E.J. Montague-Stuart-Wortley, whose military service in the region began in 1882, while the earliest civilian memoirs are Harold MacMichael, who began his career in the Sudan Political Service in 1905, and H.C. Jackson, who arrived in the Sudan in 1907. The most recent is James Dempsey's account of his missionary work in southern Sudan. Concluding in 1956, this is chronologically beyond the scope of this study, but is nevertheless illuminating in its depiction of the unofficial empire in the region.⁶

⁴ Lia Paradis, *Return Ticket: The Anglo-Sudanese and the Negotiation of Identity* (Rutgers, 2004), p. 60.

⁵ Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions*, available at Passions in Context, (<http://www.passionsincontext.de>) (2 Jan. 2016).

⁶ James Dempsey, *Mission on the Nile* (New York, 1956).

These seventeen accounts of life and service in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan have been augmented by the data collected by M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng in their publication on the same topic.⁷

While most of the interviewees served in the Sudan in military uniform, many carried out effectively civilian occupations such as engineering, medicine, education and the law. This visually militarised dimension to the Sudan Government will be discussed in the next chapter. Three of the individuals profiled in this chapter served as civilian administrators in the Sudan Political Service. Four were commissioned British Army officers and three were non-commissioned officers or from other ranks. Three served in the Sudan in both civilian and military capacities at various times, while another was seconded for duty in the Sudan from the Royal Air Force. One worked as a doctor, and another as a Roman Catholic missionary. Geographically, they worked in diverse and distinctive areas of the region. The profiles of colonial administrators - official participants of the Condominium - have been augmented by the recollections of two women who were unofficial participants of the administration, living in the Sudan as civilian administrators' wives.⁸ The demographic make-up of the material - male, white and British - reflects the demographic make-up of the administration. It also reflects the fact that while a civil administration was formally established in 1901, the Sudan Government continued to be a militarised one, with personnel from the Egyptian Army, and later the Sudan Defence Force, carrying out essentially civilian responsibilities well into the 1930s. While other chapters explore British interaction with Egyptians and Egyptian culture, this chapter focuses solely on administrators' service in the Sudan.

⁷ M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989).

⁸ The experience of women as unofficial participants in the Condominium is something of a lacuna in the historiography of the Sudan, but has been admirably addressed by Rosemary Kenrick's anthology, *Sudan Tales; Recollections of some Sudan Political Service wives 1926-56* (Cambridge, 1987).

These memoirs and interviews, produced in some circumstances many decades after the careers they describe, have obvious limitations and consequently present some challenges to the historian. The written memoirs, produced with a commercial imperative in mind, are frequently highly subjective in tone, and many of the sweeping generalisations they make, particularly in relation to the warmth of the relationship between colonial administrators and local populations, are romanticised in the extreme. Nevertheless, they contain vital evidence for the creation of an accurate psychological profile of this cohort, particularly in relation to motivations and emotional responses to challenges such as isolation and physical discomfort. Indeed, the passage of time between the events they describe, and their production has, in most cases, given the author the opportunity to reflect upon and process their own motivations, actions and reactions, allowing them to assess their service with greater maturity and self-knowledge.

The interviews are of greater utility than the memoirs simply because of how they are structured. The information they contain is in direct response to a clear line of questioning, offering uniform insights into issues such as family background, education and attitudes to the Sudan. However, the years in which they were collected – the late 1970s and early 1980s – means that there is a preponderance of interviews relating to service in the 1930s and 1940s, with less material available from earlier on in the century. This has been partially mitigated by the examination of written accounts of military service that date back to earlier years, but nevertheless something of a lacuna appears to exist.

The establishment of the Sudan Political Service.

In January 1899, a *Times* report concerning the economic condition of the Sudan concluded that the country had 'no scope yet for the investment of capital' and consequently, that 'private enterprise' would be premature.⁹ Therefore, unlike other colonies such as India and South

⁹ *The Times*, 14 Jan. 1899.

Africa, which were governed in conjunction with large commercial interests, it became clear that the Sudan Government would have to appoint all personnel directly. Although a limited form of 'dual mandate' government, requiring fewer officials and the devolution of everyday government to local administrators was used in other established colonies, it was agreed that the Condominium's authority over the region was not well-established enough for such an arrangement. Therefore, the Sudan Political Service was established in 1901. Members of this new branch of the colonial services would have extensive responsibilities and powers and were expected to do a great variety of different tasks in the course of their duties.

Furthermore, also unlike general colonial civil servants, who in theory could be posted anywhere in the British Empire during their careers, the Sudan Political Service was a 'dedicated force', whose members spent their lives within the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.¹⁰

With a starting salary of £420 per annum, the Sudan Political Service was the best-paid of all of the colonial services.¹¹ The physical discomforts of life in the Sudan were offset by three months' leave each year, and a retirement age of 48.¹² The years 1901 to 1906 saw extensive recruitment, peaking in January 1905, when 27 appointments were made in one month.¹³ While Christopher Prior argues that 'nowhere in Africa had the prestige' of the Indian Civil Service, he notes that the Sudan Political Service was 'ranked above all others on the continent, followed by the Nigerian service'.¹⁴ Therefore the Sudan Political Service provided ideal employment for the upper middle classes, a cohort which had been adversely affected by the economic problems and social reforms of the early twentieth century. This was particularly the case for young men who, in earlier years, might have been able to enjoy

¹⁰ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 65.

¹¹ Charles Allen, *Plain Tales from the British Empire* (London, 2008), p. 279.

¹² A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, 'The Sudan Political Service: A profile in the sociology of imperialism' in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, xv, no. 1 (1982), pp 21-48; p. 34.

¹³ *The Sudan Gazette*, lxx (Jan., 1905), p. 277.

¹⁴ Christopher Prior, *Exporting Empire: Africa, colonial officials and the construction of the British Imperial State, c. 1900-39* (Manchester, 2013), p. 26.

a reasonable standard of living solely from family investments. However, this was a diminishing possibility by the turn of the century and the sons of such families sought alternative occupations, often abroad. Although almost all members of the Sudan Political Service came from Oxford and Cambridge, selectors favoured reliability and athletic ability over academic achievement. In his examination of recruitment patterns in the Sudan Political Service, Robert Collins notes that out of the 285 Oxbridge graduates appointed during the years 1901 to 1956, only 20 had first class degrees, which was a slightly lower percentage than the average number of firsts generally awarded during these years.¹⁵ Nevertheless, as Christopher Prior notes, the Sudan Political Service contained the academically strongest cohort among colonial officials in Africa, as evidenced by their contribution of ‘articles of a high standard to *Sudan Notes and Records* and other government-approved publications’.¹⁶

Significantly, a disproportionately high number of administrators represented their colleges in athletics, causing the Warden of New College to quip that the Sudan was ‘a country of blacks, ruled by blues’.¹⁷ This sporting background gave them many attributes, such as the physical stamina to endure inhospitable living conditions, reliability and a keen sense of responsibility. This was to become a defining feature of the administration’s culture, with Janice Boddy noting that while local populations might have noticed their inability to initially understand ‘native etiquette or respect for Sudanese ways of life’, they did recognise their ‘capacity for discipline and hard work and were impressed by their confidence’.¹⁸

In his 1982 sociological profile of the Sudan Political Service, A.H.M. Kirk-Greene argues that the prevalence of men with a background in team sports often created a tendency towards conformity and uniformity, a fact which partially explains why the civilian

¹⁵ Robert Collins, ‘The Sudan Political Service; a portrait of the “imperialists” in *African Affairs*, lxxi, no. 284 (Jul., 1972), pp 293-303; p. 296.

¹⁶ Christopher Prior, *Exporting Empire: Africa, colonial officials and the construction of the British Imperial State, c. 1900-39* (Manchester, 2013), p. 40.

¹⁷ Charles Allen, *Plain Tales from the British Empire* (London, 2008), p. 292.

¹⁸ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 67.

administrators of the north were so different to the south's Bog Barons.¹⁹ Like so much of Kirk-Greene's pronouncements on the Sudan Political Service, Christopher Prior is unconvinced by this argument, suggesting that 'the idea that officials were equipped with the robust constitution necessary for work under a sub-Saharan sun, but were lacking in intelligence' can be linked more to their 'dogmatic' or unthinking [manner] in the ways they applied indirect rule', rather than a lack of intellectual prowess.²⁰

Sir Harold MacMichael described the recruitment process as 'informal and sensible'.²¹ Unlike the Indian Civil Service, for which candidates sat a fiercely competitive exam, potential Sudan Political Service members were approached by selectors while still at university and interviewed by faculty members to ascertain their suitability.²² This system, Kirk-Greene believed, 'ensured a high degree of conformity in outlook, accomplishment, and belief'.²³ Successful candidates then spent what was effectively a postgraduate year in training at Oxford, during which time they received crash courses on Arabic, law, anthropology, first aid, drainage and surveying.²⁴ Most were initially appointed as Deputy Inspectors and were charged with a wide variety of responsibilities such as dealing with inter-tribal conflict and raiding, collecting taxes, acting as a magistrate in the new British-based judicial system, as well as mundane tasks such as surveying and planning public works.²⁵ More than anything, they were expected to be a British presence in their assigned province, and demonstrate in their lifestyle and mode of interactions with the local community, the superiority of Britain

¹⁹ A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, 'The Sudan Political Service: A profile in the sociology of imperialism' in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, xv, no. 1 (1982), pp 21- 48; p. 29.

²⁰ Christopher Prior, *Exporting Empire: Africa, colonial officials and the construction of the British Imperial State, c. 1900-39* (Manchester, 2013), p. 40.

²¹ Robert Collins, 'The Sudan Political Service; a portrait of the "imperialists"' in *African Affairs*, lxxi, no. 284 (Jul., 1972), pp 293-303; p. 295.

²² J.A. Mangan, 'The education of an elite imperial administration; The Sudan Political Service and the British public school system' in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, xv, no. 4 (1982), pp 671-91, p. 673.

²³ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 66.

²⁴ Charles Allen, *Plain Tales from the British Empire* (London, 2008), p. 292.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

and Britishness. This is reflected in the consul-general, Lord Cromer's, pompous but nevertheless revealing comments in his foreword to Sidney Low's popular work, *Egypt in Translation*, which discusses the work of the Sudan Political Service:

I should add that another very potent cause which has contributed to the successful administration of the Sudan is that the officials, both civil and military, have been well-paid and the leave rules generous. These are points to which I attach the utmost importance. In those outlying dominions of the Crown where coloured races have to be ruled through European agency, everything depends on the character and ability of a very small number of individuals. Probably none but those who have themselves been responsible for the general direction of an administration in these regions can fully realise the enormous amount of harm – sometimes irremediable harm – which can be done by the misconduct or indiscretion of a single individual. Misconduct on the part of British officials is, to their credit be it said, extremely rare.²⁶

Bog Barons and Secretariat Wallahs.

Therefore, although the early years of the administration were predominately military, a civilian administration of sorts was beginning to take shape. This new civilian administration was augmented by Egyptian-born bureaucrats called *effendiyya*, as per the Condominium Agreement. Early attempts to recruit Sudanese-born staff to provide low-level clerical support to the Sudan Political Service proved a failure and were swiftly abandoned. The 1902 *Sudan Report* notes that the difficulty in recruiting local men to act as *effendiyya* was due to the poor level of education in the region, a problem that was not addressed until the 1920s, when specific training colleges were established for the creation of a new class of Sudanese civil servant.²⁷ In the 1903 report to the Foreign Office on the progress of the Condominium administration, the consul-general noted that the government was 'essentially civil although the Governor-General and others are military officers'.²⁸

On the surface, official reports from the Sudan suggest that the region's administration had enjoyed a relatively smooth transition to civilian hands within a few years of 1899 and

²⁶ Lord Cromer, 'Introduction' in Sidney Low, *Egypt in Translation* (New York, 1914), xvii.

²⁷ *Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1902* (1903), pp 15-6.

²⁸ *Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1903* (1904), pp 2-3.

that the working relationship between the military administration and its civilian counterparts had been good. In the 1902 Sudan report for example, Wingate ended his contribution by noting that he had been 'much struck with the zeal and energy displayed by the young British civilians'.²⁹ However, this platitude belies underlying tensions that were already emerging between the two groups in the Sudan Government.

Until 1902, the Foreign Office was kept up to date on the progress of the Condominium administration via Intelligence Reports, drawn up by senior Army officers and written in military language, reflecting the martial ethos of the administration's early years. However, the structure and tone of the 1902 report on the 'finances, administration and condition' of the region was in line with more settled parts of the British Empire, offering us considerable insight into the expectations, assumptions and self-image of the Sudan's early administrators. The 1902 report stated that progress in the creation of a new state was 'satisfactory', also noting that further development demanded that a 'whole administrative and fiscal system had to be created afresh', suggesting that significant numbers of personnel were required.³⁰ These recommendations appear to have been acted upon by the Foreign Office, with consistent annual recruitment into the Sudan Civil Service in the decade that followed. Indeed, Wingate's 1914 memo commented that 'the system of recruiting the civilian staff of Inspectors continues to be satisfactory', suggesting that the administration was reasonably content with the resources that were being allotted to it by the Foreign Office.³¹

While it is generally accepted that Sudan Political Service members were diligent and hardworking, it is clear that many, particularly those who spent their careers in the Condominium's Khartoum headquarters, were deeply conventional, somewhat risk-adverse and frequently displayed a lack of imagination in terms of the administrative style that they

²⁹ *Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1902* (1903), p. 45.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³¹ *Memorandum by General Sir Reginald Wingate on the finance, administration and condition of the Sudan* (1914), p. 68.

developed. This difference in working style further widened the gulf between Khartoum and the older generation of “Bog Barons” in the south.³²

The essential difference between the administrators in the north and south was one of philosophy. The Bog Barons frequently demonstrated a long-standing emotional connection to the Sudan, which was forged in the service of Gordon and Kitchener, while the Sudan Political Service aimed to bring modernity and British values to the region. These differing aspirations and approaches to the government of the region were at least partly generational. Christopher Prior argues that Reginald Davies, a Cambridge mathematics graduate, whose account of his Sudan career is examined later in this chapter, ‘embodies this change’ and when meeting for the first time the Kababish, or confederation of Arab nomads in Kordofan in Sudan, ‘when stationed at Bara between 1912 and 1915, lamented the lack of ‘detailed knowledge’, of their culture, suggesting that he was interested in applying more rigorous and teleological methods to ruling the region than previous governors.’³³ It is therefore unsurprising that neither grouping developed much admiration for the other.

In Khartoum, the governor-general's office and the Sudan Political Service quickly developed a reputation for efficiency and organisation, producing vast amounts of paperwork which was sent to both Cairo and London in a complex system of cross-checking and duplication.³⁴ These civilian administrators were not always popular among the governor-general's ex-military staff, as discussed in Low’s *Egypt in Translation*:

Such attainments as he does possess may also inspire rather less respect than they did at home; and they do not always impress his older military mentors. One of them, a veteran of thirty-seven, who held high office under the Sudan Government, had no esteem for the New Civilian, and imparted to me unfavourable opinions of this young gentleman. ‘I am not a university man,’ said this unbeliever, so perhaps you can tell me what they *do* learn at Oxford and Cambridge that can be of the smallest use to anybody? When we get them out here we have to begin teaching them the simplest things, which we stupid British

³² M.W. Daly, *Empire on the Nile: the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1898-1934* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 406.

³³ Christopher Prior, *Exporting Empire: Africa, colonial officials and the construction of the British Imperial State, c. 1900-39* (Manchester, 2013), p. 101.

³⁴ Graham F. Thomas, *Sudan; Struggle for survival* (London, 1993), p. 4.

officers learnt before we left Sandhurst. We have to teach them manners; I didn't mind saying 'Sir' to the Colonel when I was a subaltern, but these youngsters don't know how to behave to men from whom they have to take orders. We have to teach them book-keeping, office accounts, map measuring, how to docket papers and draw up reports, the elements of land surveying; surely these are things that their schoolmasters might have taught them before they sent them out to us'.³⁵

Their caution, dullness and tendency towards pedantry is evident in the wording of a 1908 ordinance on forests, which defines mundane terms such as 'cattle' and 'river', much to the exasperation of the Bog Barons who were busy with more pressing concerns such as cattle raiding and intertribal conflict.³⁶ These 'new civilians', contractually obliged to stay single until completion of two years' service in the Sudan, took pride in their somewhat monkish way of life.³⁷ While mostly unsubstantiated rumours of the Bog Barons' considerably less monkish existence, including stories of native mistresses, abounded, Sudan Political Service members lived by a high moral code, policed by a sense of collective moral conformity and enforced by Lady Wingate, who is known to have been instrumental in the repatriation of young men whom she deemed to be morally unfit for service in the Sudan.³⁸ It is somewhat predictable therefore that the *Sudan Government (Staff) List*, an official publication which charted the comings and goings of the Sudan Political Service and the governor-general's household at Khartoum, was known as the 'Book of Snobs' by the Bog Barons.³⁹

Social and educational backgrounds of administrators.

One of the features peculiar to the administration of the Sudan was the fact that a ruling class specific to the region had to be created, almost *ab initio*. Unlike longer held and more established parts of the British Empire, a ruling elite had to be created quickly and deliberately,

³⁵ Sidney Low, *Egypt in Translation* (New York, 1914), p. 90.

³⁶ *Sudan Government Gazette*, cxlvi (Dec., 1908), p. 909.

³⁷ Charles Allen, *Plain Tales from the British Empire* (London, 2008), p. 292.

³⁸ Daniel Bivona, *British imperial literature, 1870-1940* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 28.

³⁹ A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, 'The Sudan Political Service: a profile in the sociology of Imperialism' in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, xv, no. 1 (1982), pp 21-48; p. 23.

rather than allowing for the meandering development of such a class in response to the British Empire's long-term presence in an area. Moreover, this problem was intensified by the fact that there were neither civilian nor military families with long traditions of service in the region. While occasional missionaries made East Africa their life's work, Sudanese experience among Britain's soldiering classes was generally limited to short-term participation in the military exploits in the service of Gordon or Kitchener.

This is in stark contrast to Bernard Porter's description of a 'caste within a caste' of Anglo-Indian families, which participated in the military command of India, but also had strong links to its civil administration.⁴⁰ The service of Empire, Porter argues, ran in families, with almost every male member of some involved in the government of India in various capacities.⁴¹ This created strong social networks of Anglo-Indian families, which were often strengthened by attendance at a limited range of public schools, such as Haileybury College and the United Services College, as well as specific Oxbridge colleges. These social networks were also often consolidated through marriage alliances. This can be seen in the marriage of Margaret Newbolt, daughter of Sir Henry Newbolt, one of the British Empire's most eager supporters and author of the Sudan Wars poem *Vitai Lampada*, to Lt. Col. Sir Ralph Dolignon Furse, widely credited as 'the father of the modern Colonial Service'.⁴²

The social and educational background of civilian administrators in the British Empire at large is a topic of historiographical interest to a number of scholars. In a 2006 article, James Epstein laments the inadequacy and fragmentation of scholarship on this subject, which has fallen victim to the 'disciplinary division between domestic history, including 'history from

⁴⁰ Bernard Porter, *The Absent-minded Imperialists; Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford, 2004), p. 41.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, *Sir Ralph Dolignon Furse* (23 Sept. 2004), available at the *Dictionary of National Biography*, (<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/31129>) (15 Feb. 2018).

below', and imperial history in its more traditional guise'.⁴³ In their historiographical survey of this topic, Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose trace key interventions in this area, noting the popularity of Cannadine's contention that imperialism acted as a 'safety-valve for Britain's aristocracy' remains popular but is nevertheless under fire.⁴⁴ M.W. Daly, A.H.M. Kirk-Greene and Christopher Prior have explored the issue of social class in relation to the Sudan, with differing levels of success. Many of their arguments stem from the data collected in the late 1970s by the sports historian J.A. Mangan, who interviewed over sixty former members of the Sudan Political Service, in an attempt to determine the link between athleticism and imperialism. Somewhat unintentionally, he produced the best record to date of the social backgrounds and professional motives of colonial administrators, and of the importance of the public school system in the development of these men's 'gubernatorial attitudes and skills'.⁴⁵

While it is a gross generalisation to assume that the Empire was run entirely by public schoolboys, and while few historians have examined this generalisation in relation to specific colonial civil administrations, it does appear to have been true in the case of the Sudan.⁴⁶ Evidence exists of occasional recruitment from grammar schools in the years following the First World War, such as Thomas Creed, who had been educated at Wyggeston Grammar school in Leicester. Before this date however, almost all members of the Sudan Political Service came from a comfortable family background, had received a public school education, held a solid but unremarkable degree from Oxford or Cambridge, and could boast considerable sporting prowess.

⁴³ James Epstein, 'Taking class notes on empire' in Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (eds), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, 2006), pp 251-74; p. 251.

⁴⁴ Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, 'Introduction: being at home with the Empire' in Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (eds), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, 2006), pp 1-31; p. 14.

⁴⁵ J.A. Mangan, 'The education of an elite imperial administration; the Sudan Political Service and the British public school system' in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, xv, no. 4 (1982), pp 671-99; p. 671.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 675.

In the introduction to his 2011 work on European imperialism, John M. MacKenzie argues that colonialism made the world ‘an oyster for Europeans generally’, allowing for ‘migration and jobs, for adventures and tourism, depending on the social class of the participants’.⁴⁷ This social class was one that, according to A.H.M. Kirk-Greene’s examination of the civil services of the British Empire, had a long association with military and/or colonial service. He notes that many members of the ruling elite that governed the Raj could trace their family’s involvement in India back to ‘the Honourable Company’ or East India Company, which received its royal charter in 1612.⁴⁸ This multi-generational sense of service not only created some level of stability in the government of India, but generated as well an obvious pool of potential governors and administrators who had often been educated specifically with such appointments in mind. It is therefore unsurprising that many of the administrators of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan came from families with a tradition of service elsewhere in the British Empire. This trend is typified by the life of Colonel Sir Hugh Boustead, who enjoyed a career as both a military and civilian administrator of the Sudan, and came from a family of tea planters in Ceylon, where he was born and had spent his early years.⁴⁹

Despite the relative novelty of service in the Sudan, some administrators’ careers were made possible by specific family connections to Africa. Wilfred Thesiger, who served in the Sudan in both a civilian and military capacity, was born in and spent his early years in Addis Ababa, where his father had been the British consul-general.⁵⁰ A memorable moment in his childhood was the state visit of Ras Tafari, later to become Emperor Haile Selassie, who invited him to return to Abyssinia, something he eventually achieved as a young man and which led to his career in the Sudan. Thesiger was also unusual in having relatives available to welcome

⁴⁷ John M. MacKenzie, ‘Introduction’ in John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *European empires and the people: Popular responses to Imperialism in France, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Italy* (Studies in Imperialism) (Manchester, 2011), pp 1-18; p. 5.

⁴⁸ A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, *Britain’s Imperial Administrators, 1858-1966* (London, 2000), p. 100.

⁴⁹ Hugh Boustead, *The Wind of Morning* (London, 1972), p. 1.

⁵⁰ Wilfred Thesiger, *The Life of my Choice* (London, 1992), p. 23.

him to the region when he arrived in Khartoum in 1935, and was met by Mary Perry, a cousin of his mother, who was married to Walter Perry of the Egyptian Irrigation Service in the Sudan.⁵¹ For most administrators however, they were the first and often only members of their family to serve in the region, such was the compact chronological span of the enterprise.

The interviews conducted by the Imperial War Museum all start with questions about the interviewees' background. The majority of officer-class military personnel who served in the Sudan appear to come from broadly similar family and educational backgrounds, with a family tradition of soldiering and attendance at a minor public school. Robert Home Stewart Popham, who served with the Equatorial Corps and the Sudan Camel Corps from 1937 to 1939, typifies such a background, coming from a prestigious, if not especially prominent military family. Popham's father participated in active service in South Africa and India, and other members of his family also saw active service throughout the British Empire. After Shrewsbury School, he attended Sandhurst in preparation for a career in the British Army.⁵² Similarly, Ernest Reginald Goode, who served with the Sudan Defence Force in the Sudan and Eritrea between 1935 and 1943, had a father in the Royal Artillery, and spent his very early years in South Africa.⁵³ Sydney Hugh Curwen Stotherd, who served in the Sudan Defence Force in the 1930s, also described his family as a military one, dating back to the American War of Independence, commenting that when he left school he had 'nowhere to go but to the Army'.⁵⁴

Therefore, many served in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in the context of a greater family tradition of soldiering or other types of service in the British Empire. Nevertheless, none report any familial pressure to join the army, but were personally interested in doing so, and in seeking

⁵¹ Wilfred Thesiger, *The Life of my Choice* (London, 1992), p. 175.

⁵² Interview with Robert Home Stewart Popham, 11 Jan. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4288).

⁵³ Interview with Ernest Reginald Goode, 17 Jan. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4291).

⁵⁴ Interview with Sydney Hugh Curwen Stotherd, 1 Feb. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4294).

out and exploiting the new professional opportunities that Britain's governance of the Sudan brought.

Other military administrators came from the established professional classes. Some of these appear to have joined the British Army simply as a means of practicing their chosen profession while enjoying better pay and working conditions than they might have commanded in civilian life. Many appeared disinterested in military life, but were attracted to the idea of working in Africa, and saw military service simply as a means of doing so. William Hamilton Scriven, the cricket-playing doctor at El Fashir, described his background as that of an 'Irish medical family'.⁵⁵ He attended Repton School, followed by a medical degree at Trinity College Cambridge, and although officially a member of the Condominium's military administration, his practical contact with the British Army was limited, completing just two months of military training upon joining the Royal Army Medical Corps.⁵⁶

It can reasonably be concluded that the majority of participants in the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium came from comfortable, established, middle-class families, who enjoyed the benefits of an elite education and a reasonably high social standing. There were exceptions to this generalisation, for example H.P.W. Hutson, who served in various capacities in Egypt and the Sudan between 1914 and 1949, and sought a posting as an engineer in the region because he 'wasn't well-off' and heard that 'sappers could live on their pay'.⁵⁷ Overall however, members of the region's civil and military administration were socially privileged, educated and reasonably well-off. This cohort is perhaps best described by Robert Vansittart, a prominent figure in the interbellum Foreign Office, in his foreword to H.C. Jackson's memoirs:

I have never wavered in my conviction that the Sudan Civil Service was the finest body in the world. Its members should have proud and abiding recollections. They were all picked men, scholars and athletes. The author [H.C. Jackson] was selected with seven others. Look at their credentials! A former Rugby football captain of

⁵⁵ Interview with William Hamilton Scriven, 5 Feb. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4295).

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Interview with H.P.W. Hutson, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4465).

Oxford and Scotland, an ex-captain of the Cambridge University cricket team, a member of the Oxford University soccer XI, a rowing trials man, a member of the Oxford and Middlesex County cricket teams and a Somerset County Rugby footballer. This was a typical intake, chosen not by examination but by shrewd judges of capacity, not only to survive in but to administer huge wild districts 'far from the beaten track'.⁵⁸

With its requirement for intelligent but practical young men, who were well-bred enough to embody and transmit the values of the British Empire, but whose gentility was tempered with the resilience to endure loneliness and the harsh physical conditions of African life, the Sudan Political Service provided ideal employment for members of upper middle-class families. Robert Collins, J.A. Mangan and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene agree that roughly one-third of appointees were clergymen's sons and the majority of the rest were from rural upper middle-class families. Janice Boddy links the number of clergymen's sons among the ranks of the Sudan Political Service as a factor in the service's view of Islam as a 'backward-looking faith that inspired fatalism, superstition, and indolence', which was 'incapable of stimulating economic progress as Protestant Christianity had done in the West'.⁵⁹

Although some administrators were younger members of gentry-level families, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was essentially a middle-class enterprise, with few aristocratic participants. This suggests that David Cannadine's contention that colonial service was always the preserve of men of 'upper middle class, public school backgrounds' is correct insofar as the Sudan is concerned, as is his argument that for aristocrats 'in search of a job, the colonial service was never a very attractive place'.⁶⁰ Those aristocrats that did enter colonial service, as opposed to securing more socially prestigious diplomatic jobs or even as military aides de camp, were 'among the most disadvantaged of the titled and landed; they were younger sons of squires, or impoverished Irish aristocrats, or minor gentry'.⁶¹ James Epstein broadly agrees

⁵⁸ Robert Vansittart, 'Foreword' in H.C. Jackson, *Sudan Days and Ways* (London, 1954), vii.

⁵⁹ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), pp 23-4.

⁶⁰ David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (London, 2005), p. 421.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

with this view, arguing that while the highest and more lucrative colonial appointments went to senior British aristocracy, ‘well-connected or talented members of the Scottish and Anglo-Irish gentry’ also participated in the British Empire, which helped to ‘integrate these groups into the ranks of the British upper class through their strong connections to empire’. Indeed, of the nine Condominium-era governors-general of the Sudan, the first three were descended from impoverished Irish aristocratic stock. Herbert Kitchener was born in and spent his early life in Listowel, Co. Kerry.⁶² Reginald Wingate’s mother was born in Co. Dublin.⁶³ Although born in India, Lee Stack family was of Irish origin, as his full name, Lee Oliver Fitzmaurice Stack, is testament to.⁶⁴

The link between the public-school system and the British Empire, particularly its role in preparing young men for the hardships and responsibilities of life in remote areas, has been well-explored from a variety of sociological and historiographical perspectives. In his examination of British prep schools as transmitters of imperial values, Donald Leinster-Mackay argues that this process began early in the educational system, which saw boys essentially moulded into shape by the ‘spartan conditions of prep-school life’, generally involving ‘frequent beatings, indiscriminate bullying, [and] plain and sometimes inadequate food’, which ‘helped to condition young boys to self-dependence and ‘manliness’’.⁶⁵

Such schools also created physical and emotional distance between boys and their families and, according to the economic and social historian Peter Earle, operated as ‘secret places, isolated from the world by a code of secrecy and silence that was shared by masters

⁶² Keith Neilson, *Kitchener, Horatio Herbert* (23 Sept. 2004), available at *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<https://doi-org/10.1093/ref:odnb/34341>) (30 Oct. 2019).

⁶³ M.W. Daly, *Sir (Francis) Reginald Wingate* (22 Sept. 2011), available at *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<https://doi-org/10.1093/ref:odnb/36977>) (30 Oct. 2019).

⁶⁴ M.W. Daly, *Sir Lee Oliver Fitzmaurice Stack* (23 Sept. 2011), available at *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<https://doi-org/10.1093/ref:odnb/36230>) (30 Oct. 2019).

⁶⁵ Donald Leinster-Mackay, ‘The nineteenth-century English preparatory school: cradle and crèche of Empire?’ in J.A. Mangan (ed.), *‘Benefits bestowed?’: education and British imperialism* (Manchester and New York, 1998), pp 56-75; pp 60-1.

and boys alike'.⁶⁶ Consequently, 'no boy would tell his parents what really went on' at school, forcing him to instead rely only upon his own emotional and practical resources to cope with loneliness and the physical hardships of the public school system.⁶⁷ However harsh these early lessons in self-reliance may seem to modern sensibilities, the confidence and resilience they developed amply prepared young men for the reality of life in less-established parts of the British Empire, with many later reporting that far from disliking the isolation of remote postings, they relished the opportunity for self-growth it gave them. This, James Epstein argues, was 'inextricably linked to a gender regime based on ideals of 'adventure, male comradeship, and licensed aggression'.⁶⁸ He also notes however, that such schools operated in within their own strict social hierarchy, with older public schools such as Eton producing 'cabinet ministers, viceroys and field marshals', while 'newer schools like Clifton more typically trained the larger cadre of gentlemen who moved into lesser positions in the military and imperial service'.⁶⁹

Although critical of what he saw as the 'self-glorification' of colonial administrators such as H.C. Jackson, who he accused of 'an embarrassingly false modesty or transparent understatement', M.W. Daly accepts that such a system did produce able colonial administrators.⁷⁰ He described the products of such schools as 'just and decent men' who possessed strong bonds of loyalty to each other.⁷¹ This is echoed in the words of one of the British contributors to *Bonds of Silk*, who stated that administrators were 'helped by the fact that we were very much drawn from the same class of English society. We thought the same

⁶⁶ Peter Earle, 'God, the rod, and lines from Virgil' in G.M. Fraser (ed.), *The World of the Public School* (London, 1977), pp 39-55, p. 39.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ James Epstein, 'Taking class notes on empire' in Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (eds), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, 2006), pp 251-74; p. 256.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ M.W. Daly, *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1898-1934* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 84.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 86.

way, we talked the same way, we had the same background, we probably had the same form of education'.⁷²

One of the key historiographical differences in how scholars understand the men of the Sudan Political Service is the question of anti-intellectualism and groupthink, two charges that have been continually laid at the door of the administration for some time. There is ample evidence both to depict the administration as anti-intellectual and limited – Marie Grace Brown recycles Odette Keun's denouncement of British men in the Sudan as 'vacuous, noisy, deadly dull, inconsiderate English graduate[s]', but also suggests that this was not the case.⁷³

A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, as both a colonial administrator and historian of the administration, is at once a mine of information on this topic, and a purveyor of myth and bias. In his exploration of sporting prowess and imperialism, Kirk-Greene describes the Sudan Political Service as an 'athletocracy' in which young men with 'a proven capacity for team games' were favoured by selectors.⁷⁴ He also surveyed *The Times* obituaries of Sudan Political Service members and noted that out of the 150 administrators who governed Africa between 1900 and 1965, half [of these obituaries] gave preference to their sporting rather than political or administrative achievements in the Sudan.⁷⁵ This suggests a certain level of anti-intellectualism, or at the very least, intense modesty. Indeed, on a superficial level, the individuals who joined the Sudan Political Service conform to the stereotypical public school and Oxbridge-educated 'hearty' who, while capable, was not especially academically clever. Not unreasonably, selectors favoured applicants who demonstrated common sense and the ability to rely on their own good judgement rather than a lengthy scholastic education. Cyril

⁷² M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), pp 41-2.

⁷³ Marie Grace Brown, *Khartoum at Night: Fashion and Body Politics in Imperial Sudan* (Stanford, 2017), p. 25.

⁷⁴ A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, 'Badge of office: sport and his excellency in the British Empire' in *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, vi (1989), pp 178-200; pp 183-4.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

Gordon Martin recalled that only people such as ‘the governor [general] and his staff read books as they ‘lived a normal life’, while his life in the rural Sudan was a ‘more active’ one of shooting and fishing.’⁷⁶

However, the idea that the domination of the administration by men with sporting backgrounds led to a homogenous culture of anti-intellectualism is challenged by Reginald Davies, who commented in his memoirs that it was the ‘widely different temperaments and qualifications’ of administrators that led to the success of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium.⁷⁷ He noted that the two District Commissioners he worked under were radically different, one being a ‘scholar, with a first-class degree in Classics from Cambridge’, while the other was ‘extravert and forceful: no scholar – he had a modest third in Jurisprudence from Oxford – but very acutely intelligent’.⁷⁸

There is also ample evidence that the apparent anti-intellectualism of the administration was a consequence of practical realities rather than an ideological statement of collective identity. H.P.W. Hutson points to the physical conditions in which many administrators in outlying areas worked as a factor, remarking that there ‘wasn’t much you could learn from books’ about the Sudan as the administration was run by ‘people in the field’ and with ‘no office work practically’.⁷⁹ He also noted that some of this was a practical issue of light, because after dark he only had a kerosene lamp, which was not comfortable for ‘serious studying’.⁸⁰

The electrification of some of the administration’s outposts from the 1920s onwards did improve standards of living for colonial officials, giving them light and comfort conducive to reading. Furthermore, isolation gave many the opportunity to read, write and think. Sydney Hugh Curwen Stotherd recalled that because reading was his ‘only

⁷⁶ Interview with Cyril Gordon Martin, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4470).

⁷⁷ Reginald Davies, *The Camel’s Back: Service in the Rural Sudan* (London, 1957), pp 40-1.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Interview with H.P.W. Hutson, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4465).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

amusement’, he read a great deal, organising a standing order with a bookseller that ‘would ship out’ to him.⁸¹ Christopher Prior is particularly opposed to the view that the administration’s officials were anti-intellectual, noting that they were not as hostile to ‘anthropology as previously suggested’.⁸² Indeed, the number of administrators who became writers, critics and Arabists as a result of their time in the Sudan would suggest that far from being an intellectual void, their experiences there fuelled their intellectual curiosity, allowing them to develop cerebral, and even scholarly careers when they returned from service in Africa.⁸³ Prior argues that while administrators were often less interested in the works of ‘Lugard and his peers, they nevertheless read widely and frequently.’⁸⁴ This was particularly the case when on trek when ‘boredom heightened many officials’ obsession with what was going on in Britain’, causing them to consume a large volume of books and newspapers.⁸⁵

Lia Paradis describes the Anglo-Sudanese as a ‘single community’ created by virtue of their small numbers and the fact that ‘most shared a common employer’.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, she describes this community, (or communities) as ‘varied, complex and sprawling’.⁸⁷ This is an accurate description of the specific community of the Sudan Political Service. While striking similarities in background and education can be identified, most demonstrated independence of thought and spirit. An examination of individual backgrounds, motivations and personal responses to life in the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium indicates that far from encouraging a bland, intellectually limited athletocracy, the structures of and recruitment

⁸¹ Interview with Sydney Hugh Curwen Stotherd, 1 Feb. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4294).

⁸² Christopher Prior, *Exporting Empire: Africa, colonial officials and the construction of the British Imperial State, c. 1900-39* (Manchester, 2013), p. 41.

⁸³ Ex-colonial officials often launched second careers as published authors and experts in their respective corner of the British Empire, as evidenced by the career of John Almeric de Courcy Hamilton, which will be discussed in Chapter Five.

⁸⁴ Christopher Prior, *Exporting Empire: Africa, colonial officials and the construction of the British Imperial State, c. 1900-39* (Manchester, 2013), p. 49.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁸⁶ Lia Paradis, *Return Ticket: The Anglo-Sudanese and the Negotiation of Identity* (Rutgers, 2004), p. 57.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

policies into the Sudan Political Service were successful in the creation of a reactive and flexible pseudo-civilian managerial class.

The Sudan Political Service, and the men who joined it, did not conform particularly closely to historiographical generalisations about Empire. The most obvious of these is Albert Memmi's mediocre-men thesis, first proposed in his seminal 1965 work, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, in which he argues that 'an elite of surplus, aware of their mediocrity, establish their privileges' through 'debasement of the colonized to exalt themselves'.⁸⁸ At no point was the Sudan, or the Sudan Political Service, a dumping ground for what David Cannadine called 'supernumerary gentlemen' or 'gentlemen failures', and most felt privileged to be selected for service.⁸⁹ This is reflected in the desirability of positions in the Sudan, and the administration's success at creating from almost nothing a relatively successful state.

However, service in the Sudan allowed a privileged number of young men to continue a pattern of life that was becoming increasingly rare in Britain, especially after the dramatic social changes of the First World War. While some administrators relished the opportunity that life in the Sudan gave them to remove themselves from the constraints of upper middle-class Britain, others used colonial service as a means of living a lifestyle that had all but disappeared in Britain. The life of the rural squire – paternalistic, leisured, traditional, prosperous and intimately connected to the physical terrain and wildlife of his surroundings, was one that service in the Sudan allowed this unique cohort to experience, while their contemporaries in England, however genteel their upbringing, effectively joined the middle classes, retreating into the grey warmth of suburbia, commuting and office politics. It is no surprise that Sudanese self-government, which heralded the end of this way of life was mourned by many, including

⁸⁸ Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, trans. Lawrence Hoey (London, 1965), pp 23-4.

⁸⁹ David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (London, 2005), p. 429.

Robert Vansittart, who ruefully concluded his foreword of H.C. Jackson's memoirs with the comments that 'it is over now. The camel is passing, and so are we'.⁹⁰

Motivations for military and civilian service in the Sudan.

Although the civilian and military administrators of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan came from similar social and educational backgrounds, motivations behind their decision to apply for postings there differed. A variety of factors, such as favourable pay and conditions of service, a desire for adventure, informality and change, a childhood fascination with Africa, interest in Gordon and Kitchener, the recommendations of friends already serving there, career advancement, previous experience and even the absence of other opportunities, all played a part in administrators' decisions to go to the Sudan. There was also a cohort of individuals in the region, particularly enlisted soldiers and missionaries, who did not make a conscious decision to serve there and who were simply sent to the Sudan by their superiors, but who nevertheless preserved some element of agency over their lives and careers there.

The pre-Condominium military personnel who sought postings in the Sudan did so in most cases as a means of avoiding the monotony of barracks life and seeing active service instead, as illustrated by the memoirs of E. J. Montague-Stuart-Wortley:

I was quartered with the 1st Battalion, King's Royal Rifles, at the Curragh, and having served in the Afghan War of 1879-1880, and the Boer War of 1881, was bitten with the desire of further active service. Through a little judicious wire-pulling, I received orders to report myself at Liverpool on August 5th, to Colonel Sir Owen Lanyon, who had been appointed Commandant of the base of operations in Egypt, wherever that might happen to be.⁹¹

This motivation is echoed in the memoirs of Rudolph Carl Slatin, who appealed to General Gordon for a Sudan posting to avoid what would have been tedious military service in Vienna.⁹²

⁹⁰ Robert Vansittart, 'Foreword' in H.C. Jackson, *Sudan Days and Ways* (London, 1954), x.

⁹¹ E.J. Montague-Stuart-Wortley, 'My reminiscences of Egypt and the Sudan (from 1882 to 1899)' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxiv, no. 1 (Jun., 1953), pp 17-46; p. 17.

⁹² Rudolph Carl Slatin, *Fire and sword in the Sudan; a personal narrative of fighting and serving the Dervishes, 1879 - 1895* (London, 1898), p. 2.

The Imperial War Museum interviews conducted with members of the military administration of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, frequently cited high pay and favourable conditions of service as the primary motivation behind their decision to go to the Sudan. While most of the interviews refer to service in the 1930s, it would appear that motivations for service in the Sudan did not change substantially during the life of the Condominium, and army officers and the civilians of the Sudan Political Service, coming from similar socio-economic backgrounds, were motivated by similar factors.

As an army doctor, William Hamilton Scriven was paid ‘sixty Egyptian pounds’ in the 1930s, whose value was somewhat inflated by the fact that an Egyptian pound was worth one pound and sixpence in British pounds sterling.⁹³ His remote posting in Darfur meant that there was little to spend his pay on except ‘living and horses’ and he ‘saved a bit’, which he said would have been difficult if working in a city hospital in Britain.⁹⁴ Ernest Reginald Goode remembers a ‘terrific’ salary of two thousand pounds a year, with the added attraction of it being entirely tax-free.⁹⁵ Sudan Political Service personnel also reported that pay, favourable conditions of service, job security and excellent pension provision were important considerations.

The extremely low cost of life in Africa was also a key motivator for army officers, as evidenced by the remarks of Sydney Hugh Curwen Stotherd. Having joined a ‘very good regiment which spent its time riding, hunting and shooting’, he chose a career in the Sudan as it allowed him to play polo without the high costs attached to the sport in Britain. Polo ponies, he recalled, cost only \$10 each in cash, forage was cheap, and there were ‘no grooming fees’,

⁹³ Interview with William Hamilton Scriven, 5 Feb. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4295).

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Interview with Ernest Reginald Goode, 17 Jan. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4291).

with such work presumably carried out for free by Sudanese-born troops or servants.⁹⁶ Railway travel was particularly cheap, allowing him to travel for hundreds of miles with his ponies for ‘almost a few shillings’, making the country ‘very easy to live in’.⁹⁷ This low cost of living allowed even junior colonial officials to enjoy a high quality of life which, when coupled with generous leave patterns and an early retirement age, made the Sudan an attractive prospect, despite its remoteness and the harshness of its terrain.

However, in *Bonds of Silk*, M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng note that when asked about their motivations for seeking employment in the Sudan, their respondents retrospectively believed ‘that financial and other terms of service were only secondary considerations’.⁹⁸ While most of the British-born contributors to their study claimed that they ‘had no ideas about the Sudan and the Sudanese before joining the government service, encouragement from family and friends, academic mentors and members of the Sudan Political Service at home in Britain on annual leave, were encouraging of their interest in working in the Sudan.’⁹⁹ They also noted that despite very little prior knowledge of the region or its peoples, ‘a surprising number cited Kipling’s poem “Fuzzy Wuzzy” as a source for their conception of the Sudanese’.¹⁰⁰

This is echoed in the fact that civilian and military administrators alike appear to have been motivated by a desire to see more of the world and, in some cases, chose the Sudan specifically because of a childhood fascination with Gordon, the Dervishes and the Siege of Khartoum. A young man entering the service in the first three decades of the century would undoubtedly have read as a schoolboy popular work such as *The Four Feathers*, *The River War* or Slatin’s account of his captivity in the region. However, Christopher Prior argues that it is

⁹⁶ Interview with Sydney Hugh Curwen Stotherd, 1 Feb. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4294).

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), p. 14.

⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 13.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

difficult to assess to what extent a boyhood fascination with the British Empire converted into ‘an adult determination to dedicate one’s life to working in the colonies as an official’, and indeed some of the reasons that colonial administrators gave for their interest in the Sudan seem disingenuous at least.¹⁰¹ Some of this can be linked to a general discomfort about discussing British motivations for involvement in the region overall. In his contribution to *Bonds of Silk*, K.D.D. Henderson claimed that his initial interest in the Sudan was because of the region’s need for peace after the Mahdi, stating that ‘in 1895 practically all of Africa was in a comparatively peaceful condition except the Sudan which was, as I understood things, groaning under the rule of the Khalifa al-Mahdi. I therefore decided that that was the place to try and get in’.¹⁰² The authors are similarly dubious of such statements, noting that ‘it is not surprising that a substantial majority of respondents claim that their overriding purpose was to guide the people [and that] a fair number affirmed that part of their task was protecting the Sudanese’. They also noted that ‘only a few admitted an element of dominion’ in their sense of what British involvement in the Sudan was about, ‘and several adamantly denied it’.¹⁰³ For many, their real motivations were neither lofty nor particularly well thought through.

William Hamilton Scriven volunteered with the Royal Army Medical Corps simply because he wanted to ‘ride horses and see the world’, and was encouraged to go to the Sudan by a friend who told him that ‘one saw things there that one didn’t see ever’.¹⁰⁴ Hugh Boustead ‘put in for the Egyptian Army’ after learning that his battalion was headed for India, a prospect that meant the monotony and structure of ‘more barracks life’.¹⁰⁵ Unlike the strictly regimented

¹⁰¹ Christopher Prior, *Exporting Empire: Africa, colonial officials and the construction of the British Imperial State, c. 1900-39* (Manchester, 2013), p. 21.

¹⁰² M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), p. 15.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with William Hamilton Scriven, 5 Feb. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4295).

¹⁰⁵ Hugh Boustead, *The Wind of Morning* (London, 1972), p. 72.

life of colonial India, Africa gave him the opportunity of ‘more responsibility and a less formal life’.¹⁰⁶

Civilian administrators were largely similarly motivated, such as Reginald Davies who, in his memoirs of his life as a colonial administrator, recalls how fortunate he felt when he was sent to Kordofan, ‘then the most westerly and one of the largest’ provinces.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, H.C. Jackson describes his posting to Malakal, in the south, as a means of taking him ‘one step closer to the realisation of [his] dreams’ of seeing the ‘Heart of Africa’ and the Great Lakes.¹⁰⁸ Since childhood, Jackson had ‘pored over the journals of Livingstone and Stanley’ and was particularly fascinated by the ‘accounts of sleeping sickness in Seton Merriman’s *With Edged Tools*’.¹⁰⁹ Wilfred Thesiger appears to have been similarly romantically fascinated by the prospect of life in the Sudan, having completed a four-year expedition to the Danakil region of Abyssinia, and attributes his selection for the Sudan Political Service to four articles he wrote about the expedition, which were published by *The Times*.¹¹⁰

Gerrard Frances Stayner, an early entrant into the Sudan Defence Force, on secondment from the Leicestershire Regiment, reported that he arrived at Khartoum just after Lee Stack’s assassination and a minor mutiny of Sudanese troops in the Egyptian Army. He recalled that for him the ‘time had come to go abroad’ and that he ‘liked the country and the people’, whom he described as ‘real men’.¹¹¹

Cyril Gordon Martin’s transfer into the Egyptian Army in 1915 appears to have been done in something of a fit of pique, as he reported that as an instructor in the Royal Engineers, he was ‘rather tired of teaching young sappers’. Surprisingly, he fails to mention the outbreak

¹⁰⁶ Hugh Boustead, *The Wind of Morning* (London, 1972), p. 72.

¹⁰⁷ Reginald Davies, *The Camel’s Back: Service in the Rural Sudan* (London, 1957), p. 25.

¹⁰⁸ H.C. Jackson, *Sudan Days and Ways* (London, 1954), p. 136.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Wilfred Thesiger, *The Life of my Choice* (London, 1992), p. 171.

¹¹¹ Interview with Gerrard Frances Stayner, 19 Dec. 1978 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 3999).

of war in Europe, and why he was not deployed on active service. He recalled ‘no interview’ or preparation of much sort and was glad that he had acted upon his whim, as it led to a more interesting career, residing in a country ‘attractive for shooting and fishing’, than he might have experienced in the interbellum British Army.¹¹²

Other participants in the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium approached the enterprise with few ideals and saw service in the Sudan simply as a means of career advancement in the relative absence of other opportunities. In some cases, service in the Sudan was simply one of a series of pragmatic decisions concerning an individual’s career. In his memoirs, Hugh Boustead admitted that his initial decision to join the Gordon Highlanders came about simply because he had intended to join the Royal Dublin Fusiliers, as his brother had done some years before, but the regiment ‘was about to be disbanded’ and he had to look elsewhere for opportunities.¹¹³ Similarly, Wilfred Thesiger appears to have settled on a career in the Sudan Political Service as a short-term means of ensuring his being in North East Africa’ where he could pursue an undoubtedly unconventional life and career in Africa and the Middle East.¹¹⁴

Economic pragmatism was particularly evident in the motivations of men who sought positions in the Sudan in the years after the First World War, as jobs in Britain were scarce and poorly paid. Cyril Alexander Lea, who joined the Sudan Political Service in 1926, tried a variety of jobs before his appointment, including working as a schoolmaster and as a secretary in Dunlop’s tire factory, while receiving a grounding in military life as a reserve in the Honourable Artillery Company.¹¹⁵ Similarly, Frederick Charles Richardson, despite obtaining a degree from the London School of Economics, worked at several rather mundane jobs

¹¹² Interview with Cyril Gordon Martin, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4470).

¹¹³ Hugh Boustead, *The Wind of Morning* (London, 1971), p. 67.

¹¹⁴ Christopher Prior, *Exporting Empire: Africa, colonial officials and the construction of the British Imperial State, c. 1900-39* (Manchester, 2013), p. 25.

¹¹⁵ Interview with Cyril Alexander Lea, 19 Mar. 1984 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 8183).

including as a milk salesman and running a fish and chip shop, before serving in Egypt and the Sudan with the R.A.F.¹¹⁶

While both men were well-educated, relatively well-connected and later forged successful careers in the Sudan, their shaky professional starts reflect the fact that the economic realities of the interwar years negatively impacted the employment prospects of many social classes. Therefore, we can assume that economic pragmatism was a primary consideration in many administrators' decision to work in the Sudan. This appears to be less of a consideration for British Army officers with pensionable and salaried jobs, but nevertheless George Alan Dawson Young, who served in the Egyptian Army, was enticed to Africa by the promise of a 'splendid posting' as a gas engineer and company subaltern.¹¹⁷

This pragmatism corresponds, to some extent, to Albert Memmi's discussions of the motivations for participation in empire, ones, he argues, that arise from 'a voyage towards an easier life', where 'jobs are guaranteed, wages higher, careers more rapid and business more profitable'.¹¹⁸ Although it is debatable how 'easier' a life spent working and living in the Sudan was on a practical level, overseas career prospects for middle class university graduates appear to have been significantly better than they were in Britain. This continued to be true for entrants to the service in the 1930s, when even graduates from Oxbridge colleges struggled to find work upon graduation. This issue is evidenced by a 1935 article in *The Times* which lamented 'the difficulties of men seeking a first appointment' and wished that the Sudan Political Service would appoint more probationers than the four selected that year.¹¹⁹

The recollections of Ernest Reginald Goode are perhaps the most revealing, and suggest that for some participants at least, all three of the considerations discussed above were factors

¹¹⁶ Interview with Frederick Charles Richardson, 22 Apr. 1980 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4623).

¹¹⁷ Interview with George Alan Dawson Young, 12 Dec. 1983 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 7328).

¹¹⁸ Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, trans. Lawrence Hoey (London, 1965), p.70.

¹¹⁹ *The Times*, 11 Mar. 1935.

in their decision to go to the Sudan. Goode was educated at Gordon Grammar School, where he was undoubtedly inculcated with a sense of General Gordon as a paradigm Englishman, imperialist, Christian and soldier. After university, he worked as a schoolmaster for a year, and then joined the Royal Army Service Corps. He describes visiting Fulham Barracks at 'about eleven o'clock in the morning', where he found Sudan-bound officers 'drinking gin' while dressed in either 'hunting kit or tennis kit' and 'much to [his] father's disgust, he 'decided on a similar life', signing up for service in the Sudan that day.¹²⁰ A year of training in drill, riding and motor engineering earned him a job with the Sudan Defence Force, where he was charged with overseeing the transition from camels to mechanisation and, most importantly, giving him the opportunity to 'see the world'.¹²¹

This is also reflected in the comments of H.P.W. Hutson, who joined the Egyptian Army hoping to progress his career, see the world, and get away from traditional soldiering. His primary interest in African service was its reputation as a 'wildish sort of place', with ample opportunity for shooting and fishing.¹²² Having been advised that the Egyptian Army was 'small' and considered to be 'a bow and arrow show', his real interest in joining the Egyptian Army was seeing and soldiering in the Sudan, rather than in Egypt itself.¹²³

While the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan did not have a big network of service family such as that seen among the Anglo-Indian community, there is limited evidence that some young men sought a career in the region due to a family connection to Egypt and the Sudan. Colonel Cyril Wilson, a prominent member of the British military cohort in Cairo, served in the Egyptian Army and the Sudan Government, and was the son of Major General Sir Charles Wilson, who

¹²⁰ Interview with Ernest Reginald Goode, 17 Jan. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4291).

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Interview with H.P.W. Hutson, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4465).

¹²³ Ibid.

had participated in the attempted rescue of Gordon.¹²⁴ Similarly, as M.W. Daly notes, the officer detailed to blow up the Mahdi's tomb in the Sudan Campaign was Lt. Colonel W.S. Gordon, a nephew of General Gordon.¹²⁵ Equally, Daly and Deng describe the 'air of ancestral pride' with which J.F.S. Phillips 'considered himself virtually to have been born with the Sudan in his blood', being related to both General Gordon and General Sir Herbert Stewart, who was killed in battle at al-Qubba.¹²⁶

It is profitable to consider also the experiences of individuals who did not go to the Sudan by choice, but who were ordered there by superiors. While these participants in Empire, identified by Memmi as colonials rather than colonists, are in the main outside the scope of this study, it is nevertheless illuminating to identify their reactions to being sent to the Sudan.¹²⁷ Heather Sharkey reminds us that while the Sudan Political Service was small, their numbers were augmented by '[S]everal hundred less-exalted Britons, employed in high-level clerical, technical, and military capacities, bolstered the British presence in Khartoum, the large Northern towns, and army installations.¹²⁸ Added to these numbers were missionaries who, although numerically small, were nevertheless a presence in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. James Dempsey, a Roman Catholic priest attached to the Mill Hill missionary society in Great Britain, arrived at the village of Kodok in southern Sudan in 1939. In his memoirs, he notes that all he knew of his posting was that 'it was in the Sudan, and therefore somewhere in Africa' and that 'it was the last and least of our missions, having been entrusted to the care of the Mill Hill Fathers only in the previous year'.¹²⁹ The lack of information given to Dempsey in advance of

¹²⁴ Philip Walker, *Behind the Lawrence legend: the forgotten few who shaped the Arab Revolt* (Oxford, 2018), pp 1-2.

¹²⁵ M.W. Daly, *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1898-1934* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 5.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹²⁷ Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, trans. Lawrence Hoey (London, 1965), p.76.

¹²⁸ Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism; Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley & London, 2003), p. 71.

¹²⁹ James Dempsey, *Mission on the Nile* (New York, 1956), p. 1.

his deployment is similar to the complaints of enlisted soldiers, who reported that they were usually given almost no advance information by their officers ahead of overseas service.

James Henry 'Jim' Miller served in Khartoum between 1935 and 1937 with his regiment, the Durham Light Infantry. Apart from noting that Khartoum had 'lots of sand', he recalled having 'no interest' in the Sudan or in exploring the city during his time there, preferring to 'stop in barracks', an attitude he attributed to the fact that he was shortly expecting to leave the Army.¹³⁰ Therefore, it must be remembered that alongside individuals for whom service in the Sudan was considered a privilege, a pleasure and even the fulfilment of a childhood dream, there existed many who found themselves there through forces beyond their control, and who had little personal interest in the novelty and freedom that life in the Sudan potentially offered other participants. However, other enlisted men were glad to be sent to Africa, as evidenced by the recollections of Stanley Bird, who had a short posting in Alexandria after being evacuated from Gallipoli. He relished this 'opportunity of safe ground again', revealingly using the term 'Blighty' to mean Egypt.¹³¹

Psychological effects of isolation.

The psychological effects of isolation were a common problem among those who served in remote parts of the British Empire. The Sudan, with its paucity of personnel, vast geographical reach, poor infrastructure and difficulty of communications with the rest of the world, was a particularly isolated outpost of Empire. When comparing his experiences of military service in India to that in the Sudan, Robert Home Stewart Popham remarked that in India, British Army personnel were 'very much a corporate body' and that 'one was able to get around', while in

¹³⁰ Interview with James Henry 'Jim' Miller, 13 Feb. 1996 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 16576).

¹³¹ Interview with Stanley Parker Bird, 1984 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 7375).

the Sudan, there were ‘very few officers’, who were ‘entirely on [their] own in many cases’.¹³²

David Cannadine argues that isolation was an integral part of colonial service:

postings were far away from home, on the edge of events, both socially and politically.... loneliness, depression, sickness, and death were commonplace occupational hazards, as were overwork, mental breakdowns, and nervous disorders.¹³³

Indeed, the practical and psychological hardship of a solitary or semi-solitary existence is extensively discussed in first-hand accounts of life in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and seems to have been a consideration, if not necessarily a problem, for most British-born residents of the region. Civil administrators, military personnel, accompanying wives and missionaries often described in great detail how loneliness and isolation manifested themselves. Although almost all lived among local populations, language barriers, racial prejudice, mutual social discomfort and cultural differences meant that most British-born people in the region had little casual social contact with these people and therefore felt alone, even when surrounded by Sudanese populations. Furthermore, Anglo-Sudanese society was highly stratified, with junior and senior members of the administration socialising in separate clubs and other establishments.¹³⁴

In his contribution to *Bonds of Silk*, John Winder, who served in the region from the 1920s, identified British class barriers as a contributory factor to the sense of isolation administrators often felt, even among other Britons, remarking that:

[M]eeting socially is not a thing the British find easy. They are said to be snobbish, and they probably are. They like to associate with people ‘out of the same drawer’ as themselves. In Port Sudan and in Khartoum there were clubs restricted to senior officials and the division between senior and junior officials was even more marked in Atbara. Having this attitude of exclusiveness militated against easy social intercourse with the Sudanese.¹³⁵

¹³² Interview with Robert Home Stewart Popham, 11 Jan. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4288).

¹³³ David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (London, 2005), p. 420.

¹³⁴ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 74.

¹³⁵ M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), p. 41.

While many commissioned officers were stationed at Khartoum or relatively peopled outposts, some found themselves hundreds of miles away from the capital, sent to remote one-man stations. In 1937, Robert Home Stewart Popham was sent by himself to Batali Post, in a Dinka-dominated area of southern Sudan. On arrival, he noticed that his predecessor had erected a homemade Automobile Association sign, counting the miles to Britain.¹³⁶ He recounted that mail arrived once a fortnight and that when not working, he amused himself with books and newspapers, a gramophone, shooting, and writing to his girlfriend. Although he concluded that ‘time didn’t hang very heavily’, he admitted that ‘one did get lonely at times’, noting that there was ‘no-one to talk to once you left the lines after 10 o’ clock, except servants’.¹³⁷

This comment is revealing of the racial dynamics of loneliness often at play in remote corners of the British Empire or, as A.H.M. Kirk-Greene argues, the image of the ‘lone-handed DC in Africa solely responsible’ was often inaccurate, as such individuals were often surrounded by ‘agents, district clerks, messengers and interpreters’, but nevertheless felt alone by virtue of his belief in his racial superiority.¹³⁸ His sense of isolation was compounded by the infrequency of communications from his Headquarters because, while roads were ‘reasonable’, a telephone was a day’s walk away and dispatches came only occasionally as handwritten notes from the ‘headquarters of the civil government at Juba’.¹³⁹ Popham also recalled that, on occasion, he would entertain British-born doctors, officers or visiting District Commissioners, instances in which he would ‘talk away like a mad thing’.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Interview with Robert Home Stewart Popham, 11 Jan. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4288).

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, ‘The Thin White Line: The Size of the British Colonial Service in Africa’ in *African Affairs*, vol 79, no. 314 (1980), pp. 25-44; p. 40.

¹³⁹ Interview with Robert Home Stewart Popham, 11 Jan. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4288).

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

Civilian administrators lived in similar conditions to their military counterparts, especially in the south, where they usually worked alone. In his memoirs, Hugh Boustead recounts his time as a District Commissioner at Zalingei in the 1920s, and a particularly difficult rainy season during which the road to Fasher, the nearest moderately-sized town, was closed, noting that ‘it was another four and a half months before I spoke English or saw another white man’.¹⁴¹ When the weather eventually improved, he received a visit from the acting governor of the province and talked non-stop for four days, as he had ‘not spoken a word of English since March’.¹⁴² However, bigger stations that were run by two administrators posed their own set of challenges, and many months of only one another for company often caused tensions between administrators. H.C. Jackson noted that in these ‘double-banked’ stations, tensions could develop, creating a ‘quite intolerable’ atmosphere, although he realised how fortunate he had been to have ‘a pleasant companion’ during his two years in such an outpost.¹⁴³

Almost all of the missionaries working in the Sudan were involved in the provision of health and educational services in addition to evangelism, and therefore most were spared the difficulties of complete isolation by virtue of daily contact with the Sudanese on a more equal and personal footing than that usually experienced by civilian and military administrators. In addition to the local populations they served and ministered to, they often had other missionaries for company, working as medics, teachers and preachers in small groups at mission stations. However, they too found the remoteness of their locations trying at times, as evidenced in the memoirs of James Dempsey who, when serving as a priest at Detwok in the south, depended almost solely ‘on the fortnightly visit of the post boat’, noting that when conditions prevented its arrival, his religious community were ‘mail-less and tobacco-less’ and ‘condemned perhaps to short commons for another fortnight’.¹⁴⁴ Missionaries also appeared to

¹⁴¹ Hugh Boustead, *The Wind of Morning* (London, 1972), p. 115.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ H.C. Jackson, *Sudan Days and Ways* (London, 1954), p. 42.

¹⁴⁴ James Dempsey, *Mission on the Nile* (New York, 1956), pp 181-3.

be isolated in spacial terms, and did not appear to have the means or permission to move much around the region, unlike civilian and military administrators who travelled widely as part of their duties. Eventually, the purchase of a second-hand Austin by James Dempsey's religious order allowed him to travel to some extent, his superiors having agreed that 'it was a matter of grave concern that one should live in the Upper Nile Province for so long, a matter of ten years or so, and yet know nothing of our next-door neighbours in Kordofan'.¹⁴⁵

Although British-born women worked unofficially for the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium as missionaries, nurses and teachers, in official terms at least, they played no role in the administration of the Sudan. Because of the physical hardships of life in the region, civilian and military administrators were either forbidden or strongly discouraged from marrying. Wives who accompanied their husbands were barely tolerated and warned that if they became sick, pregnant or were perceived as being uncooperative or unhappy, they would be sent home immediately. The belief that 'European gentlewomen' could not survive the hardships of life in the region and their effective exclusion from large parts of the administration influenced, Janice Boddy argues, 'the character of the administration for years to come'.¹⁴⁶

While the wives of Khartoum-based colonial officials often enjoyed a vibrant social life, those who accompanied their husbands to outlying areas faced extreme isolation, which was often intensified the administration's ill-founded belief that wives would not be welcomed by local Muslim communities. Administrators were often publicly ungallant to their wives, on the mistaken assumption that this was agreeable to the local Muslim population. This is evident in the recollection of one wife, who remembers her husband offloading her several stops early when returning from leave by train because he anticipated a formal welcome from the local

¹⁴⁵ James Dempsey, *Mission on the Nile* (New York, 1956), p. 227.

¹⁴⁶ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 45.

population, thinking it would be unacceptable in Muslim eyes to have his wife ‘made a fuss of in that way’.¹⁴⁷ The administrator appears to have been over-zealous in this regard, as Sudanese Islamic customs were moderate, but incidents such as this understandably upset and unnerved wives.

William Hamilton Scriven noted that in some stations, District Commissioners’ and Inspectors’ wives would visit outside of the rainy season, but with ‘so few ladies’, there was ‘no social life like that in India’.¹⁴⁸ Margaret Luce, who accompanied her husband to the Sudan between the years 1930 and 1956, recounted the further sense of isolation caused by constant moves, remembering that ‘every three years I vowed to leave the furniture behind, neglect the new garden and live in the wilderness with basic packing cases’, but that she, like most administrators’ wives, was eventually overcome with ‘the urge to try to make each new station a home, however makeshift and temporary’.¹⁴⁹

Anecdotal evidence suggests that personnel in other remote parts of the British Empire in Africa sometimes succumbed to acute psychological breakdowns as a result of social isolation. This appears to have been especially so in British Somaliland, and cases of madness, alcoholism, suicide and accidental death fill the memoirs of Gerald Hanley, who served in the region during the Second World War.¹⁵⁰ However, there is little evidence to suggest that this was the case in the Sudan, but it is possible that for reasons of tact and reticence, such events are underrepresented in the first-hand accounts of colonial service in these years. Robert Home Stewart Popham stated that he never ‘really knew of anyone going around the bend, except there were two officers once in Tarley port who wrote their names on their furniture’, but

¹⁴⁷ Rosemary Kenrick, *Sudan Tales; Recollections of some Sudan Political Service wives 1926-56* (Cambridge, 1987), pp 23-5.

¹⁴⁸ Interview with William Hamilton Scriven, 5 Feb. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4295).

¹⁴⁹ Rosemary Kenrick, *Sudan Tales; Recollections of some Sudan Political Service wives 1926-56* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 63.

¹⁵⁰ Gerald Hanley, *Warriors; life and death among the Somalis* (London, 1971).

admitted that isolated postings came with the ‘possibility of going around the bend if you were that way inclined’, simply by making administrators ‘nervous and irritable’.¹⁵¹ This is echoed in one of the reminiscences collected in *Bonds of Silk*, where one contributor, describing his work in En Nahud, recalled that ‘now you reach a stage in which you can neither write nor read any more where there is nothing left to do but go to bed at nine and perhaps wake up and findit is only twelve o’clock and you happen to have the whole night ahead of you’.¹⁵²

Leslie Hassack, a Royal Army Service Corps non-commissioned officer who was seconded to the Sudan Defence Force between 1934 and 1940, recounted that he was advised to avoid malaria by drinking ‘a small whiskey and water or soda every night’, but with the warning, ‘don’t drink it for fun’.¹⁵³ This seems to concur with William Hamilton Scriven’s recollection that he ‘drank a certain amount, but not till after sundown’.¹⁵⁴ However, Hassack also recalled a visiting officer staying at his station who, in the course of his visit was observed to be ‘going a little bit eccentric’ and was later found dead by suicide, an event he recounts as being ‘a terrible shock’.¹⁵⁵ He also noted that while suicide was rare, sudden deaths did happen and that he knew of men who ‘went off their nut’, even in Khartoum.¹⁵⁶ Heather Sharkey has assessed some of the memoirs written by British-born officials and notes that despite their upbeat tone, they occasionally record the fact that ‘service in remote areas placed extra strains on officials, physically and emotionally’.¹⁵⁷ She points to the memoir of Alexander Cruickshank, a Scottish doctor, who recalled what he called “Sudanitis” or nervous irritability

¹⁵¹ Interview with Robert Home Stewart Popham, 11 Jan. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4288).

¹⁵² M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), p. 41.

¹⁵³ Interview with Leslie Hassack, 18 Dec. 1978 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 3998).

¹⁵⁴ Interview with William Hamilton Scriven, 5 Feb. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4295).

¹⁵⁵ Interview with Leslie Hassack, 18 Dec. 1978 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 3998).

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism; Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley & London, 2003), p. 115.

caused by isolation in southern postings, an affliction that even Northern Sudanese officials were similarly prone to, as well as the fact that H.C. Jackson's memoirs, written in a near-uniform upbeat tone, also alludes to the depressive effects of isolation.¹⁵⁸

However, the Sudan Health Department sections of governor-general's annual reports fail to mention sudden deaths and other difficulties among the administration's participants, so such anecdotal evidence is difficult to assess for veracity. It seems likely that such reactions were periodic, and often linked to physical illness and poor weather, as H.C. Jackson's description of an episode during his time at Sennar, which he described as 'one of the unhealthiest stations in the Sudan', where his morale, and that of his clerks deteriorated as rains and mosquitoes set in:¹⁵⁹

I remember once, when I was ill with malaria, going to the office and not finding a single person there except one policeman shivering with ague as he squatted in front of the safe he had to guard. As soon as the rains set in and the mosquitoes began to breed more rapidly, many of my clerks saw nothing but a prospect of the months of malaria that lay ahead and seemed to give up all hope.¹⁶⁰

However, these problems were quite effectively mitigated in a variety of ways, including through the careful selection of candidates with sufficient robustness to withstand, not only the physical challenges of such an inhospitable climate, but who possessed the psychological make-up that lent itself to self-reliance and an ability to withstand loneliness for long periods of time. Indeed, most of the written and oral first-hand accounts of life in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan talk about the sense of freedom and excitement that the solitary nature of service there brought, suggesting that the men selected for duty there often revelled in their isolation rather than felt oppressed by it. Leslie Hassock liked the fact that solitude meant that he faced challenges by himself, as there was 'nobody else to ask or anything'.¹⁶¹ Similarly,

¹⁵⁸ Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism; Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley & London, 2003), pp 115-6.

¹⁵⁹ H.C. Jackson, *Sudan Days and Ways* (London, 1954), p. 77.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Interview with Leslie Hassack, 18 Dec. 1978 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 3998).

Sydney Hugh Curwen Stotherd's District Commissioner was a 'hundred miles away', and so was told to 'get on with' any problems that arose.¹⁶² Cyril Gordon Martin was similarly pragmatic about the solitary nature of service in the Sudan, remarking that 'loneliness – I never did'.¹⁶³

This expeditionary attitude to the challenges of isolation is similarly present in the memoirs of civilian administrators, suggesting that the somewhat unorthodox and opaque recruitment process into the Sudan Political Service was successful in identifying men who would cope well alone. Recalling his first solo journey in the Sudan in 1909, H.C. Jackson described his 'feeling of exhilaration at knowing that no outside aid can come to extricate one from any difficulties is unforgettable', concluding that 'loneliness can beget a fortifying reliance on oneself'.¹⁶⁴ Similarly, in his contribution to *Bonds of Silk*, George Bredin recalls that:

in spite of the forbidding landscape through which I travelled, I felt at once the strange fascination of the Sudan, and like so many of my countrymen, found here an attraction and an interest which I have never lost.¹⁶⁵

This is echoed by Reginald Davies when he described his posting to Khartoum, which saw him working at a desk in a quiet office in the governor-general's palace after a decade in rural Sudan. Although living in comfortable surroundings, he recalled his regret that his 'reveille was never again to be the protesting grunts of camels in the dark, as they were loaded up for the morning *shidd*'.¹⁶⁶ He also appeared to have regretted his later transfer to the Intelligence Department in Khartoum, which saw him lose the day-to-day contact with local

¹⁶² Interview with Sydney Hugh Curwen Stotherd, 1 Feb. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4294).

¹⁶³ Interview with Cyril Gordon Martin, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4470).

¹⁶⁴ H.C. Jackson, *Sudan Days and Ways* (London, 1954), p. 36.

¹⁶⁵ M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), p. 17.

¹⁶⁶ Reginald Davies, *The Camel's Back: Service in the Rural Sudan* (London, 1957), p. 125.

populations, described as the ‘often toilsome but usually rewarding lot of the District Commissioner’, and likening his appointment to a ‘prison house’.¹⁶⁷

This comment is also indicative of the emergence of a gulf between the hands-on colonial officials in outlying areas and the sterile offices of the Sudan Government in Khartoum. Heather J. Sharkey notes that in the early days of the administration, officials in outlying areas ‘frequently possessed a high degree of autonomy, such was the distance from Khartoum and the difficulties of communications.’¹⁶⁸

Furthermore, Thomas Creed, who served in the Sudan Political Service in the 1920s and 1930s was later described by an interviewer as:

Never homesick, he had something of the explorer’s temperament, and spent an enormous amount of time wandering round the Sudan, which he loved.¹⁶⁹

Even as late as the 1930s, when telephone lines linked the south to the north, the Bog Barons continued to perform their work in near-total isolation from the Condominium. James Robertson, who served in southern Sudan until the 1930s, later reported that he was often the only English speaker in a district covering thousands of square miles, something that he appeared to have coped with remarkably well.¹⁷⁰

The effects of isolation and loneliness were further mitigated by extensive leave patterns, offered to both civilian and military personnel. Daly and Deng argue that extensive leave was key in allowing administrators ‘to endure the hardship of loneliness’.¹⁷¹ Robert Home Stewart Popham discussed the ‘immense mental importance’ of these leave patterns, noting that all administrators got three months’ leave each year, ‘from Cairo to Cairo’, meaning that extra

¹⁶⁷ Reginald Davies, *The Camel’s Back: Service in the Rural Sudan* (London, 1957), p. 180.

¹⁶⁸ Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism; Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley & London, 2003), p. 64.

¹⁶⁹ *The Times*, 29 Jul. 1961.

¹⁷⁰ Charles Allen, *Plain Tales from the British Empire* (London, 2008), p. 358.

¹⁷¹ M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), p. 53.

time for travelling overland was also granted.¹⁷² Hugh Boustead described this arrangement as ‘one of the most relaxing and delightful features of service in both the Sudan Defence Force and the Sudan Political Service’, and whose ‘mental rest and change’ enabled him to give his duties his fullest attention.¹⁷³ Similarly, James Dempsey described the sense of relaxation and respite that a month’s leave, spent in the main on a slow steamer to Bahr-el-Gazal, gave him, when he was finally granted leave in 1943, after four years of missionary work.¹⁷⁴ Janice Boddy argues that extensive leave patterns were also critical as a means of refreshing ‘cultural memory and of stopping officials from “going native”’.¹⁷⁵ Gordon Muortat, a Sudanese-born elite who contributed to *Bonds of Silk* also points to generous leave entitlements as critical to administrators’ success, observing that because of their three-month annual leave, ‘I never observed any situation in which a Britisher...appeared miserable or homesick’.¹⁷⁶

Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Lawrence of Arabia Syndrome.

A much discussed, if rarely occurring, phenomenon of Empire was the possibility that colonial administrators, particularly those working and living in remote areas, could begin over time, to identify more closely with the local populations they lived among, than with their original ethnic, cultural and social backgrounds. This phenomenon has been given various and often derogatory names, such as ‘going native’, ‘going bush’ or even simply ‘going do-lally’, originating from the boredom experienced by British Army troops stationed at a transit camp at Deolali in western India. In his examination of colonial violence and culture in early twentieth century Darfur, Chris Vaughan discusses the Sudanese version of this phenomenon,

¹⁷² Interview with Robert Home Stewart Popham, 11 Jan. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4288).

¹⁷³ Hugh Boustead, *The Wind of Morning* (London, 1972), p. 93.

¹⁷⁴ James Dempsey, *Mission on the Nile* (New York, 1956), p. 210.

¹⁷⁵ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 76.

¹⁷⁶ M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), p. 185.

where administrators, far from the administration's infrastructure, felt more connected to local authorities, despite the impossibility of maintaining a dual identity:

Administrators sometimes felt more connection to local chiefs than they did to Khartoum, or even to El Fasher, the regional hub of colonial culture, even as their adherence to disciplinary, bureaucratic routines of report and official diary writing spelled a continued participation in the culture of the state. The administrator thus became a figure performing in at least two registers, pursuing impersonal effects of distance, neutrality and superiority even as he pursued effects of intimacy and interiority, and usually achieving neither.¹⁷⁷

However, this appears to have been a relatively rare occurrence, such was administrators' insistence, as Janice Boddy argues, on 'maintaining imperial boundaries', which could be 'physical, social [and] territorial'.¹⁷⁸ It can be argued that administrators' successful maintenance of these 'imperial boundaries' can be linked to administrators' position 'in-between one society and another' and the fact that the act of returning to Britain 'was an on-going condition, perpetually being prepared for, undertaken, and recovered from'.¹⁷⁹ This, Lia Paradis argues, motivated them to maintain 'their connection to the metropolitan life they had left behind and to which they planned to return', greatly reducing any risk of identifying too closely with Sudanese populations or the region they inhabited.¹⁸⁰

In the past decade, the term 'Lawrence of Arabia Syndrome' has been used as a means of explaining this possible outcome for colonial administrators serving in remote parts of the British Empire, and its potentially negative effects. The phrase refers not only to T.E. Lawrence's collaboration with the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula in the Arab Revolt, but his romanticisation of particular ethnic groups such as the Bedouin tribes that he encountered there. Appearing in strategic studies discourse in the immediate aftermath of 11 Sept. 2001, Jewish commentators on Middle Eastern affairs, most notably Dr. Reuven Berko, claim that by

¹⁷⁷ Chris Vaughan, *Darfur; Colonial violence, sultanic legacies and local politics, 1916-1956* (New York, 2015), p. 7.

¹⁷⁸ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 31.

¹⁷⁹ Lia Paradis, *Return Ticket: The Anglo-Sudanese and the Negotiation of Identity* (Rutgers, 2004), p. 3.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp 25-6.

‘emotionally identifying with Lawrence's Arab narrative’, the west continues to romanticise and excuse aspects of Arab culture that are potentially dangerous to the non-Arab world, and particularly to Jewish communities.¹⁸¹ In a colonial setting, it may also lead to the loss of authority and credibility of the ruling nation. Lawrence of Arabia Syndrome can be dramatic and rapid, but it is usually a slow and subtle process, with obvious long-term consequences for the individuals involved, the administration in which they serve and, most of all, for the local population they govern. Therefore, it is profitable to consider whether or not such a phenomenon can be detected among the civilian and military governors of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

Several features of life and service in the Sudan had the potential to foster this phenomenon. These features were primarily the long absence from home endured by administrators and social and cultural isolation. Christopher Prior argues that ‘similar to their late-nineteenth century predecessors, young men saw overseas service as a means of escaping domesticity and the ‘9 to 5’.¹⁸² Officials, generally arriving in the region at a young and relatively impressionable age, were potentially open to changes in personal perspectives created by the opportunity to experience up close new, complex and occasionally fascinating cultural identities. Furthermore, the personalities of the men who were often selected for service in the region, many with a deep-rooted desire to escape the formality of post-Victorian Britain, lent itself to such a tendency.

However, despite the set of near-perfect conditions for ‘going native’, few did and very few did so to a worrying degree. This was possibly a result of the strength of their individual and corporate identity as British-born administrators, as well as generous leave allowances,

¹⁸¹ Reuven Berko, ‘How the lies of 'Lawrence of Arabia' continue to put the West in peril’, undated, available at the *Jewish World Review* (http://www.jewishworldreview.com/0114/berko_Lawrenceof_Arabia.php3#.XHLMxej7TDc) (1 Jan. 2019).

¹⁸² Christopher Prior, *Exporting Empire: Africa, colonial officials and the construction of the British Imperial State, c. 1900-39* (Manchester, 2013), p. 15.

which allowed administrators to renew their familiarity with British societal norms. Nevertheless, the few limited examples of the phenomenon in action in the region offer considerable insight into the cultural and social expectations placed upon British-born administrators serving in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

Wilfred Thesiger noted that he was heavily influenced by Guy Moore, his first District Commissioner, under whom he served at Kutum in North Darfur. He vividly described the semi-nomadic nature of his life during these years, consisting of travelling ‘extraordinary distances with his camels’ and eating ‘when he did eat - at the oddest hours’.¹⁸³ Although he recounted that some ‘well-meaning people’ felt the need to warn him of his superior’s unconventionality, he ‘welcomed the prospect of serving under such a man’ and living an unconventional lifestyle more akin to that of the local population rather than that of a British-born colonial administrator.¹⁸⁴

Janice Boddy describes Khartoum as ‘a stilted, sticky place’ of ‘calling cards, dress parades, and formal dinners where men were expected to arrive in starched shirts with stiff winged collars and the inevitable red tarbrush’.¹⁸⁵ In her examination of the role of colonial officials’ wives, Rosemary Kenrick, who lived in the Sudan between 1936 and 1955, observed that some administrators were less than pleased with ‘the social rules and conventions from which they had just escaped at home’, when they arrived at Khartoum and found a rigid protocol of visits and visiting cards, practices that were rapidly dying out in post-Great War Britain.¹⁸⁶ This is echoed in the memoirs of Reginald Davies, who mocked the comfort available at Khartoum’s smart hotels, which he described as ‘a little too civilised’ and ‘not the

¹⁸³ Wilfred Thesiger, *The Life of my Choice* (London, 1992), p. 183.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 74.

¹⁸⁶ Rosemary Kenrick, *Sudan Tales; Recollections of some Sudan Political Service wives 1926-56* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 124.

kind of life we had come to the Sudan to lead’, desiring instead a posting that would take him to remote regions with fewer social obligations.¹⁸⁷

The curious character of Orde Wingate, Sir Reginald Wingate’s nephew, who served in the Sudan as a young officer in the years directly before the outbreak of war in 1939, crops up repeatedly in administrators’ recollections of their time in the Sudan. While not universally popular, it is clear that he made an impression on the people that he encountered. After a chequered career in Africa and the Middle East, Wingate was charged with organising Ethiopian and Sudanese soldiers into the Gideon Force, a guerrilla group formed to oppose Italian rule in Abyssinia.¹⁸⁸ Johnson Thewlis Clarkson, who served at the Ethiopian border in the Sudan Defence Force from 1939 to 1941, remembered him as ‘rather conceited’, and ‘a queer character’, recounting that ‘he considered himself another Lawrence of Arabia’.¹⁸⁹ He believed himself to be an expert on camels, Clarkson commented, and chose to ride barefoot, but displayed little cultural awareness of the needs of the Sudanese and Ethiopian soldiers serving in his unit, ordering cases of ‘Koptic bully beef’ which were unsuitable for Muslim troops.¹⁹⁰

Likewise, James Raymond Yorke, who was involved in the mobilisation of anti-Italian guerrilla fighting groups on the Abyssinian border during the Second World War, had a similarly low opinion of Wingate’s character, stating simply that ‘we didn’t think much of him’.¹⁹¹ Wilfred Thesiger, while finding him personally amusing, was similarly scathing of him in his memoirs, recalling him carrying ‘an alarm clock instead of a watch, and a fly-whisk instead of a cane’, and creating ‘irritation and resentment’ among everyone he encountered.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁷ Reginald Davies, *The Camel’s Back: Service in the Rural Sudan* (London, 1957), p. 25.

¹⁸⁸ Raymond Callahan, *Orde Charles Wingate* (23 Sept. 2004), available at *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/36978>) (24 Feb. 2019).

¹⁸⁹ Interview with Johnson Thewlis Clarkson, 15 Feb. 1984 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 7381).

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ Interview with James Raymond Yorke, 14 Oct. 1985 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 9109).

¹⁹² Wilfred Thesiger, *The Life of my Choice* (London, 1992), p. 213.

Wingate's post-Sudan career, which saw him serve in Palestine, Burma and eventually die in an air crash in India, was similarly controversial.¹⁹³

Accusations of 'going native' were often levelled at administrators and military personnel serving in the remote southern districts of the region, far away from the stifling social rituals of Reginald Wingate's Khartoum. Rumours of native mistresses and participation in tribal rituals often circulated, but few, if any, were substantiated. In reality, 'going native' was a relatively benign affliction, which usually manifested itself in an intense interest in the traditions of the tribes found in the region, and a protective sympathy for local populations. It was often little more than an extension of the paternalistic, traditional persona of the rural squire that the older generation of colonial officials adopted as part of their governance of their provinces, but a guise that Khartoum administrators found suspicious and difficult to understand.

Wilfred Thesiger recounts several conversations with his mentor Guy Moore on the subject of 'going native', in which they discussed the 'the diverse characters of Burton, Doughty, Lawrence and Leachman, and tried to analyse the attraction Arabia and the Arabs had for certain Englishmen'.¹⁹⁴ He appears to have succumbed to this to some extent, claiming that he preferred to travel 'light, fast and far' as the Sudanese did with minimal kit and by camel, rather than plodding 'at the head of a caravan laden with tents, chairs, tables and the other customary impedimenta' as was usual for British-born colonial administrators when they toured their districts.¹⁹⁵ Likewise, H.P.W. Hutson remembers bringing his mess kit with him to Khartoum, where it was commonly worn, but was never taken 'out to the bush'.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ For a comprehensive assessment of Orde Wingate's military career, please see Simon Anglim's *Orde Wingate and the British Army, 1922–1944* (London, 2015).

¹⁹⁴ Wilfred Thesiger, *The Life of my Choice* (London, 1992), p. 192.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

¹⁹⁶ Interview with H.P.W. Hutson, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4465).

Although individuals such as Orde Wingate were usually viewed with great scorn, it is clear that over the course of long careers among the Sudan's local populations, many administrators, while initially highly suspicious and sometimes explicitly contemptuous of African cultures, gradually developed a deep-rooted romantic and anthropological fascination for Sudanese culture, especially in the south, which they perceived as being unspoilt by the effects of Islam, Egypt and trade, influences they believed to be pernicious. It is also likely that officials grew in maturity and tact over the length of their service in the region, allowing them to view their surroundings and the people they encountered with greater sensitivity and subtlety of thought. This is evident in the recollections of Sydney Hugh Curwen Stotherd, who, as a young officer, initially clashed with some of his fellow officers, thinking that 'half of them thought that they were Lawrence from [sic] Arabia', and was relieved when he was posted elsewhere.¹⁹⁷ He remarked however that when he went back to his initial posting some time later, he 'grew to like them very much indeed' and appreciated their deep connection with and desire to understand the people they governed.¹⁹⁸ Clearly, while genuine Lawrence of Arabia syndrome was rare in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, administrators developed deep and enduring bonds with one another, with the Sudan and with the people they governed.

While extensive Lawrence of Arabia Syndrome cannot be detected among the administrators of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, it can be argued that the attitude of what Christopher Prior calls 'pragmatic hostility', in which groups of administrators such as southern Sudan's Bog Barons, demonstrated either explicit or subtle hostility to the regime they served, can be detected.¹⁹⁹ Prior argues that to date 'historians have not done enough to consider officials as individuals who had personal reasons for endorsing or rejecting policies

¹⁹⁷ Interview with Sydney Hugh Curwen Stotherd, 1 Feb. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4294).

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ Christopher Prior, *Exporting Empire: Africa, colonial officials and the construction of the British Imperial State, c. 1900-39* (Manchester, 2013), p. 123.

such as indirect rule', noting that the Bog Barons were often individuals who showed little interest in promotion.²⁰⁰ This comment poses intriguing questions about this cohort, rather than explain the phenomenon.²⁰¹ It can however be partially explained by the observations of Lia Paradis, who argues that later generations of colonial administrators possessed 'no illusions about the mythic structure upon which colonial rule stood', and instead demonstrated 'a surprising self-awareness and ironic detachment from the imperial project'.²⁰²

The Sudan as an emotional regime and emotional refuge.

The study of the history of emotions, one of the more recent and serviceable historiographical consequences of the otherwise impenetrable cultural turn of the late 1970s, is a useful prism through which to examine the social relationships, myth-making, self-identity and corporate identity of the civilian and military administrators of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. A key component of this approach to the study of history is the concept of emotional regimes and emotional refuges, which is described in some detail by William Reddy in his 2001 work *The Navigation of Feeling*. Reddy argues that any successful and enduring political regime must establish 'as an essential element a normative order of emotions', in which individuals are required to display certain emotions 'in appropriate circumstances, in the expectation that normative emotions will be enhanced and habituated'.²⁰³

While conforming to the normative display of emotions is likely to have generally positive outcomes for individuals, allowing them to integrate into and prosper in a given political regime or social culture, Reddy also identifies the psychological need for emotional refuges. He defines these as a formal or informal relationship, ritual or organisation that

²⁰⁰ Christopher Prior, *Exporting Empire: Africa, colonial officials and the construction of the British Imperial State, c. 1900-39* (Manchester, 2013), p. 165.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Lia Paradis, *Return Ticket: The Anglo-Sudanese and the Negotiation of Identity* (Rutgers, 2004), p. 81.

²⁰³ William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: a framework for the history of emotions* (Cambridge, 2001), pp 124-5.

‘provides safe release from prevailing emotional norms and allows relaxation of emotional effort’.²⁰⁴ Significantly, both elements of this theory can help us to understand with greater clarity the psychological make-up of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan’s officials, how they viewed themselves and one another, and the nature of the administration they created.

In most respects, the cohort of people that ran the Sudan conformed to Victorian and post-Victorian expectations of emotional continence and personal reticence, often described as ‘the British stiff upper lip’. Indeed, their memoirs, diaries and recollections reflect a community not prone to introspection or self-analysis. Personal difficulties and professional failures tended to be recorded in a minimalist way, often with self-deprecation but with little demonstration or discussion of the emotions they might have engendered.

The memories of individuals fully integrated into this emotional regime are broadly similar in terms of the scale of their emotional revelation, ostensibly offering little insight into the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Barbara H. Rosenwein’s exhortation to ‘read the silences’ in historical primary sources, even in those that are ‘unemotional in tone and content’, is an especially useful tool in the examination of this particular emotional community (similar to Reddy’s emotional regimes), as is her theory that communities tend to avoid some emotions while stressing others’.²⁰⁵ This approach to identifying norms within the emotional community of colonial Sudan is therefore likely to yield more revealing results than traditional historiographical methods.

It is often the experiences of relative outsiders within an emotional community that tell us most about the attributes that are most prized in that community. The recollections of colonial wives, who accompanied their Sudan Political service husbands on their tours of duty are an especially revealing source in this respect, as they contain both readable silences and

²⁰⁴ William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: a framework for the history of emotions* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 129.

²⁰⁵ Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Problems and methods in the history of emotions*, available at Passions in Context, (<http://www.passionsincontext.de>) (2 Jan. 2016).

explicit testimony of the emotional regime. Nancy Robertson, who accompanied her husband to various postings around the Sudan between 1926 until independence, remembers her first day in the region, where her husband was posted to El Geteina, near the White Nile. Her husband, keen to impress the district commissioner, set straight off to work, leaving her to assemble a makeshift kitchen in their new home, the thought never occurring to either of them that he ‘should have the morning off for domestic reasons’, largely because she was ‘conditioned, at all costs not to be ‘silly’’.²⁰⁶ The relative absence of ceremony in which colonial administrators and their wives arrived at their new posting, is an obvious and readable ‘silence’ of the emotional regime that developed in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.²⁰⁷

Similarly, Kay Coriat, who lived in the region between 1927 and 1939, recalls the expectation she felt not to complain, even when ‘conditions were less than ideal’ and when wives were ‘barely tolerated’ in the male-dominated, martial world of rural Sudan.²⁰⁸ Significantly, the compiling author notes that ‘very rarely indeed did any of the contributors write about their emotions’, including even ‘that appalling desolation of home-sickness’, although most of them must have experienced some low points during their long years in the Sudan, especially when the constraints of their husband’s postings usually forced them to leave their children in Britain. Kenrick observes that this might have been brought about by the passage of time, in which ‘the sharpest feelings have been covered with sand’, although contemporary letters are similarly reticent about emotional matters.²⁰⁹ If we follow Rosenwein’s advice and read silences, we can deduce that the prevailing emotional regime of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan valued cheerfulness, strength, moral courage and emotional

²⁰⁶ Rosemary Kenrick, *Sudan Tales; Recollections of some Sudan Political Service wives 1926-56* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 14.

²⁰⁷ Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Problems and methods in the history of emotions*, available at Passions in Context, (<http://www.passionsincontext.de>) (2 Jan. 2016).

²⁰⁸ Rosemary Kenrick, *Sudan Tales; Recollections of some Sudan Political Service wives 1926-56* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 16.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

reticence. Participants were encouraged to subjugate any negativity they may have felt about their lives in the region, and to ignore their personal discomforts, frustrations and anxieties in the cause of collective emotional cohesion.

Ironically, the emotional heart of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan is perhaps best investigated via Henry Luce's article 'The American Century', which appeared in 1941, as the geopolitical world shifted away from the dominance of the British Empire to that of the United States.²¹⁰ Luce argued that America was emerging as a liberal force, which would act as 'the last best hope of civilisation', calling on its frontier heritage as a source of strength, inspiration and creativity.²¹¹ Frontier psychology, while never explicitly identified by participants of the regime as a motivation, was a key component to the inner life of the administrators of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, especially in relation to the sense of moral creation that frontiers are deemed to instil in their participants. This sense of moral creation, inspired and shaped by remoteness from traditional civilising forces, was intrinsic to the emotional regime that the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan created for itself, and in the development of the values and standards it set for its participants.

Although the regime could be rigidly socially prescriptive, particularly for administrators based in Khartoum, motivations for going to the Sudan, chiefly the desire for excitement, novelty and respite from ordinary social and professional conventions, suggest that for some colonial administrators at least, the Sudan functioned as an emotional refuge from the specific emotional community that represented post-Victorian British upper middle-class life. The Sudan did not explicitly attract the aristocratic misfits that Kenya did, but many of its administrators, from deeply conventional social and educational backgrounds, relished the challenges and freedoms peculiar to service in the Sudan, as the accounts used in this chapter

²¹⁰ Henry Luce, 'The American century' in *Life Magazine*, x, no. 7 (17 Feb. 1941), pp 61-5.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

illustrate. While many administrators made satisfactory transitions back into British life after their Sudan careers were over, some experienced immense difficulty when they returned to the constraints of British upper middle-class life after decades abroad, as this study's conclusion will touch upon.

Memoirs of military personnel record that a release from regimental duties was a key determining factor in the decision to go to the Sudan, while civilian administrators found satisfaction in solving local problems by themselves, without reference to superiors. Similarly, both groups also enjoyed the relative freedom from social ritual that life in the Sudan, especially in rural postings, allowed them. While many administrators continued to maintain certain personal standards – some officials continued to wear items such as pith helmets and spine pads many years after they fell out of favour, as part of a general habit of maintaining traditional standards of appearance – such conventions could be maintained or discarded at will, offering participants a level of freedom and choice which upper middle-class life in Britain rarely did.

CHAPTER THREE

Mythmaking, state building and alliances of convenience; Sudanese, Egyptian and British interactions in the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium.

Having socially and psychologically profiled the cohort that conquered and governed the Sudan in the previous chapter, this chapter seeks to provide further analysis of Research Questions Five and Six, through an assessment of the nature of the interactions between British-born colonial officials and other participants of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. These Research Questions, concerned with mythmaking and social class, focus especially on the cultural and social psychology of the administration. To this end, five key relationships, reflecting as far as possible the different racial, ethnic and social groups that made up the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, have been selected for assessment.

The most important of these interactions are those between British-born administrators and the local Sudanese populations they encountered. The non-literate nature of Sudanese society in the Condominium period makes it regrettably difficult to assess the extent of differences in how colonial administrators interacted with different tribal or ethnic groupings, so while not ideal, local populations will be considered as a single group.

Secondly, the relationship between British army officers and Egyptian social elites, as primarily represented by their social and professional counterparts, the officer class of the Egyptian Army, will be examined. Thirdly, interactions between British-born officials and non-elite Egyptians, which were predominately enlisted *fellahin* conscripts, of low economic and social standing, will be explored.¹ Fourthly, exchanges between Sudanese populations and Egyptians, for which little reliable information is available, will be considered in the context of British perceptions of anti-Egyptian sentiment in the Sudan. Lastly, interactions

¹ British-born administrators used the term *fellahin*, not only to describe Egyptian-born farmers, but in their discussion of Egyptian enlisted soldiers and manual workers.

between British-born officers and the British-born enlisted men and non-commissioned officers they commanded, participants in the administration for which a significant historiographical lacuna exists, will be explored, in order to fully assess the class dimensions of social interactions within the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

Sixteen Imperial War Museum interviews, which span the first decade of the Condominium up to the 1930s have been used in this chapter.² This allows for an assessment of the extent to which the cataclysmic events of the mid-1920s impacted on the already-strained relationship between the Condominium partners, particularly in relation to British army officers and their Egyptian peers. While fifteen of these sixteen were in uniform, half of them provided non-military civil services to local populations, such as medical care, sanitation and engineering works. These interviews have been supplemented with nine memoirs, which ensures that civilian perspectives on these interactions are fully represented. These reminiscences have been further augmented by material from *Bonds of Silk* which, because its contents were collected between 1973 and 1981 favours, like the Imperial War Museum memoirs, a later phase of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium.³ Nevertheless, it captures some material discussing the 1920s. Daly and Deng repeatedly remind the reader that their work is ‘most assuredly not history from the bottom up’, representing the views of not only British-born administrators sent to govern the region, but social and political elites from both north and south, ‘who dealt in some degree directly with’ the colonial administration.⁴ These interviews, questionnaires and written memoirs have been contextualised with official reports and other documents produced by the Sudan Government, starting with Kitchener’s 1899 memorandum to the Sudan’s first regional governors which,

² The archives of the Imperial War Museum, Sudan interviews, available at the Imperial War Museum online, (<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/search?query=sudan&pageSize=15&style=list&filters%5BwebCategory%5D%5Bsound%5D=on>) (28 Mar. 2019).

³ M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), ix.

⁴ *Ibid.*, x.

as discussed in Chapter One, was a key foundation document in the establishment of protocols for interactions among British, Sudanese and Egyptian participants of the administration.

These documents reflect the fact that on the whole, our understanding of how intercultural interactions occurred comes entirely from sources produced in English and from within the Anglophone world. With the exception of Edward Atiyah, a Lebanese-born Syrian, but a product of a British-style educational system, these are British sources which privilege British voices over the other ethnic and social groupings in the administration. For the most part, they reflect what British participants in the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium believed to be true about interactions between themselves and the peoples they governed and, on occasion, what they wished others to believe about themselves and the administration they represented. Therefore, it is vital that in order to draw out as much truth as possible from these documents, we must continue to apply Barbara H. Rosenwein's methodologies, by reading the silences and attempting to understand what administrators fall silent about, or chose not to remember, as well as what they were willing to recall.

Among his concluding remarks to his first volume of the history of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, M.W. Daly argues that the Sudan government had few policies, 'and enforced even fewer', operating 'as any small club and no less efficiently' on a highly personal basis.⁵ The idea of the Sudan as a highly personalised administration, of strong individual characters holding high office and personalised power relationships between British-born administrators and the peoples they governed, especially in the provision of justice, is referenced in much of the scholarship on the administration. Empire in the Sudan, Marie Grace Brown argues, 'was lived at close range, with an intimacy akin to that of neighbours'.⁶

⁵ M.W. Daly, *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1898-1934* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 452.

⁶ Marie Grace Brown, *Khartoum at Night: Fashion and Body Politics in Imperial Sudan* (Stanford, 2017), p. 3.

This 'close range' form of imperialism posed obvious problems for the populations that experienced it, primarily due to the inequality of esteem inherent in any colonial system of government. While Lia Paradis argues convincingly that 'the attitudes of most Anglo-Sudanese were paternalistic, but not usually exploitative', the personal nature of colonial rule, coupled with British attitudes of racial superiority over the Sudanese and Egyptian communities they encountered, gave rise to some of the administration's darkest features, not least significant levels of state-sanctioned violence, but can also be traced in day-to-day interactions.⁷ M.W. Daly notes that in British records 'the Egyptian ma'mur was excoriated for his corruption, insensitivity, haughtiness, and unscrupulous methods' with little solid evidence of these moral failings and almost no acknowledgement of his successes, the credit for which 'was reserved for the British inspector'.⁸ Furthermore, he argues, this sneering, personal hostility has created an historical lacuna, because while 'ma'murs might have said the same' of their British superiors 'their story remains to be told, and the history of their local administration remains largely unwritten', with few British-born members of the administration caring, or dared being seen to care when they were expelled in 1924.⁹ Any discussions about personal relationships in the administration of the Sudan must therefore consider this psychological limit, and the corresponding historiographical lacuna it created.

The range of historiographical challenges created by the inherent inequality of esteem upon which so much of Empire is based is, of course, not peculiar to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. John M. MacKenzie notes that these inequalities were 'underpinned by ideological notions such as those of race difference, climate determinism, social Darwinism and alleged stages of progress', which created moral justifications for colonial domination.¹⁰ All of these

⁷ Lia Paradis, *Return Ticket: The Anglo-Sudanese and the Negotiation of Identity* (Rutgers, 2004), p. 57.

⁸ M.W. Daly, *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1898-1934* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 80.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

¹⁰ John M. MacKenzie, 'Introduction' in John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *European empires and the people: Popular responses to Imperialism in France, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Italy* (Studies in Imperialism) (Manchester, 2011), pp 1-18; p. 4.

factors can be found in British attitudes to Sudanese populations, as well as in their interactions with their Condominium partners, of whom they were frequently more critical than Sudanese populations.

‘Their brains were woolly; like the hair on their heads’; interactions between Sudanese populations and British colonial officials.

British-born colonial officials and Sudanese populations were most likely to encounter each other in three main contexts. These were in the course of trekking, as part of military life and in domestic service, usually within administrators’ homes. Trekking, a key responsibility of military and civilian administrators alike, involved travelling around remote parts of an assigned province, usually on a camel, and ‘showing the flag’, which consisted of stopping at villages and accepting the hospitality of the ‘head man’ or tribal leader.¹¹

In his study of the administration, Harold MacMichael discusses the importance of this activity and the diversity of a colonial official’s days when out on trek in a remote province:

Touring their districts on camel or horseback, by canoe or on foot, with a few locally recruited policemen, there was nothing that they might not be called upon to deal with, from magisterial work to map-making, from boundary disputes to bone-setting, from runaway slaves to road-cutting, from crime to charity. They had few opportunities or means of referring to a superior officer for instruction and carried on confidently with their work in the light of common sense.¹²

In his critique of MacMichael’s memoirs, M.W. Daly argues that administrators’ published accounts of their work ‘tend to be exaggerated and self-congratulatory’.¹³ This appears to be particularly true of their accounts of treks, which are often described in great detail in such memoirs, and are similarly recalled in the Imperial War Museum interviews. Gerrard Frances Stayner, who served in the Sudan for six months in 1924, recalled that local populations would be ‘pleased to see you’, and was often offered hospitality in the form of

¹¹ Interview with Robert Home Stewart Popham, 11 Jan. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4288).

¹² H.A. MacMichael, *The Sudan* (London, 1954), p. 76.

¹³ M.W. Daly, *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1898-1934* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 80.

coffee by the ‘head man’, who was either a sheik or African tribal leader, depending on the province in question.¹⁴ There is also evidence that administrators were occasionally offered gifts, such as in the case of E.J. Montague-Stuart-Wortley, whose memoirs recall an ‘old sheikh’ giving him a turquoise ring ‘with a verse of the Qoran on it’ in thanksgiving for repelling the Mahdi.¹⁵ Ernest Reginald Goode recalled that the scale of the reception provided by tribal leaders would often be ‘embarrassing’, and that when entering the home of a wealthy tribal leader, ‘you had to be very careful not to say, I like this table’ as they ‘would give it to you’.¹⁶ Goode also recalled that many of the ‘old boys’, or village elders liked ‘a drop of whiskey’ and administrators often brought some on trek to exchange as gifts.¹⁷ William Hamilton Scriven reported a similar tradition of gift exchange, noting that ‘you couldn’t admire anything’ because it would result in the item being offered as a gift.¹⁸

What these recollections do not sufficiently record however is what Cherry Leonardi calls ‘the spectacular violence of the patrol’.¹⁹ In his study of state-imposed violence in Condominium-era Darfur, Chris Vaughan reminds us that tactics such as ‘the display and use of machine guns’ were effective ‘in terrifying local peoples into obedience’.²⁰ Colonial violence in the region was ‘highly differentiated at a local level’, depending on the level of cooperation or dissent on the part of the local community, but was nevertheless a possibility to be deployed against any group of people.²¹ This concurs with Heather J.

¹⁴ Interview with Gerrard Frances Stayner, 1978 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 3999).

¹⁵ E.J. Montague-Stuart-Wortley, ‘My reminiscences of Egypt and the Sudan (from 1882 to 1899)’ in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxiv, no. 1 (Jun., 1953), pp 17-46; p. 23.

¹⁶ Interview with Ernest Reginald Goode, 17 Jan. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4291).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Interview with Sydney Hugh Curwen Stotherd, 1 Feb. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4294).

¹⁹ Cherry Leonardi, *Dealing with Government in South Sudan; Histories of Chiefship, Community and State* (Woodbridge, 2015), p. 62.

²⁰ Chris Vaughan, *Darfur; Colonial violence, sultanic legacies and local politics, 1916-1956* (New York, 2015), p. 8.

²¹ *Ibid.*

Sharkey's argument that 'coercive apparatus of hi-tech guns and paid armies, kept in reserve for the selective application of violence' was a key component of the maintenance of imperial control, especially when displayed in route marches.²² Prior reminds us that violent acts such as judicial torture and flogging, climaxed during the government's suppression of the Nyala rising, which demonstrated 'the disparity between the military capacity of the state and that of rebellious subjects'.²³ However, periodic episodes of intense violence continued to be a feature of these treks, even well into the Condominium's existence.

Even in the most romanticised reminiscences of interactions between travelling colonial officials and local populations, tension, mistrust and violence are discussed. Much of this is presented as a rational need to enforce summary justice. This is reflected in incidents recalled by Cyril Gordon Martin, who alongside Egyptian and Sudanese-born troops in the Egyptian Army, was sent to the south of the region in 1916 to punish cattle raiders, at the request of the local civilian inspector, who identified cattle raiding as a primary reason for inter-tribal conflict.²⁴ Describing these attack parties as operating 'like in Kitchener's day', they encouraged local populations to hand over offenders on pain of having their village burned to the ground, something which he reported rarely happened. While he claimed that he felt no hatred towards the Sudanese, he operated on the presumption that the surrounding populations were 'again' him, and assumed that they would automatically shield wrongdoers from justice.²⁵ An early account of British and Sudanese interactions, in which E.J. Montague-Stuart-Wortley described his role in the reconquest of the Sudan, appears to concur with Martin's stance, suggesting that however brutal the Mahdist regime had been,

²² Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism; Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley & London, 2003), pp 66-7.

²³ Chris Vaughan, *Darfur; Colonial violence, sultanic legacies and local politics, 1916-1956* (New York, 2015), p. 78.

²⁴ Interview with Cyril Gordon Martin, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4470).

²⁵ Ibid.

not all tribal communities welcomed British influence, as reflected in this encounter with a tribal leader on the Sudanese-Egyptian border:

When my advance guard had arrived there the big Sheikh had been most insolent, refused to give forage, and cursed all Englishmen. He said he intended to resist us and strengthened the walls of the village. He cooled down, however, on the approach of the main body, and afterwards supplied us regularly with provisions. Nevertheless, I made every arrangement to arrest him and take the village, should he prove false; but it was not necessary.²⁶

Some of the most revealing testimony of the reality of such interactions comes from the Sudanese elites who contributed to *Bonds of Silk*, who recalled witnessing such encounters during their boyhoods. Gordon Muortat, a member of the Agar Dinka tribe from southern Sudan remembers visits of ‘tuenys’, who could be any man – British-born, Egyptian or even northern Sudanese – provided he ‘wore clothes and carried a gun or had government authority over others’.²⁷ He recalls a policeman coming to his village ‘to round up young men by force and beat them’, including his uncle, which caused him great distress. It appears that these men were rounded up ‘and taken by force to go and cut the grass for the building of government houses’.²⁸ Similarly, Chier Rian, also from the south of the region, recalls that in the early days of the administration, the local colonial administrator would appear in his village ‘whenever something bad had happened, in order to ‘see who had started the trouble’.²⁹ Such recollections suggest that casual violence and fear were a frequent feature of such encounters, a reality that rarely appears in published memoirs of the administration.

British and Sudanese-born people also encountered one another in the context of military service. Between 1899 and the establishment of the Sudan Defence Force in 1925, these interactions occurred in the Egyptian Army, to which British Army officers were

²⁶ E.J. Montague-Stuart-Wortley, ‘My reminiscences of Egypt and the Sudan (from 1882 to 1899)’ in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxiv, no. 1 (Jun., 1953), pp 17-46; p. 25.

²⁷ M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), pp 165-6.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

seconded and in which Sudanese men enlisted into Sudanese-only infantry units. These units were generally officered by both British and Egyptians, with British officers always occupying the more senior roles. Cyril Gordon Martin, who served in the Egyptian Army during the First World War, stated that in terms of discipline, Sudanese troops were superior to their British counterparts and recalled only minor infringements of army regulations, such as the occasional loss or possible pawning of equipment.³⁰ Similarly, H.P.W. Hutson, who served in Egypt, the Sudan and Palestine between 1914 and 1940 recalled only minor disciplinary problems, except on very rare occasions when the troops ‘got drunk’.³¹ The memories of Gerrard Frances Stayner, one of the founders of the Sudan Defence Force, are similar, noting that Sudanese troops were generally well-behaved but would occasionally get drunk and cause ‘a bit of trouble in the lines’.³² He also recalled that corporal punishment, usually carried out by a sergeant major and witnessed by either a British or native officer, was used for minor infractions of discipline.³³ British-born officers also interacted with Sudanese soldiers when out hunting, with local soldiers acting as guides, and officers often shooting enough meat for all of the men that they commanded.

Additionally, British officers encountered Sudanese native officers, who had either been promoted on merit from the ranks or had been educated at Gordon College in Khartoum, a British-established school ‘run on public school lines’ for the sons of officials ‘who’d done well’.³⁴ This reflects Heather J. Sharkey’s argument that while Gordon College acted ‘as both a training ground for bureaucracy and a crucible for nationalism’³⁵, recruitment to educational establishments such as Gordon College allowed the administration to ‘quell any

³⁰ Interview with Cyril Gordon Martin, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4470).

³¹ Interview with H.P.W. Hutson, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4465).

³² Interview with Gerrard Frances Stayner, 1978 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 3999).

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Interview with H.P.W. Hutson, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4465).

³⁵ Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism; Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley & London, 2003), p. 7.

anticolonial resistance by giving potential opponents – precolonial elites and their offspring – a stake in the system’.³⁶ Gerrard Frances Stayner described these young Sudanese men as ‘very nice chaps’, but who were isolated from British officers because they spoke very little English.³⁷ He also noted that because the region had no ‘officer class as such’, they came from ‘all sorts of tribes’, but in general not from the south.³⁸ Robert Popham concurred with this description, recalling that most native officers came from ‘the north and southern provinces bordering the north’ and that their duties included interpreting regional dialects through Arabic and dealing with local civilian issues such as inter-tribal conflict and family disputes.³⁹

Even before the official expulsion of Egyptian military and civilian personnel from the Sudan, the development of a system of native officers was part of a broader government policy of devolving some administrative roles to selected Sudanese, once adequate training was in place in the region.⁴⁰ This is reflected in the 1923 Sudan Government report, which announced triumphantly that the ‘benefits and results of education have enabled the Government during recent years to place a continually increasing number of Sudanese in the Government administration’, and that ‘a military school in Khartoum is confined to Sudanese and turns out officers for the army’.⁴¹

The link between the government’s attempts to create, almost *ab initio*, an educational infrastructure in the region, and the increasing numbers of Sudanese employed by the administration, is at best tenuous and wholly disingenuous. The report itself admitted that fewer than ten per cent of clerical roles had been filled by Sudanese men, and at no point in

³⁶ Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism; Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley & London, 2003), p. 24.

³⁷ Interview with Gerrard Frances Stayner, 1978 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 3999).

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Interview with Robert Home Stewart Popham, 11 Jan. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4288).

⁴⁰ M.W. Daly, *Empire on the Nile: the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1898-1934* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 249.

⁴¹ *Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1923* (1924), p. 4.

the administration did Sudanese people assume positions of any real seniority or authority, even in the years when the region was being prepared for self-government. Native officers, despite the politic words of the interviewees were at best, a necessary means of communication with local populations and at worst, a willing workforce to be patronised and even exploited at will. The fact that the White Flag League, a Sudanese nationalist organisation which was established in the 1920s was led by native officers would suggest that these individuals were considering the legitimacy of the administration they participated in for much of their careers, something that British administrators appeared to be blind to.⁴²

Lastly, British officials encountered Sudanese populations in a domestic setting when they employed them as servants in their homes or on occasions when they bought food and other provisions from them. The presence of the former meant that latter occasions were rare, but it did occasionally happen when officials were trekking through the countryside and bought fresh supplies such as eggs and vegetables from local people. Such contact appears to have been confined to the managerial class of the Condominium, comprised of army officers and civilian officials. British-born enlisted men had limited contact with local Sudanese populations, even when out on patrol because in general, enlisted men were centrally fed and accommodated in billets and therefore did not need to buy food from local populations. None of the private soldiers or non-commissioned officers interviewed by the Imperial War Museum discussed Sudanese civilians at all, which is striking, as officers' and civilian administrators' interviews discussed these interactions at length, particularly in relation to employing local people as domestic servants. Officials did not appear to directly obtain their own servants and simply took over the employment of local people who had worked for the

⁴² Elena Vezzadini, 'Nationalism by telegrams: political writings and anti-colonial resistance in Sudan, 1920-1924' in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, lxvi, no. 1 (2013), pp 27-59; p. 29.

previous incumbent. It was customary to employ a family of servants, with a cook's children often taking care of animals or doing errands.

As discussed in the previous chapter, colonial service in the Sudan allowed middle class men to enjoy a lifestyle that was increasingly too expensive to maintain in Britain. One of these lifestyle benefits of life in the Sudan was the ready and cheap availability of servants which, as Janice Boddy argues 'not only created the appearance of exalted status but enabled Britons to approximate an upper-middle-class European lifestyle that few could afford at home'.⁴³ For the Sudanese who worked as servants she suggests, rather than acting as servile 'unwitting collaborators in the colonial project', working as a domestic servant, which was frequently the first waged work that a Sudanese man or woman might have undertaken, could be a 'a portal to "modernity"', which 'offered the potential for upward mobility'.⁴⁴ Indeed, as this chapter will argue, there is ample evidence that Sudanese servants displayed high levels of cultural awareness of the administration for which they worked, particularly in the manner in which they appropriated and exploited its key foundation myths. Domestic servants are often described as having previously worked for Gordon, Kitchener or another prominent figure in the early years of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the significance of which will be discussed later in this chapter.

In their analysis of British-born contributors to *Bonds of Silk*, Daly and Deng note that questions regarding racial attitudes 'provoked uneasy, even hostile reactions' from the respondents.⁴⁵ None of the British-born participants seemed willing to discuss the inherent racial inequality upon which any colonial regime rests, and some attempted to qualify their responses by pointing to differences in education and social rank rather than race:

Asked whether the British regarded themselves as racially superior or equal to the Sudanese, John Phillips seemed outraged: 'To be 'absolutely frank', I regard this as a

⁴³ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 73.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), p. 26.

bad question... I regarded myself as better educated than most British; less able to withstand physical hardships than most Sudanese, but superior in this aspect to most British; more intelligent than most Sudanese or British, but less so than some'.⁴⁶

A.W.M. Disney elaborated on this line of reasoning, claiming that he regarded himself on the same level of 'professional colleagues, tribal leaders and such like', but superior to 'the junior official, the villager and the nomad Arab', 'just the same way as one does in England', with the determination made not upon 'colour of skin or ethnic origin, but the mental level of the other person'.⁴⁷ Such fair-minded, if class-conscious statements appear to be contradicted by the reality of encounters between administrators and Sudanese populations, as the Sudanese who contributed to the same publication depict these encounters in a markedly different way, despite their prism of elite social status.

All of the men who participated in the Imperial War Museum interviews describe their Sudanese servants as cheerful, cooperative and easy to employ, but of limited intelligence and lacking initiative. Gerrard Frances Stayner remarked that his servants were 'very nice and very good'.⁴⁸ Cyril Gordon Martin described them as 'good and trustworthy' but having 'no brains', noting that he would 'beat them over the head' for mistakes or forgetfulness, a punishment they 'didn't resent'.⁴⁹ In his description of trekking through Abu Hamed in the north of the region, H.C. Jackson describes the local population as both culturally and practically ignorant. Having no sense of their tribe's heritage, he claimed, they were 'completely uninterested in... a conglomeration of ancient materials that were only of value in so far as it supplied topdressing for their irrigated land'.⁵⁰ He depicted them as similarly ignorant of profitable farming practices, as represented by their practice of using all

⁴⁶ M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), p. 26.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp 26-7.

⁴⁸ Interview with Gerrard Frances Stayner, 1978 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 3999).

⁴⁹ Interview with Cyril Gordon Martin, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4470).

⁵⁰ H.C. Jackson, 'A trek in Abu Hamed district' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, ix, no. 2 (Dec., 1926), pp 1-35; p. 1.

available arable soil to plant fodder instead of ‘some lucrative crop such as cotton, onions, etc’.⁵¹ Nevertheless, he praised the local population who, ‘in spite of their poverty’, were ‘generous with the traditional hospitality of the Arab’.⁵²

The general nature of these interactions suggests that the relationship between British officials and the peoples they governed had four main characteristics. Overall, these associations were militarised, personal, diverse and, most of all, paternalistic. These characteristics are reflected in how British-born officials discussed local populations in both private correspondence and official documents. Furthermore, these four qualities can be seen in interactions between the two groups much later in the administration, as well as in the memoirs of participants that were produced after the collapse of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium.

Although British people occasionally visited the Sudan as adventurers and missionaries during the nineteenth century, they first arrived in large numbers in a military capacity. In the years after Gordon’s death, the monthly Staff Diary and Intelligence Reports, prepared by the Egyptian Army's Intelligence Department, show that small but steady numbers of British Army personnel were arriving in Egypt each month. Records for the period 30 April to 15 May 1889 indicate that 587 people, including army personnel and medical professionals, arrived in Egypt in the two-week period the report covers.⁵³ While some of these were deployed within Egypt, many were sent south to the Sudan. The army of conquest gradually transformed into one of military government, in which British-born army officers, seconded to the Egyptian Army, provided almost all of the necessary civilian services to the region. The result was a visually and culturally militarised administration in which men in army uniforms provided both military and civilian governance.

⁵¹ H.C. Jackson, ‘A trek in Abu Hamed district’ in *Sudan Notes and Records*, ix, no. 2 (Dec., 1926), pp 1-35; p. 8.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁵³ *Staff diary and intelligence report*, lxxxii (30 Apr. - 15 May 1889).

As late as 1914, a memorandum produced by Sir Reginald Wingate tells us that, of the fourteen provincial administrators of the region, nine were ex-army, with the civilian ones based in Khartoum and in its surrounding provinces.⁵⁴ Such outlying provinces are described by Robert Collins as 'quasi-administered outposts', where administrators were more focused on pacification than administration, even many years after the reconquest of the Sudan had been officially achieved.⁵⁵ He also notes that because of poor communications and the remoteness of their districts from Khartoum, the Bog Barons ran their areas as they saw fit and without much input from their superiors.⁵⁶ While the establishment of the Sudan Political Service should have marked the de-militarisation of many interactions between British administrators and local populations, the lack of clear distinctions between the civilian and military administration, as discussed in Chapter Two, meant that these relationships continued to be militarised, many years after the reconquest of the Sudan.

The second characteristic demonstrated in these interfaces was that of high levels of personal interaction. Whether encountered in a colonial administrator's own house, while out on trek, or in a military context, local populations were governed, placated, rewarded and disciplined in a highly personalised manner. This was a deliberate and long-standing strategy and can be seen in one of the foundation documents of the regime, Kitchener's personal memorandum to the first regional governors of the Sudan.⁵⁷ Stating that the 'absolute uprootal by the Dervishes of the old system of government ha[d] afforded an opportunity for initiating a new administration more in harmony with the requirements of the Sudan', he noted that while 'necessary laws and regulations' would be enacted, it was 'not mainly to the

⁵⁴ *Memorandum by General Sir Reginald Wingate on the finance, administration and condition of the Sudan* (1914), p. 46.

⁵⁵ Robert Collins, 'The Sudan Political Service; a portrait of the "imperialists" in *African Affairs*, lxxi, no. 284 (Jul., 1972), pp 293-303; p. 298.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

⁵⁷ Kitchener's *Memorandum to governors* (1899), quoted H.A. MacMichael, *The Sudan* (London, 1954), pp 74-6.

framing and publishing of laws that we must look for the improvement and the good government of the country'. This, he argued, would be achieved through district officers getting 'to know personally all the principal men of the district', and 'by friendly dealings and the interest taken in their individual concerns'. Therefore, 'individual actions of British officers, working independently but with a common purpose, on the individual natives whose confidence they have gained' was a key characteristic of the relationship between Sudanese populations and administrators.⁵⁸

This lofty-sounding aspiration was a core component of the policy of Indirect Rule, which saw strategic relationships between British-born administrators and local elites. Such elites, Chris Vaughan demonstrates, were found throughout Africa, and engaged in the business of 'translating and mediating between 'bureaucratic' and 'personal'/'traditional' modes of authority', which might include controlling local populations through 'native courts' and what was often highly punitive justice, but alternatively might also be to protect these populations against the excesses of the Sudan Government.⁵⁹ Therefore, personalised interactions between British-born administrators and local elites were further expanded by these elites' highly personalised interactions with populations under their control.

This can be seen in the administration of justice, where local colonial officials acted as a judge and dispensed summary justice. Much in the way the Resident Magistrate system operated in Ireland, where an outside official lived and worked within a community and dispensed justice using a high level of personal discretion and local knowledge, colonial administrators in the Sudan were urged to punish wrongdoing according to the offender's personal circumstances. A man with a dependent family for example, was rarely jailed for a first or minor offence, as doing so would have resulted in poverty and social dislocation for

⁵⁸ Kitchener's *Memorandum to governors* (1899), quoted H.A. MacMichael, *The Sudan* (London, 1954), pp 74-6.

⁵⁹ Chris Vaughan, *Darfur; Colonial violence, sultanic legacies and local politics, 1916-1956* (New York, 2015), p. 11.

his dependents. This is also evident in the dispensation of military discipline, where British-born officers and non-commissioned officers were more likely to punish a native soldier with a flogging rather than a fine, as the latter would adversely impact on his family.

In interviews and memoirs, many administrators stated that the ability to work closely with Sudanese populations was a primary reason for their preference for rural, rather than Khartoum-based postings. This is evident in the writings of Reginald Davies, as explored in the second chapter, who disliked the sense of distance from everyday life that office work in Khartoum created.⁶⁰ However, most distinguished between personalised social contact and that which made up part of their official duties. A.W.M. Disney stated that his first posting in the Sudan saw him in ‘continuously daily touch’ with local populations, but that this was generally in the context of ‘performance of official duty rather than personal contact, even though a degree of overlap was sometimes inevitable’.⁶¹ The closeness of such interactions, contained within strict cultural boundaries, was often exaggerated and romanticised by ex-administrators, reading as genuine personal friendships rather than polite, mutually-beneficial social relationships.

Daly and Deng conclude that the observations of K.D.D. Henderson on the reality of this personalised type of interaction are most revealing, especially when he describes his working day with a Sudanese *ma'mur*:

Henderson, while in Nahud, became friends with Yusaf Abu Saad, the *ma'mur* of the Baggara. “He was an extraordinary chap,” Henderson said. Their friendship was built on mutual respect and a degree of distance. “I was a Christian, he was a Muslim: our arrangements were quite separate....When on trek together, we would work together; we would separate to our respective tents and eat lunch; we would work together in the afternoon; in the evening we would retire to our respective tents to have our respective evening meals.....But we never made any attempt to ... amalgamate ourselves because we recognised that we were different.”⁶²

⁶⁰ Reginald Davies, *The Camel's Back: Service in the Rural Sudan* (London, 1957), p. 125.

⁶¹ M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), p. 20.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 39.

Thirdly, these interactions were coloured by the ethnic, cultural and religious diversity of populations the colonial administrators governed. In addition to the broad cultural difference between northern and southern Sudan, specific areas of the region were also ethnically, culturally and religiously diverse. However, administrators' responses to the regions inherent diversity were often over-simplified and under-researched. The most striking example of this is Darfur, which officially became part of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in 1916. Chris Vaughan argues that British officials greatly underestimated its diversity, imagining it as an 'isolated, static backwater'.⁶³ This attitude, Vaughan notes, ignored the fact that historically, Darfur was on the pilgrim route from West Africa to Mecca, and that consequently this 'important stopping point' was home to 'a complex overlapping range of ethnic groups, pursuing shifting, dynamic livelihood strategies in an environment that presents significant challenges for individuals and communities'.⁶⁴ Administrators were therefore often ignorant of and unprepared for the diversity of both culture and authority within communities in the region.

Such a deficit was not peculiar to the Sudanese experience of colonial rule, and is reflected in the arguments made by Sara Berry, who notes that 'for much of the colonial era', Europeans consistently underestimated the complexity of communities upon which they attempted to impose control, believing that 'African communities consisted of mutually exclusive social-economic units – tribes, villages, kin-groups – whose customs and structures had not changed very much over time'.⁶⁵ This meant that such communities were 'neither

⁶³ Chris Vaughan, *Darfur; Colonial violence, sultanic legacies and local politics, 1916-1956* (New York, 2015), p. 2.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Sara Berry, 'Hegemony on a Shoestring: Indirect Rule and Access to Agricultural Land' in *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, lxii (1992), pp 327-55; p. 331.

static nor internally cohesive’, causing administrators to impose simplistic ‘traditional’ power structures on complex and dynamic communities.⁶⁶

The extent to which these oversimplifications were incorporated into government policy is evident in the 1923 Sudan Government report:

The Northern Sudan, with its nomad and sedentary Arabs, themselves sharply divided in modes and customs of living, presents a problem widely different from that of the Southern Sudan with its pagan and primitive tribes, varying superstitions and numerous dialects. In the north the problem is simplified by the presence of three common factors, Islam, a common language, and a tribal consciousness. The bond of the two former is obvious and as regards the last there is hardly a community in the Northern Sudan where the old tribal organisation has decayed as to leave no foundation for the re-establishment of tribal authority and tribal justice.⁶⁷

While many administrators, particularly those based in Khartoum, often failed to fully understand the complexities of this diversity, some nevertheless displayed surprising levels of awareness of regional variations. The unofficial policy of governing the north and south as effectively separate administrations was an attempt to manage this, as was the policy of restricting Christian missionaries to the non-Muslim south. On a personal level, administrators’ memoirs record that Sudanese from different regions were frequently employed by them for different jobs. For example, H.P.W. Hutson explained that men from the northern Dongala province were ‘good for looking after horses’, while administrators’ cooks came from Bor in the south of the region.⁶⁸ When discussing his medical career in various parts of the Sudan, William Hamilton Scriven recalled that he ‘didn’t like the people quite so much in Darfur compared to the East’ because they were ‘whingers’, who wasted his time with ‘put-on’ medical problems’.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Sara Berry, ‘Hegemony on a Shoestring: Indirect Rule and Access to Agricultural Land’ in *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, lxii (1992), pp 327-55; pp 332-3.

⁶⁷ *Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1923* (1924), p. 6.

⁶⁸ Interview with H.P.W. Hutson, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4465).

⁶⁹ Interview with William Hamilton Scriven, 5 Feb. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4295).

However, the most significant feature of these interactions was paternalism. Almost without exception, colonial administrators reported excellent relationships between Sudanese populations and themselves, at times to the point of straining credulity. This is particularly so in the Imperial War Museum interviews, largely because of the time in which the interviews were conducted, mainly in the 1970s and 1980s. More enlightened attitudes to Africans, and some discomfort in discussing the defunct British Empire, meant that the interviewees may have sentimentalised their descriptions of interactions between officials and Sudanese populations. Daly and Deng discuss this historiographical problem throughout *Bonds of Silk*, noting that questions about personal interactions with local populations and how they viewed them was a 'highly sensitive subject', that 'many respondents were obviously disturbed by a question posed to them' and were 'somewhat cryptic or evasive' in their answers.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, their insights are useful, if only in the assessment of what colonial officials aspired to in terms of their working relationships with these populations, and how they hoped their service in the Sudan would be viewed in retrospect.

Like so many remote parts of Empire, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan required its administrators to perform a psychological confidence trick, upon both the local population and their own sense of self-assurance, allowing them to govern vast territories almost single-handedly. This confidence trick is described by A.H.M. Kirk-Greene as 'a huge game of white man's bluff, it was one the colonial administrator played, wittingly and willingly, upon himself as well as upon the subject races'.⁷¹ They achieved this by presenting themselves as paradigms of self-confidence and benevolent paternalism. Robert Collins, who has forensically examined the collective psychology of the Sudan Political Service, argued that such men were 'conservative by instinct and belief' and, above all, part of a Burkean tradition

⁷⁰ M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), p. 33.

⁷¹ A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, 'The Thin White Line: The Size of the British Colonial Service in Africa' in *African Affairs*, vol 79, no. 314 (1980), pp. 25-44; p. 44.

of slow, gradual evolution within the context of one's own traditions.⁷² Christopher Prior claims that officials working in Africa attempted to cultivate a paternal reputation within the communities in which they were stationed, hoping that this ‘‘fatherly’ status amongst Africans would have its own rewards’, specifically by winning the trust of, and being in a position to gain useful information from local people who were well-disposed towards them and, by extension, the colonial administration they served.⁷³ The result was a mix of attitudes in which idealism and patronising paternalism prevailed.

This blend of attitudes can be seen in Hugh Boristead's depiction of his life in the Sudan Camel Corps, which he described as being 'like a family' and, rather paternalistically, as not having had a single court martial in his ten years of service, such were the bonds between the corps’ British-born commanders and the Sudanese men.⁷⁴

However, this sense of paternalism, which appears to have often translated into genuinely affectionate interactions between colonial administrators and local populations, also had an unpleasant side, as demonstrated by the fact that Sudanese soldiers were subjected to physical punishments long after the Cardwell reforms of the 1860s had outlawed flogging in the British Army.⁷⁵ This is similar to the manner in which administrators saw fit to physically chastise their domestic staff. Effectively, Sudanese populations were usually depicted as being little more than charming and unsophisticated children who, while endearing, were unable to effectively govern themselves, such was their low level of intellectual or moral understanding. Cyril Gordon Martin described the Sudanese as ‘very smart soldiers’ who were biddable and impressive, but were otherwise ‘woolly’, ‘like the hair on their heads’, and that their absence of ‘brains’ meant that they were untrainable in

⁷² Robert Collins, 'The Sudan Political Service; a portrait of the 'imperialists'' in *African Affairs*, lxxi, no. 284 (Jul., 1972), pp 293-303; pp 301-2.

⁷³ Christopher Prior, *Exporting Empire: Africa, colonial officials and the construction of the British Imperial State, c. 1900-39* (Manchester, 2013), p. 110.

⁷⁴ Charles Allen, *Plain Tales from the British Empire* (London, 2008), p. 396.

⁷⁵ Edward M. Spiers, *The Late Victorian army, 1869-1902* (Manchester, 1972), p. 73.

technical fields such as mechanics.⁷⁶ Jan Morris notes that this patronising infantilisation of the Sudanese began early in the administration and came from its senior figures such as Alfred Milner, who ‘regarded the Sudanese with half-amused, half-admiring and inoffensively patronising affection’ which in his case was so deeply-felt, Morris argues, he ‘genuinely thought himself a son of the country, like those many colonial administrators who could never bear to leave’.⁷⁷

This attitude prevailed through the life of the Condominium with Johnson Thewlis Clarkson, who served in the region in the Second World War, reporting that he thought that paler-skinned northern Sudanese were more intelligent than the ‘blacker tribes’ of the south.⁷⁸ Similarly, Earnest Reginald Goode claimed that the differences between the Equatorial and Camel Corps were ‘very marked indeed’ because ‘the Northerner is very much more intelligent’ and ‘more sophisticated’ than a southerner.⁷⁹

While such ugly attitudes are detectable from the outset of the administration, their consequences became even more serious from 1925 onwards, when the establishment of the Sudan Defence Force saw increased attempts to recruit and train Sudanese-born officers. There is limited evidence that British-born personnel were uncomfortable about interacting with educated Sudanese, an emerging class in the second half of the life of the Condominium. The most pointed of this is the testimony of Leslie Hassack, who served as a non-commissioned officer in the Sudan, and recalls meeting a young Sudanese officer whom he believed was the son of the Mahdi, and who had consequently received an elite education at Gordon College. Stating that his encounter with this young man was ‘the one and only time I

⁷⁶ Interview with Cyril Gordon Martin, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4470).

⁷⁷ Jan Morris, *Pax Britannica: the climax of an empire* (London, 1998), p. 153.

⁷⁸ Interview with Johnson Thewlis Clarkson, 15 Feb. 1984 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 7381).

⁷⁹ Interview with Ernest Reginald Goode, 17 Jan. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4291).

met an officer of any rank or a Sudani [Muslim Sudanese] of any rank that I didn't like', he appeared to resent his 'curtsies and customs', complaining rather revealingly that, 'I found it easier to talk to the less-educated Arabs'.⁸⁰ Similarly, A.W.M Disney, when discussing what Sudanese populations thought of British involvement in the region, distinguished between 'intellectuals and traditional leaders', observing that 'a politically ambitious young educated man regarded the British as imperialists', while 'a tribal leader appreciated the support of his authority and general backing that he got from the British officials with whom he came in contact'.⁸¹ While this recollection suggests that Disney's understanding of Sudanese populations' complex interactions with the administration was oversimplified, it is likely that his comments reflect widely-held views.

This is also reflected in the administration's later policy of devolving power to traditional tribal leaders rather than to the emerging class of university-educated, nationalistic Sudanese intelligentsia.⁸² This, Robert Collins argues, was a product of the benevolent paternalism which was in itself a product of their class and education, which was 'rooted in the hereditary nature of their privilege'.⁸³ This is evident in the Milner Report of 1921, which attempted to settle the many disputes between Britain and Egypt over the government of the region, and which concluded that, 'central bureaucratic government [was] absolutely unsuitable to the Sudan'.⁸⁴ More than thirty years later this attitude was still perceptible when the Sudanese people had, according to Harold MacMichael, 'passed through half a century of preparation' and was 'about to receive their full independence and constitute themselves, for

⁸⁰ Interview with Leslie Hassack, 18 Dec. 1978 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 3998).

⁸¹ M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), p. 166.

⁸² Robert Collins, 'The Sudan Political Service; a portrait of the "imperialists"' in *African Affairs*, lxxi, no. 284 (Jul., 1972), pp 293-303; p. 302.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

⁸⁴ Thomas Barclay and Malcolm McIlwraith, *The Report of the Milner Commission on Egypt*, (London, 1921), p. 572.

better or worse, a parliamentary democracy'.⁸⁵ While he conceded that 'a highly educated, intelligent and progressive' elite was evident in some parts of the region, 'the vast majority of the Sudanese [were] concerned only with their flocks and herds, their yearly crops, and the facilities available for the aggrieved to obtain redress', suggesting that paternalism, a key feature of how the Sudanese and those who governed them in the early years of the administration interacted, continued to ruinously dominate these relationships, even when the worldwide collapse of the British Empire and Sudanese self-government were in view.⁸⁶

While the nature of British attitudes to the Sudanese can be gauged from a myriad of sources, few of these sources tell us anything of significance regarding how Sudanese populations viewed the British officials they encountered. In his recent popular examination of the British Empire, Jeremy Paxman states 'what the local people – whose future was being determined by largely indistinguishable groups of red-faced white men – made of it all, we can only try to guess.'⁸⁷ The essentially non-literate nature of many parts of Sudanese society means that while attempting to answer this question is difficult, it should nevertheless be attempted, whatever the imperfections of the sources available to us. The most obvious English-language sources available to us are those produced by, or in collaboration with Sudanese elites who by virtue of their own social status, and interactions with British authority, have left a deeper footprint in archival history than the 'local people' of Jeremy Paxman's imagination.

Criticism of how this question is addressed is a longstanding one, beginning during the life of the Condominium itself. This is evident in the comments of Reginald Davies, who attempted to analyse his experiences and responsibilities in Kordofan and Darfur in the south of the region in the context of the broader aims and objectives of the administration.⁸⁸ Highly

⁸⁵ H.A. MacMichael, *The Sudan* (London, 1954), ix.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp 17-8.

⁸⁷ Jeremy Paxman, *Empire* (London, 2011), p. 189.

⁸⁸ Reginald Davies, *The Camel's Back: Service in the Rural Sudan* (London, 1957).

critical of ‘anthropological studies of tribal manners and customs in which people seem to be symbols rather than flesh and blood’, he displayed a sophisticated awareness of ‘the width of the range of contacts between the foreign observer and the observed, noting that he gained ‘the most knowledge of what laid under the surface of things’ from ‘strange angles’, which in his work as a District Inspector was through his observation of criminal cases.⁸⁹ Moreover, this observation reminds us that even in situations where written sources are unhelpful, incomplete or absent, a careful observation of behaviour can be revealing.

In his contribution to the *Oxford History of the British Empire*, T.C. McCaskie reminds us that ‘encounters between cultures are complex, ambiguous, and unstable transactions’.⁹⁰ Even in the late nineteenth century he argues, ‘when violence was involved’, these encounters were a matter of ‘probing negotiation’ rather than ‘permanently binding choices between strategies of outright collaboration or resistance’.⁹¹ This perspective, which acknowledges multiple simultaneous attitudes on the part of colonised populations, is a more helpful approach to the question of how the Sudanese viewed the British-born people who governed them, rather than simplistic and outmoded theories of coloniser and colonised.

It can be argued that on a superficial level, Sudanese populations, having suffered the brutality of the Mahdist regime, generally cooperated with government officials and with the Condominium generally, even viewing this new arrangement as a return to pre-Mahdist normality, as M.W. Daly argues in his conclusion to *Empire on the Nile*:

It was not jokingly that the Sudanese spoke of the Condominium as the second Turkiya: in its structure, in its functions, and in its apparent attitudes (towards, for instance, religion, slavery, and taxation), the new regime imposed no sweeping changes. Symbolically deriving its legitimacy from the old Turco-Egyptian regime, reoccupying its capital, reimposing its governor-general, its ulama, its currency, the

⁸⁹ Reginald Davies, *The Camel's Back: Service in the Rural Sudan* (London, 1957), p. 2.

⁹⁰ T.C. McCaskie, ‘Cultural encounters: Britain and Africa in the nineteenth century’ in Andrew Porter (ed.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire: the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1999), pp 644-89; p. 665.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 679.

Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was essentially conservative, a continuation of the government that had been interrupted by the revolution of Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdi.⁹²

Jessie-Anne Cloudsley-Thompson, a rare female voice in the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, who worked as a physiotherapist in Khartoum, reported simply that the Sudanese regarded British authority as ‘a good thing’.⁹³ The recollections of H.P.W. Hutson are typical in this regard, and in his description of interactions with members of the Shilluk tribe in the south of the region, he reported no hostility towards British administrators, largely because they understood that ‘we didn’t intend to disturb them’.⁹⁴ Similarly, he described meeting a son of the Madhi, who had been pensioned off by the administration, and indicated that he was ‘respected’ by British administrators, making him well-disposed towards colonial officials.

Several contributors to *Bonds of Silk* qualify their recollections of positive interactions between British-born administrators and the Sudanese by claiming that the British ‘were valued more highly in the early years’.⁹⁵ H.A. Nicholson, whose Sudan career began in 1924, contended that in the early days of the Condominium, ‘the majority of them were contented with the government, which gave them a security of life and prosperity which they had not enjoyed either under the old Turco-Egyptian government or during the Mahdiya’ and that in the south, it had ‘put a stop to the practice of slavery’.⁹⁶ The last point is one that is considerably contentious in contemporary historiographical debates, as reflected in Stephen Serels’s 2013 work *Starvation and the State*, which argues that the Condominium was slow

⁹² M.W. Daly, *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1898-1934* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 451.

⁹³ Interview with Jessie-Anne Cloudsley-Thompson, May 2008 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 31559).

⁹⁴ Interview with H.P.W. Hutson, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4465).

⁹⁵ M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), pp 68-9.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

to abolish slavery and the decline of the practice owed more to owners' inability to feed their slaves than the implementation of government policy.⁹⁷

It is also likely that administrators viewed the early years as a minor golden age in which British-born administrators were more respected simply because of their intrinsic dislike for younger and better educated Sudanese men who were more likely to be explicitly hostile to the administration. In his contribution to *Bonds of Silk*, W.C. McDowall states that:

[S]ome of the older Sudanese who remembered the past possibly gave the British some credit for their achievements. The younger, educated Sudanese thought that we were too dominating and too slow in handing over the reins of power to them.⁹⁸

Indeed, some of the Sudanese contributors to the same publication largely concur with British-born administrators' recollections of positive interactions between the two groups, with Zubayr Ahmed al-Malik, when recalling his education at Gordon College, stated that 'we did not have anything against them. We were in fact quite happy with them'.⁹⁹ Equally, Amin Hassoun, who worked as a clerk in the personnel office of the Sudan Railways, spoke fondly of his boss G.W. Power, someone for whom he had 'nothing but admiration'.¹⁰⁰ Hassoun also remembered his friendship with C.R. Williams, a manager of the Sudan Railways, which resulted in his giving Arabic lessons to his wife.¹⁰¹

Such anecdotes support one of the key elements of the self-identity of administrators of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, which was their belief that Sudanese populations liked being part of the British Empire. Indeed, there is ample evidence that this was the case, on a superficial level at least. Janice Boddy argues that Sudanese populations, particularly in the north, cooperated with colonial authority 'because it conferred some tangible boon', such as

⁹⁷ Stephen Serels, *Starvation and the State; Famine, Slavery, and Power in Sudan, 1883-1956* (Basingstoke, 2013).

⁹⁸ M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), pp 69-70.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp 102-3.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

providing a mechanism for settling land disputes, improving agriculture, communications and food distribution, and provided educational and employment opportunities for some Sudanese while, by and large, ‘people were left to get on with their lives’.¹⁰² It is likely that many Sudanese, particularly those who did not experience the high levels of violence employed in the south of the region, entered into a state of transactional acceptance of the new regime.

When we consider how non-elite populations interacted with British-born officials, evidence exists to suggest that these groups collaborated with the new administration for pragmatic reasons, demonstrating a high level of understanding of the regime’s primary foundation myths connected to Gordon, Kitchener and the military conquest of the region. In their letters, diaries, interviews and memoirs, civilian and military officials continually refer to domestic servants and other Sudanese in their employment, who claim to have worked for figures such as Gordon, Woolsey and Kitchener. In *Plain tales from the British Empire*, Charles Allen describes ‘Uncle Zaid’, a former slave who had been captured at the Battle of Atbarah in 1898 and worked as a mess waiter.¹⁰³ Such stories, while unverifiable, demonstrate deft cultural and emotional intelligence on the part of these individuals, who harnessed a collective memory, and the administration’s central foundation myth, as a means of survival in the new regime.

Most of what we know about Sudanese encounters with British-born administrators comes from elite groups within Sudanese society. In his examination of how Britain perceived its empire, David Cannadine offers convincing evidence that the regime’s success lay in its ability to adapt for local conditions the policies of cultivating local elites that had been so successful in India and Malaya.¹⁰⁴ He especially emphasises the importance of the system of granting to local leaders honours such as the Grand Cross of the Order of St.

¹⁰² Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 64.

¹⁰³ Charles Allen, *Plain Tales from the British Empire* (London, 2008), p. 294.

¹⁰⁴ David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: how the British saw their Empire* (London, 2001), p. 61.

Michael and St. George, originally granted to individuals who had administered territory gained in the Napoleonic Wars, and therefore harking back to the Battle of the Nile. Such events, he argues, ‘brought together British proconsular elite and the indigenous colonial elites into a unified, ranked honorific body – one vast interconnected world’.¹⁰⁵

British-born officials reported that high-ranking Sudanese collaborated with the administration by advising them of local mores and attitudes to morality and authority, effectively acting as cultural go-betweens between officials and local populations. Johnson Thewlis Clarkson claimed that a local sheik told him that ‘there is no blessing of God on a weak ruler’, and later advised him against participating in a camel race with Orde Wingate, who had already developed a reputation as an imprudent and sometimes eccentric figure, because ‘it would be a great mistake for someone like [him] to make a fool of another Englishman’.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, when acting as a film censor during his posting to Port Sudan, Clarkson sought the advice of a senior *mamure*, or civil administrator, and a ‘Mohammaden judge’, over the question of whether or not to ban two films, one on the grounds of mild sexual content, and the other which depicted the British Army losing to a native tribe, and was advised, he claimed, by both men against showing the second one, which was explicitly subversive in tone and content.¹⁰⁷ While Clarkson’s recollections of these incidents may be accurate, it is also possible that the passage of time, coupled with his commitment to the centrality of the belief in Sudanese acquiescence to British influence, may have clouded his memory and interpretation of events.

When asked for their views on British administrators’ attitudes towards the Sudanese, many Sudanese-born contributors to *Bonds of Silk* report on impersonal, transactional encounters. Manoa Majok stated that ‘the people respected them not because they liked

¹⁰⁵ David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: how the British saw their Empire* (London, 2001), pp 87-8.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Johnson Thewlis Clarkson, 15 Feb. 1984 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 7381).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

them, but because they were afraid of them'.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, Chief Chier Rian stated simply that 'we saw the British as masters. We did not see them as our friends. They were not related to people. They were foreigners'.¹⁰⁹ Other contributors allude to the fact that there was no alternative to collaboration, such as the remarks of Feisal Muhammad Abd al-Rahman, who recalled that '[u]nder the circumstances, you had to make the best out of a difficult situation....it was a process of give and take'.¹¹⁰ Perhaps the most bitter – and revealing – recollection of the regime came from Santino Deng Teeng:

There were British who cheated. There were malicious ones who bullied as if they were waging a blood vendetta, as if some of their family had died here. They seemed to be harbouring grudges. Some were bad to the extent that if they saw you, they would frown and make some comment. We were forced to ask that kind of person why they seemed to hate us, what we had done wrong.¹¹¹

This recollection is reminiscent of those of Edward Atiyah, a Lebanese-born Syrian Christian spent much of his life 'in the Sudan, working on behalf of the British government, 'where for nearly twenty years it [was his duty to] interpret to the Government the thoughts and feelings of the educated Sudanese'.¹¹² These experiences were collected into a 1946 autobiography, where he explored the tension between an idyllic pro-British childhood, spent reading English books which convinced him of the superiority of the British race, and his creeping realisation that British administrators were disliked and dislikeable:¹¹³

I began to hear that the British were unpopular, that they were snobbish and arrogant, that they despised everyone who was not British and that they trampled on other people's dignity, that however much you tried to be friends with them they remained aloof and haughty and wanted you to remain at a respectful distance. I began to hear of incidences illustrating these attributes – of an English Officer or Inspector striking a native in the Suk for not having stood up when he approached – of another insulting his Syrian or Egyptian subordinate...showing a

¹⁰⁸ M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), p. 186.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 121.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 185.

¹¹² Edward Atiyah, *An Arab tells his story; a study in loyalties* (London, 1946), vii.

¹¹³ Ibid.

contemptuous attitude towards Easterners, the attitude of a haughty master who has little human contact with the people under his rule.¹¹⁴

He describes the ‘British ruling aristocracy’ as ‘remote, aloof [and] self-glorified’ and increasingly offensive to both the Sudanese and the Syrian population which, like his family ‘had come to the Sudan as the hero-worshippers and self-instituted proteges of the British’.¹¹⁵ This would suggest that the relative absence of non-British primary sources relating to encounters between Sudanese populations and colonial administrators has caused a significant historiographical lacuna, a matter which will be discussed in this study’s conclusion.

‘The *fellah* is one of the most unwarlike types of mankind, and heartily detests military service in all its forms’; interactions between British officials and Egyptian soldiers and *fellahin*.

Unlike Sudanese populations, whom very few Britons had encountered until the 1880s, British attitudes to Egyptians were well-embedded many generations before any official involvement in the country. This attitude was not confined to British men and women living in Egypt. Historically, British disdain for Egyptians was continual, often hinged around xenophobic clichés of Arabic culture as underhand, brutal and unsanitary. As discussed in Chapter One, the British public was both fascinated by Egypt’s pharaonic past and horrified by its contemporary instability. This found voice in the travel literature of the late nineteenth century, which was heavily influenced by the quasi-scientific degeneration thesis, which linked Egypt’s instability and historic reputation as a land of tyranny and brutality to its warm climate. Nevertheless, administrators working in the Sudan in the early years of the Condominium demonstrated a surprisingly more nuanced attitude to the Egyptians they encountered than might be expected when later accounts of British interactions with Egyptian culture are examined.

¹¹⁴ Edward Atiyah, *An Arab tells his story; a study in loyalties* (London, 1946), p. 41.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

British-born colonial officials were likely to meet Egyptians in three contexts. These were as officers in the Egyptian Army, as conscripted labour in the Sudan, and lastly as traders, vendors and civilians in urban centres in Egypt like Cairo and Alexandria. They also encountered Egyptian academics and other members of the intelligentsia associated with archaeology and antiquities. British and Egyptian interactions were heavily influenced by a class dimension. Overall, British-born members of the Condominium's managerial classes – army officers and civilian colonial officials alike – tended to favour ordinary Egyptians over members of Egyptian social elites. During the reconquest of the Sudan, British officials' belief in Egypt's historic association with tyranny caused them to be relatively sympathetic to the enlisted men of the Egyptian Army, although they often described them as cowardly and un-martial. This is encapsulated in the reminiscences of E.J. Montague-Stuart-Wortley, who recalled seeing a group of Egyptian deserters when they were apprehended and brought back to Cairo, claiming that he would 'never forget the horror of seeing these wretched men, tied together with logs. Some of them had cut their fore-finger off, in order to show that they could not fire a rifle; some of them had put lime in their eyes'.¹¹⁶ These extreme measures of avoiding military service he argued, was because 'the *fellah* is one of the most unwarlike types of mankind' and that it was only through coercion and brutality, such as depicted in his description of Egyptian soldiers wearing an 'iron collar around their necks', were they induced to fight.¹¹⁷

However, Montague-Stuart-Wortley believed that this tendency towards brutality was tempered by British fair-play, which saw the creation of an efficient army from 'rather unpromising raw material' through 'strict discipline...combined with strict justice and

¹¹⁶ E.J. Montague-Stuart-Wortley, 'My reminiscences of Egypt and the Sudan (from 1882 to 1899)' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxiv, no. 1 (Jun., 1953), pp 17-46; p. 19.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

humane treatment'.¹¹⁸ While the factual accuracy of these statements is questionable, appearing to conform to the many accounts of Egyptian and Mahdist brutality that appeared in Britain from the 1880s onwards, their sentiments offer a fascinating insight into British self-belief and identity, particularly as transmitters of the British values of justice and fair play, into an unjust and savage world.¹¹⁹

Overall however, British-born administrators who served during the early years of the administration looked favourably upon enlisted Egyptian soldiers. They mostly encountered them in the Sudan, where they worked as conscripted labour on public works such as roadbuilding and irrigation, and on military projects such as the construction of barracks. Cyril Gordon Martin described them as 'very skilled', and 'in a different class altogether' to the allegedly unintelligent Sudanese soldiers he also commanded.¹²⁰ Similarly H.P.W. Hutson described these Egyptian conscripts as 'first class workers' and 'good tradesmen', who needed very little direction.¹²¹

Strict social stratification, among both British and Egyptians, meant that casual encounters with Egyptians, not attached to the Egyptian Army, were rare. H.P.W. Hutson described life in Cairo as 'inefficient' but 'overall pretty calm'.¹²² However, he also noted that while political violence was rare, at least until the assassination of Sir Lee Stack, Egyptians were 'easily aroused', and British personnel were warned that interactions with local people about small mishaps, such as car accidents, could become heated and dangerous.¹²³ He also remembered that until 1922, when Egypt was theoretically granted 'independence' from its status as a British protectorate, Europeans received preferential

¹¹⁸ E.J. Montague-Stuart-Wortley, 'My reminiscences of Egypt and the Sudan (from 1882 to 1899)' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxiv, no. 1 (Jun., 1953), pp 17-46; p. 21.

¹¹⁹ The most widely-read of this was probably Rudolph Carl Slatin's, *Fire and sword in the Sudan; a personal narrative of fighting and serving the Dervishes, 1879 – 1895* (London, 1898).

¹²⁰ Interview with Cyril Gordon Martin, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4470).

¹²¹ Interview with H.P.W. Hutson, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4465).

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

treatment in public spaces such as in railway carriages, where they were given their own compartment. This came abruptly to an end in that year when, Hutson recalled, Egyptians would pile into the same compartments as Europeans ‘to make a point’, suggesting that even before Stack’s assassination, undercurrents of tension were present, even if not necessarily perceptible to British people living in the city.

On an individual level, British civilian and military administrators demonstrated mixed opinions of civilian *fellahin*, or Egyptian peasant farmers. John Harding, who was resident in Cairo between 1918 and 1919, claimed that their ‘motivation is money’ and that consequently they were industrious and worked hard to irrigate their farms.¹²⁴ Perhaps channelling older tropes which he may have unconsciously absorbed, he concluded that the everyday Egyptian was ‘not very attractive but not unduly hostile’.¹²⁵

An alternative perspective on interactions between Egyptians and the British can be found in the recollections of Stanley Parker Bird, who was evacuated from Gallipoli to Egypt, spending four months in Alexandria in 1915 as part of the Royal Army Medical Corps. He recalled arriving in Egypt as ‘a great thrill’, finding it interesting to ‘roam about Alexandria’.¹²⁶ Bird appeared to have had a greater appreciation of contemporary Egyptian culture than many of his contemporaries, describing his efforts to learn Arabic and making the acquaintance of an Egyptian, who guided him around Cairo’s museums and cafes.¹²⁷ It is possible that Bird’s status as an enlisted soldier may have allowed him to interact with local people on a basis of more equality than commissioned officers, but it is also likely that the social make-up of Alexandria, which saw Egyptians and non-Egyptians socialising together, to a far greater extent than was customary in Cairo, also facilitated this.

¹²⁴ Interview with John Harding, 1984 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 8736).

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Interview with Stanley Parker Bird, 1984 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 7375).

¹²⁷ Ibid.

However, Edward Atiyah discussed his Khartoum boyhood in the second decade of the twentieth century, when his initial belief in the ‘efficient rule of the British in Egypt, and the prosperity it had brought’ was shaken by rumours ‘of the humiliations suffered by the Egyptians in their subjection, of their dislike of the British and desire to get rid of them’.¹²⁸ As a teenager in Victoria College in Alexandria, he recalls the 1919 Egyptian uprising against British influence, remembering the comments of his headmaster Mr. Reed, whose attitudes to Egyptians, and their increasing belligerence towards Britain, was largely typical of British public opinion:

...the movement was not in any sense a national rising. The vast majority of the people of Egypt were illiterate *fellaheen*, who were not interested in politics, and were very happy under British rule. They had been worked up to an artificial excitement by agitators. At the top of the movement were demagogues in search of power and popularity; at the bottom, the riff-raff of the towns; while the best people in the country kept out of it; and secretly desired the continuance of British rule.¹²⁹

The contemptuous attitude of the British to the Egyptians, coupled with their inability to acknowledge such attitudes, was a result of a mix of contemporary and historic factors, as well as the differences in how British administrators viewed Egyptian elites and non-elites, and is well-illustrated in these comments. Historically, Britain viewed the *fellahin*, or ordinary Egyptian rural farmers, as intellectually limited, cowed by an oppressive regime and, in effect, unfit to govern themselves. As discussed in Chapter One, British intervention in Egypt and the Sudan was clearly promoted as a moral duty rather than an act of mercantile and political expediency, with contemporary political rhetoric continually reinforcing the idea that Britain’s involvement in the region was simply focused on supporting the rule of the Khedive.

¹²⁸ Edward Atiyah, *An Arab tells his story; a study in loyalties* (London, 1946), p. 43.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

‘Good fellowship prevailed between us and the Egyptians’; interactions between British officials and Egyptian elites.

If British sources are to be believed, interactions between British-born and Egyptian army officers were more varied. Overall, they are less lavish in their praise of Egyptian officers who, strictly speaking, they worked with on a basis of equality, as per the Condominium Agreement. Cyril Gordon Martin admitted that while Egyptian officers and the British officers seconded to the Egyptian Army wore the same uniforms and enjoyed equal pay and conditions, there was a marked disparity of esteem between the two groups.¹³⁰ This can be seen in several ways, such as the structuring of the chain of command within the Egyptian Army, as well as the relative absence of social interactions between the two groups and their families.

E.J. Montague-Stuart-Wortley remarked that ‘Egyptian officers [were] very anxious to prove themselves equal in zeal and competence to their British confrères’.¹³¹ He also noted that ‘good fellowship prevailed between us and the Egyptians’, recalling that ‘we used to meet many Egyptians at their club and spend cheery evenings together’, while they ‘met the younger generation at the race-course, and each enjoyed the other’s company’.¹³² This is likely to be romanticised wishful thinking on the part of Montague-Stuart-Wortley, whose memoirs appeared seventy years after the events they describe, and which were probably written no fewer than twenty years before that. It is revealing that his final remarks are a wish that ‘the old cordiality may once more prevail in Egypt’, acting as something of an admission

¹³⁰ Interview with Cyril Gordon Martin, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4470).

¹³¹ E.J. Montague-Stuart-Wortley, ‘My reminiscences of Egypt and the Sudan (from 1882 to 1899)’ in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxiv, no. 1 (Jun., 1953), pp 17-46; p. 21.

¹³² E.J. Montague-Stuart-Wortley, ‘My reminiscences of Egypt and the Sudan (from 1882 to 1899) continued’ in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxiv, no. 2 (Dec., 1953), pp 172-88; p.187

that the relationship between British and Egyptian officers, far from perpetually friendly and uncomplicated, was a complex one, or at least became so as the century progressed.¹³³

H.P.W. Hutson noted that regardless of individual officers' seniority, 'practically all the executive work was done by the British', while Egyptian officers undertook administrative roles only.¹³⁴ Furthermore, disciplinary matters were entirely in the hands of British officers, who 'never took orders' from their Egyptian counterparts, simply because the chain of command was 'set up that way', suggesting that discomfort between the two groups was a long-standing issue, rather than a post-1924 problem.¹³⁵ A general belief that Egyptian officers were lazy, underhand and incompetent emanated from the top down, with Wingate declaring in 1916 that this cohort was 'the ultimate cause of nearly all our previous administrative failures'.¹³⁶ Hutson demonstrated the same general attitude towards Egyptian officers, claiming that they 'drew their pay and sat and looked on', except in irrigation projects, where their technical skills were far superior to that of British officers.¹³⁷ He gives little credible evidence of this however.

The effective side-lining of Egyptian officers out of the chain of command had little legal basis, as at no point in the Condominium Agreement was the Egyptian Army explicitly referred to, except obliquely in Article III, which effectively placed the ultimate control of military matters into British government hands:

The supreme military and civil command in the Sudan shall be vested in one officer, termed the "Governor-General of the Sudan". He shall be appointed by Khedival Decree on the recommendation of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, and shall be removed only by Khedival Decree, with the consent of Her Britannic Majesty's Government.¹³⁸

¹³³ E.J. Montague-Stuart-Wortley, 'My reminiscences of Egypt and the Sudan (from 1882 to 1899) continued' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxiv, no. 2 (Dec., 1953), pp 172-88; p.187

¹³⁴ Interview with H.P.W. Hutson, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4465).

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ M.W. Daly, *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1898-1934* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 272.

¹³⁷ Interview with H.P.W. Hutson, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4465).

¹³⁸ 'Agreement between her Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of his Highness the Khedive of Egypt relative to the future administration of the Sudan' (1899), published in Edward Gleichen (ed.), *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; a compendium prepared by officers of the Sudan Government* (London, 1905), pp 283-4, p. 283.

Both Martin and Hutson recalled extreme social distance between themselves and their Egyptian counterparts. Martin attributed this to the fact that the Egyptian officers did not play sport, which, in an administration known for its preponderance of athletes, was the primary means of recreation for British officers.¹³⁹ While he remembered being occasionally asked ‘to their quarters for a meal’, he reported that they were ‘never really friendly’ and he knew little about them on a personal level, such as whether or not they had families.¹⁴⁰ This may have been misplaced social reticence on Martin’s part who, like many British-born officers with limited understanding of the many forms of Islam, may have believed it to be impolite to ask a Muslim officer about his family.

Hutson was more critical and dismissive of the Egyptian officers he encountered when working in Cairo, noting that while interactions between the two groups were friendly, ‘we didn’t treat them seriously’ and did not expect them to ‘do anything wonderful’.¹⁴¹ Like Martin, he recalled almost no social interaction between the two groups, noting that ‘one never met’ Egyptian officers’ wives and ‘certainly never called on them’, which may also have been as a result of misplaced reticence on his part.¹⁴² He links this to the general ghettoisation that developed in early-twentieth century Cairo, where British civilian and military personnel and their families socialised separately from Egyptians and even non-British Europeans, recalling that the only Egyptian he knew socially during his years there was the director of the Cairo Zoo, despite the fact that the city was cosmopolitan in its social make-up, with Europeans from many nations residing there on both a long-term and short-term basis.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Interview with Cyril Gordon Martin, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4470).

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Interview with H.P.W. Hutson, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4465).

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

While many British administrators viewed the *fellahin* with a mixture of pity and contempt, their attitude to Egyptian elites was more complex. Like other parts of the British Empire, British officials in Egypt relied on local elites for the preservation of law and order, and to lend legitimacy to what had been military domination, however carefully it had been presented to the British public as a mission of humanitarian mercy. David Cannadine argues that in the case of Egypt, Britain was forced to ally itself 'out of necessity and out of ignorance, on partners whose power and legitimacy did not always match their privileges or their pomp', and that these elites were widely disliked by their own people, who viewed them as 'British stooges and puppets'.¹⁴⁴ The legacies of the events of 1882 continued to impact on the relationship between the two sets of personnel throughout the life of the Condominium, even in the years before the assassination of Lee Stack and the official development of Britain's anti-Egyptian stance.

The relationship between British administrators and Egyptians of high status was also severely strained by contemporary issues, and by more general systematic problems in the British Army. The outbreak of war in South Africa in 1899 saw the redeployment of officers seconded to the Egyptian Army, who were replaced according to M.W. Daly, with younger, recently-commissioned officers, some of whom failed to understand the importance of cultivating positive relationships with Egyptian officers.¹⁴⁵ Many British officers found working within the Egyptian Army unpleasant, and especially resented the imperious manner in which the Khedive conducted himself, with Kitchener noting with some dismay the ever-increasing lists of 'rapidly-departing British officers'.¹⁴⁶ Evelyn Baring, first earl of Cromer, was similarly concerned about the recruitment of British officers into the Egyptian Army, because not only could they be recalled by the War Office, few of them spoke Arabic and

¹⁴⁴ David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: how the British saw their Empire* (London, 2001), p. 140.

¹⁴⁵ M.W. Daly, 'The Egyptian Army mutiny at Omdurman January-February 1900' in *Bulletin* (British Society for Middle Eastern Studies), viii, no. 1 (1981), pp 3-12; p. 5.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

were therefore over-reliant on Egyptians.¹⁴⁷ This problem was to repeat itself during the First World War, when prominent military officials, such as Colonel Cyril Wilson, a fluent Arabic speaker, was removed from his duties in the Egyptian Army and the Sudan Government to assist in the Arab Revolt.¹⁴⁸

In his examination of the early years of the Condominium, M.W. Daly argues that disciplinary problems in the Egyptian Army at Omdurman in January and February 1900 had a profound impact on the shape of the new administration.¹⁴⁹ Although all-out mutiny was prevented, several units made up of Egyptian-born soldiers, threatened to revolt, and began to stockpile ammunition which they refused to return. Daly notes that this incident, although local in scale and short in duration, came 'after months of rising tension', and caused a significant loss of goodwill between Egyptian and British military personnel.¹⁵⁰ It is also likely that incoming civilian administrators, even those 'direct entry' members of the Sudan Political Service with no military experience of the region, were highly influenced by this incident, fostering distrust and even dislike between the Condominium partners for years beyond the life of the administration's military foundations.

Although Lee Stack's assassination and the resulting expulsion of Egyptian-born *mamures* from the Sudan can be seen as the zenith of the hostility between the Condominium partners, anti-Egyptian attitudes, as an official policy, were always perceptible, as illustrated by the 1912 visit of King George V and Queen Mary to the Sudan, while returning from their 1911 tour of India. Ostensibly, the two-day event bore all the hallmarks of a successful official visit, with the *Sudan Government Gazette* reporting extensively on the various events

¹⁴⁷ J.A. Mangan, 'The education of an elite imperial administration; the Sudan Political Service and the British public school system' in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, xv, no. 4 (1982), pp 671-91; p. 672.

¹⁴⁸ Philip Walker, *Behind the Lawrence legend: the forgotten few who shaped the Arab Revolt* (Oxford, 2018), pp 1-2.

¹⁴⁹ M.W. Daly, 'The Egyptian Army mutiny at Omdurman January-February 1900' in *Bulletin* (British Society for Middle Eastern Studies), viii, no. 1 (1981), pp 3-12; p. 3.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

and the long lists of dignitaries in attendance.¹⁵¹ The King diplomatically noted that his only regret concerning the visit was the fact that he was 'unable to spare the time to penetrate further into this interesting country', thanking profusely the Sudanese tribal leaders who had travelled to Port Sudan to greet him.¹⁵² *The Times* hailed the event as a triumph, noting that the visit 'gave marvellous evidence of what may be done in a quarter of a century towards reducing sanguinary barbarism to order and prosperity'.¹⁵³

However, a closer examination of the visit's details illustrates the deterioration in the relationship between British and Egyptian elites, even in the early years of the Condominium. Significantly, the Khedive was not invited to any part of the visit, indicating that the Condominium Agreement was simply a vehicle for British colonial ambition.¹⁵⁴ Although the fact that the Sudan government wished to disempower the Khedive and his government was not explicitly stated in the agreement, it was alluded to in Article X, which declared that 'no Consuls, vice-Consuls, Consular Agents shall be accredited in respect of nor allowed to reside in the Sudan, without the previous consent of Her Britannic Majesty's Government', which could be interpreted as a means of keeping all non-British political influence out of the region.¹⁵⁵

This exclusion of the Khedive was in line with a general attitude of hostility towards Cairo in these years, as demonstrated by a newspaper report in the same month as George V's visit, which blamed the poor economic state of Egypt, and consequent reliance on Britain as a source of funding, on the 'unsound methods of business' conducted there.¹⁵⁶ This indicates

¹⁵¹ *Sudan Government Gazette*, ccx (Feb., 1912), pp 560-71.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ *The Times*, 5 Feb. 1912.

¹⁵⁴ M.W. Daly, 'The development of the governor-generalship of the Sudan, 1899-1934' in *The Journal of African History*, xxiv, no. 1 (1983), pp 77-96; p. 86.

¹⁵⁵ 'Agreement between her Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of his Highness the Khedive of Egypt relative to the future administration of the Sudan' (1899), published Edward Gleichen (ed.), *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; a compendium prepared by officers of the Sudan Government* (London, 1905), pp 283-4, p. 284.

¹⁵⁶ *The Times*, 8 Jan. 1912.

that the tensions between Britain and Egypt, so evident in interactions between the two groupings, had coloured not only the Condominium's administration, but the manner in which it was perceived in Britain, a problem that will be examined in Chapters Four and Five. Furthermore, the royal visit was in stark contrast to the brief 1869 visit of the prince and princess of Wales who, in the first flush of British Egyptomania, travelled down the Nile to Cairo in an Egyptian-themed vessel.¹⁵⁷

The annual report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan for 1924 opens with an expression of shock and grief at that year's 'senseless political murder'.¹⁵⁸ This act, it claims, interrupted the 'even tenor of administrative progress and peaceful development chronicled in these reports from year to year, and 'threatened public security for the first time in the history of the Condominium'.¹⁵⁹ This stubborn and even perverse refusal on the part of the administration to acknowledge that the relationship between the Condominium partners was fatally damaged by historical factors and contemporary circumstances alike is marked, suggesting that the foundation mythology which created and sustained the administration in its early years was a liability in its power to blind colonial officials to reality.

In the years after 1924, personal interactions between British-born and Egyptian-born government officials became more explicitly hostile. This is especially perceptible in Imperial War Museum interviews conducted with individuals who served in Egypt and the Sudan in the 1930s. James Henry 'Jim' Miller, who served in Egypt and the Sudan in the 1930s, recounted being told not to buy anything from Egyptian 'jugglers' and banana sellers on a boat to Cairo.¹⁶⁰ He also recalled hearing that Egyptians preferred to work for British

¹⁵⁷ Robin Feddin, *Egypt: land of the valley* (Southampton, 1977), p. 15.

¹⁵⁸ *Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1924* (1925), p. 4.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ Interview with James Henry 'Jim' Miller, 13 Feb. 1996 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 16576).

employers than Egyptians, as they were better treated by them than ‘by their own people’, suggesting that the ancient trope of Egyptians as cruel and tyrannical was still in use.¹⁶¹ Eric Gordon Brice recalls that he ‘never had much time for the Egyptian soldier’ because his ‘bearing was not impressive’, and that ‘his standard of cleanliness was not high’.¹⁶² Similarly, James Raymond Yorke stated that ‘British troops didn’t think very much of coloured [Egyptian] troops’, considering them to be ‘greasy’, ‘downtrodden’ and ‘with ‘no life at all’.¹⁶³

**‘Muslims were hated in the South because slave-trading has never been forgotten’;
interactions between Sudanese populations and Egyptians.**

While considerable historiographical difficulties exist when attempting to assess the reality of interactions between British-born officials and Sudanese and Egyptians, efforts to establish the nature of attitudes of Egyptians and Sudanese towards each other are even more problematic. In addition to the fact that English-language evidence of these interactions is predominately British, the belief that Sudanese populations historically hated Egyptians was a semi-truth that was perpetuated throughout the life of the Condominium, and rapidly imposed itself, not only into the administration’s foundation mythology, but also into its historiography, often leaving little in the way of solid or reliable fact.

One of the core foundation myths upon which the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium was established was the belief that Sudanese populations exclusively encountered Egyptians as slave traders who, for generations, travelled down to the region in raiding parties, centuries before the brutality of the Mahdist regime. Consequently, Britain argued, any type of Egyptian authority over the Sudan was doomed to failure. Robert Popham was unequivocal

¹⁶¹ Interview with James Henry ‘Jim’ Miller, 13 Feb. 1996 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 16576).

¹⁶² Interview with Eric Gordon Brice, 19 Sept. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4473).

¹⁶³ Interview with James Raymond Yorke, 14 Oct. 1985 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 9109).

on this matter, stating firmly that ‘Muslims were hated in the South because slave-trading has never been forgotten’.¹⁶⁴ Similarly, a pamphlet published in 1897 by the Patriotic Association, a small organisation which promoted support for the British Empire, acted as a summary of arguments in favour of British influence in the region. It stated that:

Mahdism does not and never did mean the independence, much less the liberties, of any race or tribe in the Soudan. Mahdism is simply a regime of barbaric conquest, carried out by a fanatical leader.¹⁶⁵

Like the administration’s other foundation myths, this was an intensely dangerous oversimplification and misrepresentation of historical fact. In reality, slavery, indentured labour and slave-raiding in the region were conceptually complex and difficult to define satisfactorily, especially in the years before the work of E.E. Evans-Pritchard, whose anthropological research into tribal structures later in the century was almost solely responsible for what Europeans knew about southern Sudanese society.¹⁶⁶ Tribal conflict often took the form of raids into rivals’ territories, where people and cattle were carried off as sources of labour, capital and status. This was a cause of intense anxiety for the early Sudan Government, which often lacked the resources or local knowledge to provide effective deterrents against such activities.

This difficulty is well-described in Robert Collins’ examination of the provincial tours undertaken by A.W. Jennings-Bramley, a District Inspector operating in the south of the region in 1900 who, when visiting the Dinka tribes, learnt of Beir tribe raids which ‘had become annual forages for Dinka women and cattle’.¹⁶⁷ While the practice was somewhat controlled through a mixture of government counter-raids into Beir territory and peaceful

¹⁶⁴ Interview with Robert Home Stewart Popham, 11 Jan. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4288).

¹⁶⁵ The Patriotic Association, *The Soudan 1882 to 1897; a memory and a nemesis. The story of Gordon and the great betrayal* (London, 1897), p. 18.

¹⁶⁶ For a summary of E.E. Evans-Pritchard’s contribution to this field please see David F. Pocock’s article ‘Sir Edward Evans-Pritchard 1902-1973: an appreciation’ in *Africa*, lxx, no. 3 (Jul., 1975), pp 327-30.

¹⁶⁷ Robert Collins, ‘Patrols against the Beirs’ in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xli (1960), pp 35-58; pp 37-8.

negotiations, it was not entirely eliminated and continues to the present day. Attempts were also made to keep Ethiopian slavery practices out of the region, with anti-slavery offices established along the Abyssinian border.¹⁶⁸

The issue of slavery was also further complicated by the fact that the technical definitions of slave and indentured servant were vague, requiring levels of ethnographical knowledge that most colonial administrators lacked. Additionally, in keeping with the official policy of non-interference when possible, slavery, though officially illegal, was not always punished by the Condominium. This is reflected in Kitchener's 1899 memorandum to governors, which explained that while 'slavery is not recognised in the Sudan', 'as long as service is willingly rendered by servants to masters, it is unnecessary to interfere in the conditions existing between them', except in the case of an individual 'subjected to cruel treatment, and his or her liberty interfered with'.¹⁶⁹ Therefore, when British administrators claimed that the Sudanese hated Egyptians simply because of their association with slavery, they failed to acknowledge that slavery was a complex and ill-understood phenomenon in the region, in which one tribal or ethnic group could simultaneously enslave rivals and become enslaved themselves.

Nevertheless, the abolition of slavery was integrated into the Condominium Agreement:

Article XI

The importation of slaves into the Sudan, as also their exportation, is absolutely prohibited. Provision shall be made by Proclamation for the enforcement of this Regulation.¹⁷⁰

While Kitchener's ordinance, with its more pragmatic stance on slavery, which recommended that the new administration intervene in incidences of slavery only when

¹⁶⁸ Interview with H.P.W. Hutson, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4465).

¹⁶⁹ H.A. MacMichael, *The Sudan* (London, 1954), pp 74-6.

¹⁷⁰ 'Agreement between her Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of his Highness the Khedive of Egypt relative to the future administration of the Sudan' (1899), published in Edward Gleichen (ed.), *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; a compendium prepared by officers of the Sudan Government* (London, 1905), pp 283-4, p. 284.

coercion was involved, was closer to unofficial Condominium policy, Article XI, which explicitly banned slavery, was an important piece of propaganda to increase the acceptability of involvement in the region at home in Britain. Letters to newspapers, usually full of jaded and cynical rhetoric about the excesses and immorality of New Imperialism, broadly supported the Condominium Agreement. This was particularly evident in those written by Charles H. Allen, president of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, who viewed the abolition of slavery as a key negotiation point between Britain and Egypt as the agreement was being drawn up.¹⁷¹

Sudanese populations met Egyptians who worked in the Sudan as *mamures* and also when they served as enlisted men in the Egyptian Army. Although Sudanese soldiers were enlisted into Sudanese-only units, they were occasionally amalgamated into small task forces for specific operations, such as the punishment of cattle raiders. Sudanese soldiers also encountered Egyptian officers and non-commissioned officers. Of these encounters, little is known, except for what British-born officials recalled.

Civilian Sudanese populations encountered Egyptian soldiers – often conscripts – working as an aid to the civil administration in the construction of public buildings, roads, bridges and irrigation projects. Evidence of Sudanese populations' hatred of Egyptians is scarce, although this may be due to the non-literate nature of Sudanese society. Cyril Gordon Martin commented that Egyptian soldiers disliked working in the Sudan, 'but had to do it', and deserted fairly regularly, especially during wet weather which they particularly disliked and led to mass-sickness, to the extent that Egyptian troops were not sent to the region during periods of heavy rainfall.¹⁷² He also recalled a minor mutiny of Sudanese troops within the Egyptian Army in Khartoum in 1917, describing the agitators as 'a few disgruntled people',

¹⁷¹ See 'Letters to the Editor', *The Times*, 8 Nov., 1898.

¹⁷² Interview with Cyril Gordon Martin, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4470).

but did not recall the reason for their disgruntlement.¹⁷³ His relative lack of interest in the incident, and his inability to recall what sparked it is revealing, suggesting that British-born officers were not hugely interested or involved in disputes between Egyptians and Sudanese populations, at least in the Egyptian Army.

However, H.P.W. Hutson reported that the ‘Sudanese didn’t like the Egyptians by and large’.¹⁷⁴ He also noted tensions between Egyptian and Sudanese troops who ‘didn’t like each other’.¹⁷⁵ He attributes this to cultural differences between the two groups, stating that the Sudanese despised the Egyptian *fellahin* because not only were they ‘not martial’, the Sudanese were ‘cow people’, while the Egyptians practiced tillage.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, Hutson noted that their mutual distrust came from differing levels of economic and social development, stating that Egyptian soldiers believed that Sudanese ‘natives were far more primitive than them’, and therefore had no interest in visiting ‘native villages’ when deployed in the Sudan.¹⁷⁷

Gabriel Warburg argues that for early figures in the administration, such as F.R. Wingate, having spent so much of his early career fighting the Madhya, and Kitchener, revelling in his role as Gordon's avenger, their dislike of Egyptians was simply a dislike for Muslims.¹⁷⁸ This manifested itself in the convenient belief that the Sudanese hated the Egyptians, which motivated them to reduce Egyptian influence as much as possible, even before this became official policy after 1924.¹⁷⁹ This convenient exaggeration led to other convenient exaggerations, such as the argument that the region’s underpopulation was a

¹⁷³ Interview with Cyril Gordon Martin, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4470).

¹⁷⁴ Interview with H.P.W. Hutson, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4465).

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Gabriel Warburg, 'The Wingate literature revisited: the Sudan as seen by members of the Sudan Political Service during the Condominium: 1899-1956' in *Middle Eastern Studies*, xli, no. 3 (May, 2005), pp 373-89; pp 373-4.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

direct result of the previous regime's brutality. In her examination of midwifery practices in the Sudan, Janice Boddy argues that population statistics were often undercalculated in support of this thesis. This is reflected in the region's 1902 report, which states that 'only the very roughest estimate of the population can be guessed at', with no real attempt to generate accurate statistics.¹⁸⁰ In his survey of the work of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, Harold MacMichael claims that the region's population fell from 8.5 million to less than two million as a result of famine, disease and internecine warfare', and that 'revolts and savage reprisals had left a legacy of bitter feuds, hatred and suspicion in every district'.¹⁸¹ However, neither MacMichael, nor the Sudan Government offered any measurable statistical data to support their calculations.

The Sudanese dislike of Egyptians – real and imagined – was a boon to the new administration. Many British administrators were convinced, not without reason, that the Sudanese hatred of Egyptians was so intense that Britain's administration of the Sudan was contingent on keeping Egyptian influence in the region to a minimum. This attitude is reflected in the comments of Winston Churchill in *The River War*, who blames 'the misgovernment of the Egyptians' for the 'misery of the Soudanese'.¹⁸²

The presence of a common enemy in the shape of Egyptians and Egyptian influence allowed British administrators to create, with no small amount of success, a functioning state in a short space of time and from an otherwise diverse populace with little common identity. However, this approach, based upon what was at best a half-truth and gross oversimplification, would not sustain the administration after 1924, particularly after the emergence of Sudanese nationalism.

¹⁸⁰ *Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1902* (1903), p. 115.

¹⁸¹ H.A. MacMichael, *The Sudan* (London, 1954), pp 73-4.

¹⁸² Winston Spencer Churchill and F.W. Rhodes (ed.), *The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan*, vol. ii, (London, 1899), p. 14.

‘Officers were friendlier than they ever are in England because like us they had to make their own enjoyment’: interactions between British officers and enlisted men.

While this study primarily focuses on upper-middle class army officers and civilian administrators, enlisted men – soldiers and non-commissioned officers – lived and worked in the region in their thousands. M.W. Daly reminds us that even in the early years of British involvement in the region, the ‘permanent British garrison [at Khartoum] was fixed at a mere 250 men, and even this miniscule force was withdrawn during the summer of 1899’.¹⁸³

Therefore, the enlisted men who served in the Sudan were transitory, temporary residents.

Enlisted men usually deployed with their regiment, and often served a relatively short stint in the region en route back to Britain after a long tour of duty in India. James Henry Miller explained that the Sudan was often where older soldiers headed back to England to be discharged were sent after service in India, while younger ones were sent to Hong Kong.¹⁸⁴ He recalled that they ‘slung their pith helmets overboard on the way home’, adding that ‘I wish I’d brought mine home’.¹⁸⁵ This might explain some of the attitudes they demonstrated, regarding the Sudan as an unwelcome stopping-point before home and their pension. While their interactions with Sudanese populations were often minimal, the nature of the working relationship between this cohort and the men who officered them provides insight into how the administration functioned.

As discussed in Chapter Two, a core characteristic of the upper-middle class cohort that governed the Sudan is the similarity of their social backgrounds and education from a small pool of public schools and Oxbridge colleges. While most were capable administrators, it gave rise to a surface level dullness, uniformity and even groupthink. Conversely, enlisted men, as represented by the Imperial War Museum interviews, were not a cohesive group,

¹⁸³ M.W. Daly, *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1898-1934* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 105.

¹⁸⁴ Interview with James Henry ‘Jim’ Miller, 13 Feb. 1996 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 16576).

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

demonstrating greater diversity in terms of social and educational background, level of personal ambition and interest in their careers. These factors had a significant impact on their attitudes to the officers they encountered.

Four of the soldiers interviewed by the Imperial War Museum discussed the relationships between enlisted men and their British-born officers. These were Frederick Suter, Francis Mitchell, James Yorke and Leslie Hassack, all of whom served in the Sudan between 1915 and 1945. Overall, there appears to have been reasonably good working relations between the two groups. Frederick Suter noted that in the Sudan, ‘officers were friendlier than they ever are in England because like us they had to make their own enjoyment’.¹⁸⁶ He attributed this to the fact that they were all to some extent ‘stuck with each other’ and that officers did not have easy access to civilian pastimes in which they would have participated in Britain.¹⁸⁷

Similarly, Francis Mitchell recalled positive working relationships between officers and men. Overall, he noted, ‘a man didn’t need to be sworn at to do his job’, something he attributed to what he called the ‘yeomanry ethos’ of his regiment’s origins.¹⁸⁸ While he reported that most officers were confident and capable, there were ‘one or two officers’ with ‘their own ideas of discipline’, a technique he claims was counterproductive.¹⁸⁹ He also noted that while officers attempted to keep their men informed with up-to-date information, he wondered if officers were any better-informed than their men about practical matters. Other interviewees had mixed feelings about some of the officers that commanded them, such as James Yorke, who encountered the legendary military leader, Field Marshal Slim, in the course of his rotation in the Sudan. While he described him as a ‘great bloke’ and ‘very

¹⁸⁶ Interview with Frederick Suter, 29 Jan. 1980 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4611).

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ Interview with Francis Mitchell, 28 Jan. 1986 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 9207).

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

popular' with his men, he found him nevertheless 'incredibly aggressive'.¹⁹⁰ Significantly, the same interviewee demonstrated very clear ideas regarding the sort of men he felt should be officers, especially when he discussed the civilian cotton planters who were commissioned into the Sudan Defence Force upon the outbreak of war in 1939, approvingly describing them as 'old colonial types...proper gentlemen'.¹⁹¹ Most enlisted men, therefore, appear to have had a reasonably traditional but friendly rapport between themselves and their officers. They also appeared to accept and acquiesce to the fact that these officers should come from the social class typical of army officers, and that they should be markedly different in background, education and demeanour to enlisted men.

This is particularly well-illustrated by the testimony of Leslie Hassack, a British-born non-commissioned officer, who had been selected for service in the Sudan Defence Force due to his meritorious career in the British Army. Unlike arrangements for other enlisted men, who were communally accommodated in billets, he lived outside the regimental system at the outpost of El Obeid, south of Khartoum, where he was one of just three British-born men, the rest of whom were officers. Although he saw his time in the Sudan as crucial to his professional and personal development – he retired from the British Army as a Colonel – he admitted that his years in the Sudan Defence Force were 'extremely lonely'.¹⁹² Hassack was classed as a Sudan Government official, which gave him a much-augmented salary, domestic staff and the same accommodation as an officer. He also assumed responsibility for the work of a Captain, with the unspoken understanding that he would be commissioned at a later date. Hassack describes the officers he served with as being 'in the main extremely nice' and 'extremely understanding', although he noted that he did sometimes meet 'snobbish' ones,

¹⁹⁰ Interview with James Yorke, 14 Oct. 1985 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 9109).

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Interview with Leslie Hassack, 18 Dec. 1978 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 3998).

who made him feel socially uncomfortable.¹⁹³ Ernest Reginald Cooke recalled non-commissioned officers like Hassack, stating that because they were ‘hand-picked men’, they were ‘treated just like officers’ and ‘all got commissions afterwards’.¹⁹⁴

Nevertheless, social interactions between Hassack and these officers were sometimes awkward. In the afternoon they would meet up to play golf, tennis or squash, and would have drinks and dine in one another’s houses, a way of life he described as being ‘entirely different from the life I was living before I left the British Army’.¹⁹⁵ However, he was always addressed by other officers by his surname, so there appears to have been some sense of them keeping their distance. Nonetheless, he reported that ‘by and large’ he got on well with the officers he encountered simply because, he said, ‘you had to, as they had to’.¹⁹⁶

The Sudan Archive, while acting as a repository for the private papers of over three hundred people connected to the Sudan, contains material from just two enlisted men in the British Army.¹⁹⁷ Despite the thousands of soldiers who served in the region, and the fact that the writing and receiving of letters was a very important activity for many of them, these letters simply do not appear in the Sudan Archive, or in substantial amounts in archives elsewhere. This absence reflects the fact that in general, material relating to the service of enlisted men is often not offered to repositories, remaining instead in private hands.

Furthermore, it is representative of the fact that we continue to privilege some voices, and by extension sources, over others. The process of incorporating the voice of ordinary participants is well-developed in the historiography of most conflicts, but not in the case of the conquest or administration of the Sudan. Therefore, the experiences of British-born soldiers in this part

¹⁹³ Interview with Leslie Hassack, 18 Dec. 1978 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 3998).

¹⁹⁴ Interview with Ernest Reginald Goode, 17 Jan. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4291).

¹⁹⁵ Interview with Leslie Hassack, 18 Dec. 1978 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 3998).

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ This material consists of the photographic collection of Colour Sergeant F.R. Boardman (SAD.A98/1-245) and postcards belonging A.S. Turner (SAD.837/3/1-22).

of the British Empire can be viewed almost as outsider history, with the potential to offer us fresh insight into a world whose historiography has long been dominated by upper and middle-class voices.

Edward Said pointedly prefaced his seminal 1993 work on colonialism with an extract from Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, perhaps one of the most chilling depictions of the essential power imbalance that characterised so many colonial interpersonal relationships, which contends that 'the conquest of the earth, which mostly means the taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much'.¹⁹⁸ While the government of the Sudan was not a continually unsavoury undertaking, the ugliness of the enterprise was not always based on differences in complexion or the flatness of noses. While racism, latent and explicit, was a key characteristic of the administration, particularly in British interactions with Egyptians, other ugly attitudes and prejudices are perceptible. The interactions described above suggest that social class, gender, differing levels of education and intellect and even the challenges and opportunities that war brings to individuals' lives played as much a part in the everyday reality of Britain's governance of the Sudan as the simple racial dynamics that Joseph Conrad, Albert Memmi and Edward Said describe.

Although sources for this topic are often limited in scale, these relationships offer a glimpse into a far more complicated and thought-provoking reality, and into the mosaic of the interpersonal relationships that made up the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. Some of these were paternalistic and patronising, quite a number are contemptuous and contemptible, some were exploitative, others were transactional, some were fraternal and many appear to have been genuinely affectionate. Above all, they remind us of the limitations of current historiographical trends that often privilege two voices, namely that of the managerial,

¹⁹⁸ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London, 1993).

governing class, and that of an ill-defined homogenised imagined group of ‘natives’, meaning that in spite of how far the study of the British Empire has come in recent years, we continue to present some aspects of the story as a cautionary morality play of racial domination and tyranny.

Furthermore, the sets of interactions this chapter describes, represent the enduring centrality of the administration’s foundation myths, which hinged around the adulation of Gordon and Kitchener, Sudanese populations as puerile, helpless victims, and Egyptians as either underhand Muslims or brutish pharaonic tyrants. It can be argued that initially, these foundation myths played a critical role in the creation of a relatively stable, if violent, administration in an otherwise chronically unstable region. However, in the years after Lee Stack’s assassination, and during the rapid de-Egyptianisation of the Sudan, administrators’ inability to distinguish reality from myth and insistence on the continuation of government based upon these myths would become a severe liability.

This essential flaw at the heart of the Sudan Government, which prevented the cultural, educational, economic and political development of the region, can be blamed for its inability to address a growing nationalist movement in the region, its unwillingness to devolve power to an emerging educated Sudanese elite, and eventually, its failure to react to political turmoil in Egypt. These factors, which would threaten the very viability and stability of an administration so capably created, can be seen in the nature of the interactions among the principal participants of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, some four decades before its ultimate collapse.

CHAPTER FOUR

Class, culture and historical metonymy; British literary representations of Egypt and the Sudan.

This chapter attempts to answer Research Question Seven, which seeks to understand the cultural impact of involvement in the Sudan on Britain during the Condominium years.

This will largely be achieved through an assessment of five literary works concerning the Sudan and, to a lesser extent, Egypt. Of the many recent historiographical developments in the study of the British Empire, one of the most profitable in terms of fresh perspectives has been the enhanced focus on the Empire at home, and on the impact of imperial involvement on non-elite social groupings within British society. This preoccupation with Britain as an imperial nation is part of a greater trend in Imperial history which, according to Dane Kennedy, has seen the practitioners of British domestic history take an ‘imperial turn’.¹ This development, Kennedy argues, ‘is inextricably entwined with contemporary public debates about certain highly contentious social and political issues’ which, he observes, ‘highlight the polemical power of history’ in a highly ‘contested terrain’.²

When attempting to examine the cultural impact of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan on British life, it is difficult to identify specific cultural artefacts relating to the Sudan that met with sustained popularity among the British public. One of the very few items, whose popularity we can trace over a reasonably long period of time, is the wax representation of Charles Gordon at Madame Tussaud’s Baker Street museum in London. A Gordon figure first appeared in 1885, as part of a tableau known as *The Mahdi Group*, in direct response to his death and public adulation. As interest in the Sudan waned considerably, the figure was moved to a less prominent position, and became part of a somewhat-disjointed, oriental-

¹ Dane Kennedy, *The Imperial History Wars: Debating the British Empire* (London & New York, 2018), p. 131.

² *Ibid.*, p. 132.

themed grouping that included the emperor of China. Some years later, a new tableau entitled *The Death of Gordon* was produced, which copied closely George William Joy's great work *General Gordon's Last Stand*.³ A testament to its popularity, even as the events it depicts faded from living memory, was the fact that when Madame Tussaud's was destroyed by fire in 1925, the Gordon tableau was one of the damaged exhibits selected for reproduction. It was removed from view in 1941, possibly because of bomb damage, although company records are vague on this point.⁴ Nevertheless, Charles Gordon continued to find a home at Madame Tussaud's when, in 1966, their wax model of Charlton Heston was depicted dressed as Gordon, and unveiled to coincide with the cinematic release of *Khartoum* in the same year.⁵

The popularity of Gordon's various depictions at Madame Tussaud's museum during the life of the Condominium might appear to indicate a reasonable level of public interest in the Sudan in general. However, it seems likely that the sustained popularity of the exhibit was linked specifically and intimately to Gordon himself, and his veneration in late Victorian Britain, rather than to the Sudan as a specific corner of the British Empire. As Gordon faded out of living memory, so too did general interest in the Sudan. The hagiographical nature of his veneration, based in the main on his personal eccentricity, Christian devotion to charitable causes and intense patriotism, meant that this adulation was never extended to his successor and avenger Herbert Kitchener. His ruthless, efficient reconquest of the Sudan had little emotional resonance with the British public, even though the reconquest itself was eagerly followed by some sections of the British public, particularly bodies such as the Patriotic Organisation, which produced pamphlets offering summaries of reasons in favour of the

³ *Madame Tussaud and Sons exhibition catalogue* (London, 1905).

⁴ Interview with Zoe Richards, Curator, Madame Tussaud's Museum, London (1 Feb. 2018).

⁵ *Khartoum*. Directed by Basil Dearden & Eliot Elisofon, Julian Blaustein Productions Ltd., 1966.

conquest, and which have been discussed in Chapter Three.⁶ Likewise, subsequent military and civilian governors of the Sudan failed to make much of an impact on the public's imagination. Depictions of the Sudan – literary, cinematic or otherwise, appear to have been set in aspic, relating in the main to Britain's pre- Condominium relationship with the region, even many years after its assimilation into the British Empire.

The examination of the British Empire at home – how the British Empire was popularly consumed, understood and commented upon in Britain, has been an important element in scholarly debates within imperial history for the past thirty years. This is evidenced by the extent of published scholarship on the topic, and the fact that popular history has also demonstrated interest in domestic imperial themes. It is unsurprising therefore, that this topic is one of the most contentious aspects of imperial history and, in recent years especially, has become a focus of public debate and anxiety. What is surprising however, is the widely held academic assumption that the British public was relatively disinterested in the British Empire during much of its lifetime.

This assumption was challenged by John M. MacKenzie in the 1980s, most notably in his 1986 work, *Propaganda and Empire*, in which he refutes the belief that the British people, 'apart from a brief, aberrant (and indeed disputed) burst of jingoism in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, they concentrated on more hard-headed domestic affairs', which meant that the British Empire was 'never a significant electoral issue', and allowed for the decolonisation process to occur 'without any of the national trauma experienced by France.'⁷ MacKenzie argues that this error of perception was caused by the fact that domestic imperialism has been framed 'largely as the debate of an elite, while 'popular imperialism' has been approached by those more interested in elements of popular culture than in

⁶ The Patriotic Association's pamphlet, *The Soudan 1882 to 1897; a memory and a nemesis. The story of Gordon and the great betrayal* (London, 1897).

⁷ John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion 1880-1960* (Studies in Imperialism) (Manchester, 1986), p. 1.

imperialism itself'.⁸ A remedy for this, he argues, would be 'a synthesis of studies of education, juvenile literature, the theatre, youth organisations, and propagandist movements, which have a significant bearing upon these problems of leisure, ideology, and social discipline'.⁹ This is reflected in Dane Kennedy's later observation that historical inquiry into imperialism has benefitted from 'dialogue with literary scholars, anthropologists, geographers and specialists in other fields', suggesting that MacKenzie's historiographical concerns have been at least partially addressed.¹⁰

In a later contribution to the Studies in Imperialism series, John M. MacKenzie further reflected upon and refined this argument, contending that Europeans, 'through a range of social classes' were aware of and interested in the complexity of imperialism.¹¹ When considering whether or not the British public was in general interested or indifferent to imperialism, he argues that while 'there were outbursts of apparently popular imperialism from time to time, these were very much restricted in their incidence and swiftly evaporated after moments of threat on the international stage passed'.¹² He comes to this conclusion through an examination of 'material relating to empire as well as its potential consumption', noting that 'there was a significant literary dimension, both in the realm of canonical texts and in more popular literature, the latter being less recognised and understood than the former, but probably had greater circulation and penetration'.¹³ He also notes that fictional depictions of adventurers and empire builders, from 'immensely popular imperial writers of

⁸ John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion 1880-1960* (Studies in Imperialism) (Manchester, 1986), p. 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁰ Dane Kennedy, *The Imperial History Wars: Debating the British Empire* (London & New York, 2018), p. 2.

¹¹ John M. MacKenzie, 'Introduction' in John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *European empires and the people: Popular responses to Imperialism in France, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Italy* (Studies in Imperialism) (Manchester, 2011), pp 1-18; p. 4.

¹² John M. MacKenzie, 'Passion or indifference? Popular imperialism in Britain: continuities and discontinuities over two centuries' in John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *European empires and the people: Popular responses to Imperialism in France, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Italy* (Studies in Imperialism) (Manchester, 2011), pp 57-89; p. 57.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp 58-9.

the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries' such as Arthur Conan Doyle, Robert Louis Stevenson, Sir Henry Rider Haggard, Jon Buchan and Rudyard Kipling 'wrote within the dominant ideology of their age', but that so too Emily Hobhouse, with her staunchly anti-imperialist stance.¹⁴ Both, he notes, were commercially successful and popular with a general readership. Nevertheless, he concedes that while 'the political stage was often agitated by colonial excitements', 'run-of-the-mill imperial matters seemed to cause boredom and a failure of interest'.¹⁵

Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose's 2006 work, *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* devotes a significant portion of its introduction to the same question, arguing that 'empire was, in important ways, taken-for-granted as a natural aspect of Britain's place in the world and its history' and that 'no one doubted that Great Britain was an imperial nation state, part of an empire'.¹⁶ They concede however, that this importance was 'undoubtedly uneven', contingent on what was happening in the British Empire at any given time and that the British public was probably neither 'gung-ho' nor avid anti-imperialists'.¹⁷ Overall, they concur with Patrick Wright and Michael Billig, who argue that the British Empire was a continual presence in British people's lives, but one in which most people were not especially interested on an ongoing basis.¹⁸

The depiction by MacKenzie, Rose and Hall of Britain as an unselfconsciously imperialised society which nevertheless responded with moderate and occasionally animated interest to selected events and issues is fiercely contested by some historians. The best-known

¹⁴ John M. MacKenzie, 'Passion or indifference? Popular imperialism in Britain: continuities and discontinuities over two centuries' in John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *European empires and the people: Popular responses to Imperialism in France, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Italy* (Studies in Imperialism) (Manchester, 2011), pp 57-89; pp 70-1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹⁶ Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, 'Introduction: being at home with the Empire' in Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (eds), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, 2006), pp 1-31; p. 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

of these is Bernard Porter, who declared in his 2004 work on the subject that the British Empire impacted only specific societal groupings and in only a superficial way.¹⁹ While elements of his argument act as a basis for fresh insight into the extent of colonial fervour in late-nineteenth century Britain, his assertion that different social groupings demonstrated different levels of enthusiasm for the British Empire potentially neglects a key pattern in the British public's interest, or otherwise, in the colonial project, namely the phenomenon of different social classes expressing differing levels of interest in different parts of empire. This pattern must also be contextualised with broader developments in imperial history, and the counterclaims of historians who have come to different assessments of the nature and extent of British domestic interest and participation in Empire.

There can be little doubt that there were selected elements of the imperial project that greatly interested the British public, even when support for the British Empire in general was waning. Newspapers of record reflect popular debate and concern over New Imperialism, and the reputational damage done to the British Empire by the bombastic, expansionist rhetoric attached to the policy. The exploits of the British Army overseas fascinated and occasionally horrified generations of armchair generals, particularly the catastrophic military failings of the Second Anglo Boer War. Parish records and local newspapers reflected the pious pride felt by many Britons in the work of British missionaries in Africa and Asia, as did the financial support of countless individuals for such activities. British territories in Asia were a source of great interest, exuding both glamorous exoticism and the prospect of vast commercial opportunity.

However, such general evidence offers little insight into how the British public viewed the Sudan, and why this was so. In the case of the Sudan, evidence exists to support the thesis that not only did different social groups display differing levels of interest in

¹⁹ Bernard Porter, *The Absent-minded Imperialists; Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (London, 2004).

imperialism, these groupings demonstrated specific levels of interest in different geographical parts of Empire. This fact, has been somewhat overlooked by new imperial historians, and in his contribution to *At Home with the Empire*, James Epstein argues that general class dimensions to imperial history have not been particularly well explored, despite the ‘benefits of viewing class and empire within the same historical frame’.²⁰ The differences in how various overseas territories were viewed by different social classes is especially marked when we compare how the British public consumed Egyptian and Sudanese culture.

Although theoretically Britain’s partner in her government of the Sudan, Egypt was popularly considered to be part of the British Empire. The phenomenon of moneyed British Victorians sailing down the Nile in pursuit of archaeological adventure is well-understood and of continual academic and popular interest. Egypt as a glamorous playground for the well-heeled, and as a source of fascination for the British public, needs little explanation. It is easy to trace the extent to which Britain’s involvement in the region reignited a long-held academic and amateur antiquarian interest in its history and archaeology. This is reflected by extensive Egyptian influences in late Victorian cultural life on every level, from the foundation of schools and chairs of Egyptology in British universities, to the establishment of Egyptology departments in museums, and to the extensive use of Egyptian imagery in advertisements and other promotional material.

The British Empire’s development of a self-identity, and, in the years after its collapse, attempts to make sense of itself via literary depictions, have preoccupied literary critics and historians of Empire for some time. Representations of the British Empire in fiction, poetry, popular history, drama and memoir rank among some of the most popular and best-loved classics in the Anglophone world, even when these representations are starkly at

²⁰ James Epstein, ‘Taking class notes on empire’ in Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (eds), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, 2006), pp 251-74; p. 274.

odds with modern mores concerning race, gender, class and cultural identity. The parts of the British Empire depicted however, are usually geographically rather limited, with India, East Africa and Ireland appearing to be most popular. While the veracity and utility of sources such as Elizabeth Bowen's depiction of post-Victorian Ireland or E.M. Forster's Indian novels are obviously debatable, such works are nevertheless entry points into popular imagination of the British Empire. Such works, Cora Kaplan argues, made 'the Empire both vivid and legible to readers in Britain'.²¹ Egypt, with its aura of mystery and glamour is well-represented in the middlebrow works of fiction that Kaplan describes. However, compared to the extensive body of work – fictional and otherwise – representing specific regions of the British Empire, depictions of the Sudan in fiction, drama or poetry are infrequent and rarely of much artistic quality. When we examine scholarly and popular interpretations of the Sudan and Egypt, we see wildly different patterns, not only in the extent of representation, but in the character of this representation.

Traditional historiography has linked, with some success, this difference in representation to the dual factors of chronology and geography. British travellers to Egypt, with its temperate climate, can be traced to the early eighteenth century, while British interest and involvement in the Sudan, with its difficult living conditions, came much later, factors which coloured how the two regions were interpreted. However, substantial evidence exists to support the thesis that these differing patterns of representation were influenced less by chronology and geography, but by the disparity in the social and economic backgrounds of the two cohorts that travelled to these regions.

In terms of the Sudan, it is difficult to assess how Britain consumed this newly-acquired corner of Empire. Newspapers reported extensively on its reconquest and

²¹ Cora Kaplan, 'Imagining empire: history, fantasy and literature' in Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (eds), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, 2006), pp 191-211; p. 191.

subsequent administration, arguing that the barbarity and ignorance of previous regimes had been abolished by the improving zeal of Empire. However, editorials or longer features about the Sudan were very rare, suggesting something of a lack of popular interest. With a few notable exceptions, such as the Gordon tableaux at Madame Tussaud's, the Sudan rarely appeared in popular fiction or elsewhere in popular culture, once the tragedy of Gordon's death and the relative excitement of Kitchener's reconquest had passed out of contemporary public memory. In his examination of the use of the Sudan in Anglophone literature, Tawheeda Osman Hadra, a regrettably rare African voice in discussions of this topic, notes this lacuna, arguing that many of the descriptive novels set in the Sudan have their roots in travel literature and are often little more than 'projections of personal fantasies', written by novelists who 'had not necessarily visited the country'.²² This is in stark contrast to literary depictions of Egypt which, while often fanciful and loaded with stereotype, bias and assumption, were nevertheless generally written by authors who had visited the country.

There are potentially five interconnected reasons for this apparent lack of public interest in the Sudan. Some are the results of the circumstances specific to the administration of the region, while others reflect the political and social complexity of world events in the first half of the twentieth century. Firstly, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was established and administered in a period when domestic support for and interest in the British Empire was waning significantly. As discussed in Chapter One, the military reverses and catastrophic moral failings of Britain's prosecution of the Second Boer War, and the blame apportioned to the British government for atrocities in the Congo, greatly impacted on the British public's enthusiasm for, and approval of, empire. By 1899, additions to the British Empire were more likely to be viewed as costly and potentially problematic political liabilities than as exciting

²² Tawheeda Osman Hadra, 'The use of the Sudan in some English novels' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, liii (1972), pp 67-78; p. 68.

new frontiers. This is reflected in John Hobson's critique of Empire, *Imperialism: A Study*, where he argues that 'it is idle to attack Imperialism or Militarism as political expedients or policies unless the axe is laid at the economic root of the tree'.²³

Secondly, world events elsewhere between 1899 and 1956 distracted public attention away from outposts of Empire such as the Sudan. The first half of the twentieth century witnessed a laundry list of systematic calamities, real and imagined, which preoccupied the public with a sense of dread. The Second Anglo Boer War, the Great War, the collapse of British rule in Ireland, the Great Depression, the rise of fascist movements in Germany, Italy and Spain, the Second World War, and the early years of the Cold War dominated front pages and public discourse simply because of the immediate threat they posed. The Sudan, relatively well-run and remote, was simply less interesting to newspapermen and their customers.

Thirdly, the public was less interested in the Sudan because British involvement there did not economically impact British society in the way more established colonies did, especially the high-value Asian colonies. India, Ceylon and Burma were of interest simply because of their extensive mineral wealth and their suitability for the production of high-value crops such as tea and tobacco. Despite the difficult living conditions in some of these regions, fortunes could be made, and the British public followed activities in these areas with great interest, marvelling at the enormous riches that some white settlers amassed. These riches allowed white settlers there to maintain lifestyles of extreme luxury, which were intrinsically fascinating to Britons. This is in stark contrast to the continual bankruptcies of exploration and engineering companies that attempted to operate in the Sudan.

Fourthly, the lack of apparent popular interest in the Sudan can be linked to the paucity of personnel engaged in the enterprise. Although considered to be among the most

²³ John Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study* (London, 1902), p. 99.

prestigious of the colonial services, the numbers serving in the Sudan Political Service and the region's colonial army only ever amounted to a few hundred, unlike the countless numbers of British-born men and women serving in the Indian Civil Service, Indian Army or working in private enterprise in that vast subcontinent. Additionally, relatively few administrators brought their families to the Sudan, further reducing the number of active participants. The administration's policy of restricting missionary activity to specific areas and fields of endeavour also greatly reduced the overall numbers of clerics, nuns and other religious groups travelling to the area. While there is some evidence of the development of family and social networks of people with professional ties to the Sudan, this group is numerically insignificant when compared to Anglo-Indian families, who numbered in their thousands by 1900. Not only did this small group lack sufficient size to forge a well-defined relationship with the British public's imagination, there was a much smaller potential British market for books and other representations of the Sudan. It can be argued that knowledge of, and interest in the Sudan among the British public was more perceptible in the late 1950s and during the 1960s, when former members of the Sudan Political Service returned to England and attempted to reintegrate into British life, than it had been during the life of the Condominium.

Fifthly, the very nature of the cohort that governed this region also impacted on the attention that the administration received at home. A typical Sudan Political Service administrator was upper middle class and conservative, conforming closely to contemporary standards of competence. It is not unusual to find an administrator's name in *The Times* on just three occasions, namely upon their appointment to the Sudan, before their marriage and in their obituary. Most fulfilled their duties effectively and with little need for outside interference. Apart from an occasional eccentric Bog Baron, who developed a profound understanding of and respect for Sudanese culture, and whose memoirs of his time in Africa

earned him some degree of fame after 1958, the average Sudan administrator was insufficiently glamorous to arouse much interest among the British public. This was in marked contrast to the fascination that it displayed towards the activities of the so-called 'Happy Valley' set in Kenya, whose lifestyles of excess and debauchery were followed in Britain with great interest, especially when the privations of the Second World War took effect.²⁴

Five literary depictions of British involvement in Egypt and the Sudan have been identified as a means of examining the abovementioned factors. As wide a variety of literary artefacts have been chosen in order to fully assess how Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was popularly consumed and understood in Britain during the date range of this study. These consist of two novels, a poem, a war memoir and a work of historical criticism. H. Rider Haggard's novel *Cleopatra*, was published in 1899, while A.E.W. Mason's *The Four Feathers* appeared in 1902. The poem – *Vitai Lampada*, dates to 1892. *The River War*, Winston Churchill's memoir of his time in the Sudan, was published in 1899, while the last work to be considered, Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians*, appeared in 1918. This selection ensures as broad a date range of literary depictions of the Sudan within the date range of these study. Four of the works relate specifically to the Sudan, and one to Egypt, but all reference both countries to some extent. All depict both regions in the years leading up to the official creation of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and all were written in English by men of British birth.

These five texts have been selected as representative examples of the type of literary representation of the Sudan and, to a lesser extent, Egypt, that the British public was exposed to during the early years of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. None of these works were considered to be of serious literary merit when they first appeared, but were nevertheless well-received by and well-disseminated among the reading public. With the exception of

²⁴ This world is vividly recreated in James Fox's *White Mischief* (London, 1982).

Cleopatra, which has somewhat faded from memory over the twentieth century in favour of Haggard's better-known tales of imperial adventure, the works are still readily available today.

While British involvement in the Sudan did not result in the same volume of literary output as it did in places such as India or Ireland, other texts concerning the Sudan, which were popular with contemporary readers, were potentially also of utility in this chapter. These texts included the two Sudanese works of G.E. Henty, the memoir of Rudolph Carl Slatin, and a variety of memoirs written by former members of the administration that have not been utilised elsewhere in this study. While G.E. Henty's Sudan novels, *With Kitchener in the Soudan* in particular, were popular, they cover similar territory to *The Four Feathers*.²⁵ Rudolph Carl Slatin's highly popular memoir of his service and captivity in the Sudan was similarly excluded because it is a translation of a work originally written in German, and Churchill's *The River War* covers events of more relevance to this study.²⁶ The many colonial memoirs of ex-members of the Sudan Political Service were also excluded as their publication dates from the closing years of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, meaning that they played no role in influencing public perceptions of the Condominium during its lifetime.

H. Rider Haggard's *Cleopatra* (1889).

One of the earliest significant fictional depictions of Egypt is H. Rider Haggard's *Cleopatra*, subtitled *Being an Account of the Fall and Vengeance of Harmachis*. Serialised in the *Illustrated London News* from December 1888, it was an immediate success for the author, already feted for adventure stories such as *King Solomon's Mines* (1885) and *Allan Quatermain* (1887).²⁷ In his memoirs, Haggard notes that the serialisation's success made

²⁵ G.A. Henty, *The Dash for Khartoum: A Tale of the Nile Expedition* (London, 1891) and *With Kitchener in the Soudan: A Story of Atbara and Omdurman* (London, 1902).

²⁶ Rudolph Carl Slatin, *Fire and sword in the Sudan; a personal narrative of fighting and serving the Dervishes, 1879 – 1895* (London, 1898), p. 2.

²⁷ *The Illustrated London News*, 3 Dec. 1888 – 22 June 1889.

him 'quite a celebrity' and allowed him to sell the manuscript 'for a large sum of cash'.²⁸ It appeared in book form in June 1889 and was another immediate success. Such was its popularity that Haggard returned to the same topic in his 1925 work, *Queen of the Dawn: A Love Tale of Old Egypt*, which concerns a plot to usurp an ethnically Greek Hyksos ruler and reinstate a more legitimate Egyptian royal house.²⁹

Cleopatra begins with the discovery of ancient scrolls which relate the story of the reincarnation of Harmachis, a high-born priest living in Egypt several thousand years before Cleopatra. The scrolls are translated, and this process is rendered by Haggard as awkward, almost Biblical prose, as if translated quickly and without finesse. Harmachis is charged by a priesthood dedicated to the god Isis to travel forward in time to pharaonic Egypt, remove Cleopatra from the throne and save Egypt from the tyranny and brutality of her regime. However, Harmachis falls in love with Cleopatra and fails to kill her as planned. When she collaborates with the new Roman regime, he is accused of treason. The closing pages of the book see Harmachis led away in disgrace, awaiting execution.

In terms of plot, characterisation and imagery, Haggard assumed that his readership enjoyed some prior knowledge of ancient Egypt, and the work's popularity suggests that he was correct in his assumption. In his chronological survey of Haggard's works, R.D. Muller describes *Cleopatra* as a 'fantasy', and 'the first extensive depiction of Haggard's spiritualist universe'.³⁰ However, the work is very much a product of Haggard's personal and cultural reality. The book is dedicated to his mother, whom he praises for her interest in the 'old and mysterious Egypt'.³¹ Later on in the text, he describes the discovery of a roll of papyrus 'carelessly fastened and wrapped in a piece of mummy-cloth', presuming that the reader

²⁸ H. Rider Haggard, *The days of my life, an autobiography* (London, 1926) p. 379.

²⁹ H. Rider Haggard, *Queen of the dawn: a love tale of old Egypt* (London, 1925).

³⁰ R.D. Muller, 'The books of H. Rider Haggard; A chronological survey' in *Science Fiction Studies*, v (Nov. 1978), pp 287-91; p. 288.

³¹ H. Rider Haggard, *Cleopatra* (London, 1893), v.

knew about, or possibly even observed Thomas Pettigrew's celebrated mummy unwrappings.³² In his memoirs, Haggard explained that Egypt had fascinated him from boyhood and having read 'everything concerning it on which [he] could lay hands', spent several weeks in Egypt in 1887 in preparation for writing *Cleopatra*.³³ He also noted that he consulted Sir E.A. Wallis Budge, Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum from 1894 to 1924 in advance of his journey.³⁴ In his recent examination of alternative beliefs and the spiritual crisis of Victorian Britain, J. Jeffrey Franklin describes the close friendship between Haggard and Britain's 'most successful popularizer of Egyptology', reporting that in 1910 Haggard mused in his diary that 'there is nothing that I enjoy more than a talk with Budge and a solitary walk in the museum'.³⁵ Therefore, *Cleopatra* was not only written with an expectation that it would be consumed by a well-informed and interested readership, it was created from extensive amateur knowledge of pharaonic Egypt. It is also probable that this work may have been read by the young men of Gordon College, as in her examination of everyday life in Condominium-era Sudan, Heather J. Sharkey notes that as early as 1904, when books were still 'relatively rare' in the region, the college's library was filled with 'rows and rows of the stirring tales of Defoe, Scott, Dickens, Henty, Ballantine, and Rider Haggard'.³⁶

Although so-called mummy craze novels can be traced back to Jane Webb's 1827 work *The Mummy!*, there was a sharp increase in their publication from the 1880s onwards, due not only to an upsurge in popular interest in Egyptology, but also in response to a renewed interest in the gothic genre in general.³⁷ Nevertheless, *Cleopatra* is the first

³² H. Rider Haggard, *Cleopatra* (London, 1893), p. 6.

³³ H. Rider Haggard, *The days of my life, an autobiography* (London, 1926), p. 258.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ J. Jeffrey Franklin, *Spirit matters: occult beliefs, alternative religions and the crisis of faith in Victorian Britain* (Ithaca and London, 2018), p. 149.

³⁶ Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism; Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley & London, 2003), p. 52.

³⁷ Jane Webb, *The Mummy!* (London, 1828).

significant work of Egyptological fiction that was published after Britain became involved in the government of Egypt. As such, it is something of a hybrid work, presenting the reader with old, familiar Egyptian tropes, as well as the establishment of new metonymical elements. As a result, it mirrors with some authenticity contemporary anxieties about British involvement in Egypt, which appear throughout the text. Furthermore, as Norman A. Etherington notes in his psychological assessment of Haggard's work, the depiction of a beautiful but cruel and immoral woman 'capable of seducing all men and perverting all established values', so evident in *Cleopatra* and in several of Haggard's other works, successfully grafts contemporary apprehensions surrounding women to existing cultural tropes.³⁸

The most obvious existing cultural trope evident in the work is the somewhat simplistic depiction of Egypt as a land of pharaohs, gold and ritual. Throughout the novel, the grandeur of the civilisation's architecture is linked to nobility. A shrine dedicated to Isis is described as having 'mighty pillars, lights [that] were burning dimly [that] showed the sculptured images upon the walls, and dimly fell upon the long line of the seven-and-thirty Lords, Priests, and Princes'.³⁹ Likewise, Cleopatra's palace is 'a full and splendid Court: there were councillors, lords, captains, eunuchs, and waiting-women'.⁴⁰ Haggard also makes full descriptive use of the burnt Egyptian landscape, which was familiar to most readers of the text, a device that Etherington notes is common in Haggard's works, when characters move 'progressively through a symbolic landscape from physical tests to moral tests'.⁴¹

In the opening section of the work, when the author describes the discovery of the scrolls on which the story is written, local men are collectively labelled as 'Arabs', which in

³⁸ Norman A. Etherington, 'Rider Haggard, Imperialism and the layered personality' in *Victorian Studies*, xx (Autumn, 1978), pp 71-87; p. 81.

³⁹ H. Rider Haggard, *Cleopatra* (London, 1893), p. 72.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

⁴¹ Norman A. Etherington, 'Rider Haggard, Imperialism and the layered personality' in *Victorian Studies*, xx (Autumn, 1978), pp 71-87; p. 77.

this context probably means men of Turkish descent. They are depicted as physically grotesque, ‘cross-eyed rascal[s]’.⁴² They are also presented as ‘shameless’ and impious, breaking up ‘with unhallowed hands’ sacred burial places.⁴³ This harks back to an ancient, even biblical trope of Egypt as a land of tyranny, where the population is ‘crushed with oppression’.⁴⁴ Even Cleopatra, the embodiment of pharaonic Egyptian power, beauty and rank, is imbued with ‘fair shame’, and is at heart corrupt and cruel, content to betray Egypt to Roman ambition for her own gain.⁴⁵

However, the novel also introduces several new representations of Egypt, which became embedded into literary depictions of the region in the decades that followed. The first of these is the role of the archaeologist, not only in discovering and interpreting Egypt’s past, but as an active and usually British-born participant in contemporary Egyptian affairs. In a recent monograph on depictions of archaeologists in popular culture, Gabriel Moshenska, argues that fictional archaeologists, intended to be consumed by audiences who are less likely to know a real archaeologist than they are another professional, tend to fall into a number of categories, such as an adventurer who is willing to ‘brave human, natural and supernatural perils’.⁴⁶ They may also be depicted negatively, either in the guise of tomb-raider or ‘archaeologists-as-transgressor against god(s), ancestors, decency, private property and, most commonly, the sanctity of the tomb’, or as bumbling eccentrics, who are ‘socially inept, ill-kempt, head-in-the-clouds’.⁴⁷

In *Cleopatra*, the scrolls are translated by an eccentric but learned individual, ‘well versed in Hieroglyphics and Demotic writing’, who conforms to all three of Moshenska’s

⁴² H. Rider Haggard, *Cleopatra* (London, 1893), p. 2.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, xvii.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp 74-5.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

⁴⁶ Gabriel Moshenska, *Archaeologists in popular culture* (London, 2017), p. 158.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

tropes.⁴⁸ The competitive nature of Egyptology in the 1880s is conveyed in his remark, ‘I’ll translate it if it kills me, and we will publish it; and, by the living Osiris, it shall drive every Egyptologist in Europe mad with envy!’, foreshadowing the great competitions to extract material from the Nile Valley during the early years of the twentieth century.⁴⁹ Such characterisation, depicting the gleeful acquisition and even destruction of local cultures, has led successive generations of historians to view Haggard as an apologist for empire. However, a close reading of *Cleopatra* has led Norman A. Etherington to conclude that Haggard’s work, particularly his characterisation, is more sophisticated than previously appreciated, and reflects the ‘new psychological models’ of the ‘conscious and unconscious self’, so lauded by Freud and Jung.⁵⁰

Most significantly however, this work introduces the idea of Egypt as a land in need of rescue. Using multiple analogies of Greeks, Romans and other ‘nations of the earth’ that ‘march through Egypt’, Egypt is presented as a dangerous, brutal place, in need of salvation and civilisation, not only from its historic and intrinsic brutality as a state, but from its cultural legacy of invasion and instability.⁵¹ When Harmachis meets Cleopatra, she complains that she is unable to effectively govern Egypt because ‘though there is wealth in the land, debts perplex’ her.⁵² This is likely to allude to the mismanagement of the Egyptian economy in the 1870s, which heralded Britain’s initial involvement in the governance of Egypt, and might even be interpreted as an appeal for Britain to save Egypt from itself. However, Cleopatra’s betrayal of Harmachis, and Haggard’s general depiction of Egypt as a land of violence and impiety, might be credibly read as a warning against such intervention. Haggard left no indication of any particular interest in contemporary Egyptian affairs in his

⁴⁸ H. Rider Haggard, *Cleopatra* (London, 1893), pp 8-9.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Norman A. Etherington, ‘Rider Haggard, Imperialism and the layered personality’ in *Victorian Studies*, xx (Autumn, 1978), pp 71-87; p. 73.

⁵¹ H. Rider Haggard, *Cleopatra* (London, 1893), p. 87.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 173.

letters and memoirs, but the timing of the novel, written as Britain prepared to avenge Gordon and augment its control over the Egyptian government, suggests that these themes had some contemporary significance.

Unlike the wealthy aristocrats who habitually travelled to Egypt, Haggard was of middle-class stock. As one of ten children born to a rural squire and barrister, he was modestly educated in grammar schools and by indifferent private tutors.⁵³ His career took him to South Africa, where he worked in various civil service positions, eventually becoming a senior government official.⁵⁴ Although his fame as a writer would eventually earn him a knighthood, his early life and career was, to borrow a phrase from one of his contemporaries, a ‘tale of common things’. While he enjoyed occasional visits to Egypt, he was predominantly dedicated to dull administrative duties in the South African judicial system. Haggard is often understood as an apologist for the British Empire in the present age, but it must be remembered that his first published work, *Cetywayo and his White Neighbours*, was highly critical of the British government’s involvement in South Africa.⁵⁵ This work, R.D. Muller argues, was written on the basis of ‘first-hand knowledge’ and depicts Haggard’s opposition to the Boer State which, he believed, would implement a ‘native policy of naked oppression’ as opposed to the development of native communities and ‘with due respect for their traditions and institutions’.⁵⁶

It is not unreasonable therefore, to read *Cleopatra* as a middle-class warning against aristocratic meddling with forces – political and possibly even metaphysical – not fully understood, particularly in a region with a reputation for tyranny and deemed to be beset with national moral failings that originated in antiquity. After all, Haggard introduces the tale as a

⁵³ N. Morton Cohen, *H. Rider Haggard* (3 Oct. 2013), available at the *Dictionary of National Biography*, (<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/33632>) (22 June 2018).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ H. Rider Haggard, *Cetywayo and his White Neighbours* (London, 1882).

⁵⁶ R.D. Muller, ‘The books of H. Rider Haggard; a chronological survey’ in *Science Fiction Studies*, v (Nov. 1978), pp 287-91; p. 287.

cautionary one, concerning a man who ‘forgets his God, his Honour, and his Country’.⁵⁷ He also includes a dream sequence in which Harmachis sees a golden age in Egypt without ‘guards or armies, and no weapons of war’, and that ‘all was wisdom, prosperity, and peace’.⁵⁸ Yet this reverie is disturbed by a creeping sense of fatalism, the intensity of which Haggard increases as the novel progresses.

This fatalistic tone climaxes in the closing chapter when the protagonist, now found guilty of treason and facing death, declares that ‘I am bound by a chain of destiny which I cannot break, and in the land of Egypt I must live and die’.⁵⁹ This encapsulates the paradoxes that Egypt represented in the British aristocratic mindset in the years leading up to the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, which was both exciting, exotic, and luxurious but also frightening, foreign, and cruel. J. Jeffrey Franklin argues that Harmachis’s final declaration is a key source for understanding late Victorian attitudes to Egypt:

this passage contains in miniature a map of late Victorian discourse about ancient Egypt. It contains empire and occupation, with allusion to the occupation of ancient Egypt by England’s imperial forbearers, unavoidably implicating Britain’s occupation of Egypt starting in 1882. It speaks to the “heroic age” of Egyptian archaeology, 1870-1900, when Haggard wrote, when “men unborn” transformed Egyptomania.⁶⁰

In essence, this inherent contradiction, and creeping fatalism found in *Cleopatra*, set the tone for literary and other artistic depictions of Egypt throughout the early twentieth century. This makes the novel a critical entry point into contemporary attitudes towards the region and its people.

⁵⁷ H. Rider Haggard, *Cleopatra* (London, 1893), p. 10.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁶⁰ J. Jeffrey Franklin, *Spirit matters: occult beliefs, alternative religions and the crisis of faith in Victorian Britain* (Ithaca and London, 2018), p. 143.

Henry Newbolt's *Vitai Lampada* (1892).

The world of pharaonic Egypt is in stark contrast to the England, cricket and boyhood depicted in Henry Newbolt's poem *Vitai Lampada*, which first appeared to popular, if not necessarily critical acclaim, in 1892. Henry Newbolt had a long and varied career as a public servant, but was probably best known for his 1922 authorship of *The Teaching of English in England*, which became the standard text on the subject for several decades and was widely disseminated throughout the British Empire.⁶¹ He was unequivocal in his belief in the use of education for moral instruction, arguing that

if science and literature can be ably and enthusiastically taught, the child's natural love of goodness will be strongly encouraged and great progress may be made in the strengthening of the will. The vast importance to a nation of moral training would alone make it imperative that education shall be regarded as experience.⁶²

While Newbolt was respected as 'one of the greatest historians of the day', his scholarly reputation has diminished over the years, although *Vitai Lampada* continues to be popular in some quarters.⁶³ To modern sensibilities, suspicious of tradition and collective national fervour, his poetry, espousing patriotic values and selfless commitment in the face of personal destruction, makes him at best a liminal character, and a relic from an era that the modern world struggles to enter imaginatively. However, the popularity of *Vitai Lampada*, and its role in the psychological integration of the Sudan into the British Empire, is a significant point in the development of a cultural relationship between Britain and the Sudan, allowing us insight into how the region was popularly understood. The poem continued to be utilised into the twentieth century especially, as Peter Donaldson notes in his exploration of the commemoration of the Second Anglo Boer War, in public schools, as a means of making

⁶¹ J.H. Newbolt, *The teaching of English in England* (London, 1921).

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶³ *The parliamentary debates*, fifth series, *House of Commons*, 19 Jul. 1927, ccix, cols 301-37; Office of works and public buildings.

sense of the heavy losses associated with this conflict.⁶⁴ The poem is also reflective of Sir Henry Newbolt's character who, when mentioned in Philip Walker's account of the Arab Revolt, notes that he 'was honourable, stoical, brave, loyal, courteous, and also plain-speaking, unintellectual, and not given to wit, irony or an aesthetic sense'.⁶⁵ It also appeared just one year after the popular novelist G.A. Henty's first novel with a Sudanese setting, namely, *The Dash for Khartoum*.⁶⁶ While this work was not as popular as *With Kitchener in the Soudan*, which appeared in 1902, it was nevertheless commercially successful.⁶⁷ It is likely therefore that Newbolt was influenced by Henty's works, described by Janice Boddy as easy-to-read paradigm models for young Englishmen:

'lively yarns with obvious pedagogical intent...though he stuck close to reported events, he suppressed the brutality of imperial ventures so as to convey a wholesome image of the British abroad; his heroes are always chivalrous, dutiful, handsome, humanely benevolent. Their native adversaries are not, though some are portrayed as ameliorable...doubtless they schooled more than a few officers of colonial Sudan'.⁶⁸

While the title of the poem comes from the Roman stoic poet Lucretius, its imagery is derived from Newbolt's schoolboy memories of Clifton College. It depicts the closing hour of a game of cricket, in which there is 'ten to make and the match to win', a victory Newbolt remarks is not to be aspired to 'for the sake of a ribboned coat' or 'the selfish hope of a season's fame'. Instead, he encourages the player to persevere, not for personal victory, but for the practical moral exercise of demonstrating resilience and grit in the face of possible defeat.⁶⁹ The message is unambiguous – the enduring importance of stoicism, hard work, unselfish commitment and teamwork learnt in schoolboy games of cricket.

⁶⁴ Peter Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War; Britain and the memory of the Anglo-Boer War, from 1899 to the present* (Liverpool, 2013), p. 81.

⁶⁵ Philip Walker, *Behind the Lawrence legend: the forgotten few who shaped the Arab Revolt* (Oxford, 2018), p. 2.

⁶⁶ G.A. Henty, *The Dash for Khartoum: A Tale of the Nile Expedition* (London, 1891).

⁶⁷ G.A. Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan: A Story of Atbara and Omdurman* (London, 1902).

⁶⁸ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 26.

⁶⁹ J.H. Newbolt, *Vitai Lampada* (1892).

These lessons are suddenly transferred to the battle of Abu Klea in 1885, as British forces attempt, albeit unsuccessfully, to rescue General Gordon. A sense of loss and disaster is conveyed in the lines ‘the Gatling’s jammed and the colonel dead’, which is countered by ‘the voice of a schoolboy’ who urges the troops to ‘Play up! play up! and play the game!’.⁷⁰

In his examination of the importance of football in First World War Britain, Colin Veitch contends that in fee-paying schools, team games played multiple roles by fostering discipline and self-control in ‘often unruly charges’, while also preparing them for employment in ‘privileged positions in the ever-expanding British Empire, as well as for the ‘moral and military battles ahead’.⁷¹ Therefore, he argues, *Vitae Lampada* is the ‘ultimate poetic expression of the ideological transfer held to take place between public school playing-fields and the battlefield’.⁷²

The dual concepts of the British public school as a preparation for adult life, and team sports as a metaphor for war, have been well-explored from both an historiographical and sociological perspective. While many ex-public schoolboys relished the structure of school and games as a means of preparation for adulthood, others questioned the efficacy of a system in which the training for adulthood was often harsher than their later lived experiences. In his contribution to George MacDonald Fraser’s collection of studies on the British public-school system, Peregrine Worsthorne argues that similarly to how he found the brutality of ‘sergeant instructors’ during basic military training more terrifying than facing the Germans in the Second World War, his education was more brutal and traumatising than the adult world it was calculated to prepare him for:

In just this way adult life seemed amazingly civilized by comparison with the training for it, i.e. my years at an English public school. The theory, presumably, was to prepare one for, so to speak, the battle of life; to put one through a kind of dress rehearsal for the great drama of adulthood. But in my experience, adult life

⁷⁰ J.H. Newbolt, *Vitae Lampada* (1892).

⁷¹ Colin Veitch, ‘Play up! Play up! And win the war! Football, the nation and the First World War 1914-15’ in *Journal of Contemporary History*, xx (Jul., 1985), pp 363-78; pp 364-5.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 366.

has proved to be child's play compared with those immeasurably more challenging years at public school. Never have I felt it so necessary to be a man as when I was a boy.⁷³

J. Jeffrey Franklin links this impulse to what he describes as 'bully masculinity', a form of muscular, unsentimental and brutal masculinity linked inexorably to the colonial project and 'exemplified by many legendary Victorian explorers and soldiers', which dominated popular books for schoolboys.⁷⁴ Bully masculinity, he notes, was especially typified by the works of Samuel White Baker, 'a colonial traveller, big-game hunter, and author of *Eight Years Wanderings in Ceylon*', a bombastic account of his travels in Ceylon in the 1840s.⁷⁵

Unlike printed books, whose popularity and dissemination may be assessed through sales figures, it can be difficult to judge the popularity of poetry. However, ample evidence exists to suggest that this poem was widely and quickly disseminated, due in no small part to the status of the author as a prominent civil servant. A 1913 inquiry into practical education in British secondary schools discussed the importance of teaching topics interesting to young minds, observing that 'the appeal of such stirring subjects as the Indian Mutiny and Mr. Henry Newbolt's poems never failed to meet with a ready response'.⁷⁶ Similarly, this poem became a staple of school prizegiving days, not only in public schools, but in aspirational state grammar schools.

Elleke Boehmer, who has identified the jingo poem as a key form of imperial cultural globalisation, notes that while the genre has never received the same critical attention as the 'more generically varied imperial adventure story', *Vitae Lampada* and

⁷³ Peregrine Worsthorne, 'Boy made man' in G.M. Fraser (ed.), *The World of the Public School* (London, 1977), pp 79-96; pp 79-80.

⁷⁴ J. Jeffrey Franklin, *Spirit matters: occult beliefs, alternative religions and the crisis of faith in Victorian Britain* (Ithaca and London, 2018), p. 89.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Report of the consultative committee on practical work in secondary schools* [CD 6849], H.C. xx.291, p. 361.

similar poetry ‘acted as both a powerful catalyst and a conduit for imperial attitudes’.⁷⁷ She links this not only to the era of ‘great awakening’ starting in 1885 and spanning the disasters of the Second Anglo Boer War until the Liberal electoral landslide of 1906, but also to the upsurge in popular journalism’.⁷⁸

Vitai Lampada sums up the intensely middle-class values that characterised the government of the Sudan. Newbolt’s Sudan is not a world of aristocrats and academics associated with depictions of Egypt, as seen in Haggard’s *Cleopatra*.⁷⁹ The Sudan, even in the years before 1899, was a place for the striving middle classes. Clifton College was not Eton or Harrow, and prepared boys for difficult careers in obscure outposts of Empire rather than for the apparent glamour of politics or the law. Elleke Boehmer also notes the class dimension to the poem, arguing that ‘both its mode of delivery and its social circuitry’ implies a ‘vertical social structure’ of a leader speaking to ‘likeminded if more junior imperialists, drawn from the same social class as the speaker, or it might entail the greater British public’.⁸⁰ The poem captures the values that were carefully transmitted to young men in preparation for such careers – stoicism in the face of difficulty or even disaster, and selflessness. Such people, and the attitudes they personified, built the British Empire in the Sudan, colouring it with ideas and ideals that were radically different to those espoused by the British in Egypt.

Although this poem was popular, it appeared to preserve the sense of participants in the Sudan being a class apart, bred from childhood for the tough and often thankless task of Empire-building. Much in the way Newbolt viewed education as a means of instructing the

⁷⁷ Elleke Boehmer, ‘The wording of the jingo poem’ in *The Yearbook of English Studies*, xli (2011), pp 41-57; p. 43.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp 46-7.

⁷⁹ The class dimensions of aristocratic fascination with Egypt are explored in Toby Wilkinson and Julian Platt’s *Aristocrats and archaeologists: An Edwardian journey on the Nile* (New York, 2017).

⁸⁰ Elleke Boehmer, ‘The wording of the jingo poem’ in *The Yearbook of English Studies*, xli (2011), pp 41-57; p. 52.

young in moral values likely to make them of use to the state, he presented service in the Sudan as something of a moral test, in which apparently British values, honed by schoolboy games of cricket, could be tested and bear fruit. Likewise, it is not coincidental that Newbolt set part of the poem at the battle of Abu Klea, linking the Sudan yet again to Gordon and the mythmaking that his death gave rise to. *Vitai Lampada* was therefore a key text in the development of a relationship between the British public and the Sudan, separating it from existing Egyptian tropes, creating an enduring foundation myth, emphasising martial values and introducing the public to the tribe of upper middle-class young men who would conquer and govern the region.

Winston Churchill's *The River War* (1899).

The River War, a young Winston Churchill's partially biographical account of the Sudan Campaign was one of the most popular and widely disseminated literary depictions of the region at the turn of the twentieth century. At the outbreak of the campaign, Churchill was already an army officer and also a writer, having published in 1898 a book on the Malakand Field Force.⁸¹ After some canvassing, Churchill was 'attached for duty to the 21st Lancers, and instructed to make [his] way to Egypt.'⁸² While serving in the Sudan, he was contracted by the *Morning Post*, to cover the campaign, which he claimed he did to compensate for the fact that his military deployment was unpaid.⁸³ In his contribution to John M. MacKenzie's *Imperialism and popular culture*, John Springhall notes that between 1882 and 1888, and again in 1898, Egypt and the Sudan 'drew scores of correspondents and war artists, providing a stream of incidents for the chroniclers and portrayers of patriotic adventure'.⁸⁴ Churchill's

⁸¹ R.V. Jones, 'Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill 1874-1965' in *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Royal Society*, Vol. xii (Nov., 1966), pp 34-105, p. 40.

⁸² Winston Spencer Churchill and F.W. Rhodes (ed.), *The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan*, vol. ii, (London, 1899), p. 3.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, ix.

⁸⁴ John Springhall, 'Up guards and at them!' British imperialism and popular art, 1880-1914' in John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *Imperialism and popular culture* (Studies in Imperialism) (Manchester, 1986), pp 49-72: p. 51.

soujourn was not therefore unique, but his literary output as a result of his adventures in the region is perhaps the most memorable and certainly the best known in the present day, not least because of the insight it offers into the early years of a great historical figure.

These *Morning Post* letters became the basis for *The River War*, a lavishly illustrated, two-volume work, which was published by Longmans, Green and Company in late 1899. Richard Fulton notes that it was one of a number of ‘instant books’ on the Sudan Campaign that ‘sold out immediately’.⁸⁵ However, *The River War* was more substantial than its competing publications. A comprehensive bibliography reflects wide research. Volume one was constructed from a variety of official reports, eyewitness statements and secondary sources, while volume two, was a ‘personal narrative’ of Churchill’s own experiences.⁸⁶

The work’s popularity is reflected in the mostly positive reviews it earned, including that in *The Times*, which waspishly proclaimed that ‘it contains materials for two good books and one bad one’.⁸⁷ While it accuses the author of ‘errors of taste tinctured with bumptious self-assertion’ and a ‘tendency to generalization and dogmatic expression’, it notes that the work demonstrates ‘a quality of honest endeavour, refreshing in days when the close of a campaign is invariably marked by the appearance of half a dozen “histories”’.⁸⁸ Similarly, *The New York Times* praises the book as ‘workmanlike’, stating that ‘at last we have a history of the affair which is complete enough for the use of the average man’.⁸⁹ It is unsurprising therefore that in November 1902, *The Times* advertised a new revised and shortened version of the work, which was ‘cheaper’ and ‘in one volume’.⁹⁰ While the 1902 edition was popular and indeed more manageable in size, it lacks much of the colour of the original version. The

⁸⁵ Richard Fulton, ‘The Sudan Sensation of 1898’ in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, vol 4, no. 1 (Spring 2009), pp 37-63; pp 52-3.

⁸⁶ Winston Spencer Churchill and F.W. Rhodes (ed.), *The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan*, vol. ii, (London, 1899), p. 1.

⁸⁷ *The Times*, 6 Nov. 1899.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *The New York Times*, 6 Jan. 1900.

⁹⁰ *The Times*, 6 Nov. 1902.

author's personal opinions and recollections of Herbert Kitchener, the impact of Islam on Africa and much of the discussions on the moral dimensions of war are missing or modified.⁹¹

Throughout the text, Churchill references the use of technology in the campaign, not just on the battlefield itself, but in logistics, planning and how events were understood by civilians at home in Britain. At five points in the work, Churchill calls it a 'scientific war' in which, he argues, 'fortune played a comparatively unimportant part', with 'forethought' and 'machinery' amplifying Kitchener's talents as a general.⁹² In its opening chapter, the work describes the campaign as 'a peculiar warfare fought under varied circumstances, the like of which have not been seen before'.⁹³ While he admitted that the 'glorious uncertainties of the field' or the 'human element' can reverse good planning, he argued that 'in savage warfare in a flat country the power of modern machinery is such that flesh and blood can scarcely prevail, and the chances of battle are reduced to a minimum.'⁹⁴

The requirement for and use of technological innovation is extensively discussed in Ian F.W. Beckett's article about Victorian armed conflict, which concludes that the late nineteenth century was 'not one of prolonged peace for the British Army, but one of constant and varying military challenges in the expanding empire'.⁹⁵ Churchill's depictions of killing also employ the language of science and technological superiority to express the extent of the damage wreaked on the bodies of Britain's enemies:

And all the time out on the plain on the other side bullets were shearing through flesh, smashing and splintering bone; blood spouted from terrible wounds; valiant men were struggling on through a hell of whistling metal, exploding shells, and spurting dust – suffering, despairing, dying. Such was the first phase of the battle of Omdurman.⁹⁶

⁹¹ Peter de Mendelssohn, *The Age of Churchill: Heritage and Adventure 1874–1911* (London, 1961), p. 122.

⁹² Winston Spencer Churchill and F.W. Rhodes (ed.), *The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan*, vol. i, (London, 1899), p. 236.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp 276-7.

⁹⁵ Ian F.W. Beckett, 'Victorians at War – War, Technology and Change' in *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, lxxxi, no. 328 (Winter, 2003), pp 330-8; p. 8.

⁹⁶ Winston Spencer Churchill and F.W. Rhodes (ed.), *The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan*, vol. ii, (London, 1899), p. 119.

Paul Addison argues that the casualty figures for the battle, which amounted to 49 British casualties and 11,000 Dervishes, left Churchill both exhilarated and full of guilt, which he justified through his 'conviction that civilization must necessarily triumph over barbarism, however tragic the process'.⁹⁷ Likewise, Daniel R. Headrick argues that colonial battles in Africa became 'increasingly lopsided', 'both because the weapons of the Europeans were constantly improved and because the last African areas to be conquered were often furthest from the coasts'.⁹⁸ This moral uneasiness accompanies many of the passages in the work relating to the technological superiority of British forces over Dervish ones, as he surveys the work of the 'terrible machinery of scientific war'.⁹⁹

Furthermore, the manner in which such events were processed and understood by Churchill were heavily coloured by technology. Paul Addison notes that the Sudan Campaign was the first one captured 'through the lens of a motion picture camera, thanks to the efforts of a slightly eccentric amateur reporter and photographer named John Montague Benett-Stanford'.¹⁰⁰ Richard Fulton argues that this innovation was one of the reasons for the intense public interest in the campaign, especially events such as the Battle of Omdurman, which 'featured a number of gee-whiz weapons that provided the British public a peek at the new world of warfare'.¹⁰¹ It is significant that Churchill describes taking part in Omdurman in cinematographic terms, stating that 'the whole scene flickered exactly like a cinematograph picture; and, besides, I remember no sound'.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ Paul Addison, 'The Political Beliefs of Winston Churchill' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. xxx (1980), pp 23-47; p. 32.

⁹⁸ Daniel R. Headrick, 'The Tools of Imperialism: Technology and the Expansion of European Colonial Empires in the Nineteenth Century' in *The Journal of Modern History*, li, no. 2, (Jun., 1979), pp 231-63; p. 258.

⁹⁹ Winston Spencer Churchill and F.W. Rhodes (ed.), *The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan*, vol. ii, (London, 1899), p. 226.

¹⁰⁰ Richard Fulton, 'The Sudan Sensation of 1898' in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, iv, no. 1 (Spring 2009), pp 37-63; p. 38.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Winston Spencer Churchill and F.W. Rhodes (ed.), *The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan*, vol. ii, (London, 1899), pp 142-3.

One of the most revealing aspects of the conflict described in *The River Wars* is the involvement of war correspondents or journalists. While the Sudan Campaign was by no means the first conflict to witness the presence of journalists, their ubiquity, and the extent to which Churchill refers to them, is striking. Andrew Griffiths argues that Churchill's literary style is representative of so-called 'New Journalism', which emerged at the end of the nineteenth century. Such reporting was populist in tone and content and were typified by 'the highly personal format, visual description, drama, and fast-paced narrative'.¹⁰³

Griffiths also argues that Kitchener was increasingly opposed to officers like Winston Churchill, who supplemented meagre (or non-existent) army pay by writing for newspapers when on campaign, something he suggests is representative of the fact that New Imperialism, which frequently sought to censor and control how events overseas, and New Journalism, which hunted eagerly for sensational and dramatic stories, were increasingly at odds with each other.¹⁰⁴ While a detailed examination of the nature of New Journalism and its effects on late Victorian society is outside the scope of this study, such is the enormity and complexity of the subject, *The River Wars* documents a changing facet of war, when the battle to control information, and resulting public opinion, was increasingly uncomfortably shared by these two interests.

Despite this difficulty, Churchill depicts a theatre of war in which journalists were fully embedded into the campaign, listing by name twelve correspondents from British publications, a list that did not include, Churchill notes, men who sought 'to fight their country's battles disguised as journalists'.¹⁰⁵ As the campaign moved through the region, these men moved also, with Churchill noting that once 'the route from Suakin to Berber was

¹⁰³ Andrew Griffiths, 'Winston Churchill, the Morning Post, and the End of the Imperial Romance' in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, xlvii, no. 2 (Summer, 2013), pp 163-83; p. 168.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

¹⁰⁵ Winston Spencer Churchill and F.W. Rhodes (ed.), *The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan*, vol. ii, (London, 1899), pp 3-4.

opened’, there appeared ‘a party of war correspondents.’¹⁰⁶ Similarly, at the end of the campaign, journalists, having been ordered home, protested violently and attempted to stay in the Sudan, especially in light of the fact that ‘strange rumours were afoot about Fashoda’.¹⁰⁷

While *The River Wars* primarily concerns itself with events in the Sudan, it nevertheless references the interest in and excitement felt towards these events in England, commenting that while in the early months of the campaign ‘public opinion was still undecided on the general question of the war’¹⁰⁸, the success of its later stages ‘caused great public satisfaction in England’.¹⁰⁹ He also notes that communication, made easier and more immediate by the strategic use of technologies such as railway and telegraph, meant that campaigning soldiers participated in this consumption of newsprint, noting that ‘the gifts of magazines and newspapers’ were warmly welcomed.¹¹⁰

In a 2016 article discussing his preparation for publication an edition of the 1899 version of *The River War*, James W. Muller notes that later editions of the work do not include many of Churchill’s more condemnatory remarks on the impact of Islam, ‘because it is among the hundreds of passages in the first edition that were left out of the second’.¹¹¹ Indeed, his rationale for wanting to republish the original work was in response to the fact that in the year after 11 September 2001, quotations from the work flooded the internet, the most disseminated being the following:

How dreadful are the curses which Mohammedanism lays on its votaries! Besides the fanatical frenzy, which is as dangerous in a man as hydrophobia in a dog, there is this fearful fatalistic apathy. The effects are apparent in many countries, improvident habits, slovenly systems of agriculture, sluggish methods of

¹⁰⁶ Winston Spencer Churchill and F.W. Rhodes (ed.), *The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan*, vol. ii, (London, 1899), p. 345.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 453.

¹¹¹ James W. Muller, ‘The River War: Preparing the Definitive Edition’ in *Finest Hour*, 171 (Winter 2016), p. 10.

commerce, and insecurity of property exist wherever the followers of the Prophet rule or live.

A degraded sensualism deprives this life of its grace and refinement, the next of its dignity and sanctity. The fact that in Mohammedan law every woman must belong to some man as his absolute property, either as a child, a wife, or a concubine, must delay the final extinction of slavery until the faith of Islam has ceased to be a great power among men.¹¹²

Churchill's disdain for Islam is visible throughout the text, often employing imagery and anecdotes of Islam as underhand, tyrannical and corrupt, which have been discussed in Chapter One. In the work's first chapter, Churchill introduces a racial dimension to his attitude to Islam, arguing that while black Africans 'are the more numerous, the Arabs exceed in power', because 'the bravery of the aboriginals is outweighed by the intelligence of the invaders and their superior force of character'.¹¹³ Islam, he argues, 'spread and is spreading throughout the Soudan, as water soaks into a dry sponge', due to the fact that 'the faith of Islam appears to possess a strange fascination for negroid races', resulting in an obstruction in 'the progress of new ideas'.¹¹⁴ Echoing the junk-science of his age, Churchill denounces Sudanese populations of mixed race as 'mongrels' who are 'debased and cruel', possessing the intelligence of Arabs and the brutality of Africans, causing them to be 'without exception', 'hunters of men'.¹¹⁵ Islam, identified by Churchill for its ill as morally repugnant as slavery, is also linked to more venial failings such as avarice, as demonstrated in his recollection that just 'one and indispensable Arabic word 'Backsheesh'', made difficulties and misunderstandings disappear.¹¹⁶

In his examination of changing religious and spiritual practices in Victorian England, J. Jeffrey Franklin describes a world where conventional religious practices were challenged

¹¹² Winston Spencer Churchill and F.W. Rhodes (ed.), *The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan*, vol. ii, (London, 1899), pp 248-50.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp 15-6.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

and occasionally replaced by an interest in world religions and a belief in a non-Christian metaphysical world.¹¹⁷ Therefore, Churchill's comments on Islam, and on what he believes to be Islamic cultural practices, are somewhat at odds with prevailing intellectual norms in Britain at the time, although it could be argued that such emerging fields of interest were more prevalent among a more bohemian, artistic set than the aristocratic circles that Churchill inhabited. The fact that this anti-Islamic sentiment was excised from later editions suggests that such comments made uncomfortable reading, possibly even for Churchill himself. Nevertheless, the popularity of the work ensured that such comments were well-disseminated, giving new life to old tropes concerning the Muslim religion, Islamic cultural tradition and the Middle East in general.

Lastly, this work summarises the foundation myths upon which much of the later administration would be established. Motifs such as the continuing cult of Gordon and British perceptions of Egyptians and Sudanese populations are continually used, and expanded upon in Churchill's somewhat meandering prose style. Later accounts of Gordon's personality, positive and negative, appear to have been influenced by this text, despite the fact Churchill was just nine years old in 1885. Although described as having 'fed the infirm, protected the weak, executed the wicked', his shortcomings are also discussed.¹¹⁸ It was a pity, Churchill notes, 'that a man, thus gloriously free from the ordinary restraining influences of human society, should have found in his own character so little mental ballast'.¹¹⁹ He is described as capricious, inflexible, and paranoid, but nevertheless imprinted himself favourably on both his troops and the British public. It is significant for example, that Churchill recounts that at

¹¹⁷ J. Jeffrey Franklin, *Spirit matters: occult beliefs, alternative religions and the crisis of faith in Victorian Britain* (Ithaca and London, 2018).

¹¹⁸ Winston Spencer Churchill and F.W. Rhodes (ed.), *The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan*, vol. i, (London, 1899), p. 32.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

the committal service for troops killed at Omdurman, ‘Gordon’s favourite hymn, ‘Abide with me’’, was played.¹²⁰

Churchill’s attitude towards both Egyptians and the Sudanese is well-illustrated in the manner in which he depicts troops from both regions, conforming closely to prevailing contemporary racist tropes discussed elsewhere in this study. Egyptian officials are almost universally described as treacherous, cruel and savage.¹²¹ Egyptian soldiers were however, while not naturally ‘a fighting animal’¹²², possessed ‘other military virtues’ such as being ‘obedient, honest, sober, well-behaved, quick to learn, and above all physically strong’.¹²³ Sudanese soldiers were ‘of a very different type from the *fellahin*’, with ‘delicate lungs [and] slim legs’ and with a tendency to be ‘excitable and often insubordinate’, which was tempered by the fact that he possessed ‘the faithful loyalty of a dog’ and ‘the heart of a lion’.¹²⁴

In his examination of the ‘three careers’ of Winston Churchill, Paul Addison argues that while his reputation was ‘seldom questioned’ during his lifetime, ‘custody of his memory’ has now passed ‘into the hands of historians and historically minded biographers’.¹²⁵ This process, which unavoidably focuses on his political career at the expense of his experiences as a journalist, writer and soldier, has often viewed his participation in the Sudan Campaign, and the subsequent writing that his experiences there inspired, as little more than a prelude to a full, varied and controversial life. While Churchill himself described these activities as a preparation for his tenure as a wartime prime minister, John Charmley argues that this wartime iteration of Churchill was no different to his character at other points in his life, and that ‘the evidence lies thickly if we but take our eyes

¹²⁰ Winston Spencer Churchill and F.W. Rhodes (ed.), *The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan*, vol. ii, (London, 1899), p. 205.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp 151-2.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

¹²⁵ Paul Addison, ‘The Three Careers of Winston Churchill’ in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, xi (2001), pp 183-99, p. 183.

from the icon.¹²⁶ Therefore, *The River War* needs to be read, not simply as a primer for later triumphs and defeats, but as a standalone text which hugely influenced how the British public understood the Sudan Campaign, and indeed the administration that followed it.

A.E.W. Mason's *The Four Feathers* (1902).

A.E.W. Mason's highly popular 1902 adventure novel *The Four Feathers* might be described as an extended version of *Vitai Lampada*. Unlike the vast majority of adventure novels written in these years, and all of those concerning the Sudan, the story has endured in contemporary consciousness via a series of seven cinematic adaptations, each one loosely based on the original text, that appeared between 1915 and 2002.¹²⁷

Its protagonist is Harry Feversham, - called Harry Faversham in Korda's 1939 adaptation - a young British Army officer, who resigns his commission upon hearing that his regiment is being deployed to the Sudan. Consequently, he is branded a coward by his fellow officers, as well as his fiancé Eithne, a young Irish heiress, who breaks off their engagement. He then travels incognito to the deserts of the Sudan, and becomes embroiled in a series of unlikely adventures, which allow him to save the lives of his friends, eventually repairing his damaged reputation and winning back his friends and fiancé. In his essay on anti-colonial revisionism, Patrick Williams describes the novel as a paradigm of early twentieth century 'male self-idealisation', such was its importance in the development and dissemination of martial male values for this late phase of British Empire-building.¹²⁸ It is surprising that such a work, steeped in a now-alien world of masculine empire-building, continues to be popular with cinema audiences.

¹²⁶ John Charmley, 'Essay and Reflection: Churchill as War Hero' in *The International History Review*, xiii, (Feb., 1991), pp 96-104; p. 97.

¹²⁷ The book has been adapted seven times; 1915, 1921, 1929, 1939, 1955, 1978 and in 2002.

¹²⁸ Patrick Williams, 'Imperial visions: anti-colonial revisions in *Critical Survey*, x (1988), pp 114-23; p. 115.

A.E.W. Mason's biographer, Roger Lancelyn Green claims that the story was inspired by Mason's journey around Egypt and the Sudan, where he heard about an Englishman who, disguised as a Dervish, successfully orchestrated the escape of a group of Englishmen imprisoned at the Stone House, a brutal Mahdi-run prison in Omdurman.¹²⁹ It is difficult to ascertain the specific incident upon which the story is allegedly based, as it does not seem to appear in the historical record. Andrew C. Long, who has studied the impact of the Near East on popular culture, discusses the extent to which so-called 'captivity narratives' were in vogue in Britain. They were particularly popular between 1884 and 1899, when prisoner narratives of time spent in captivity during the Anglo-Egyptian war were published extensively.¹³⁰ It is likely therefore that this story is an amalgam of many such published accounts, especially that of Rudolph Carl Slatin, which has been discussed in previous chapters. Therefore, while it is known that Mason travelled around north Africa in the 1890s, there is little evidence of the existence of a disguised, heroic Englishman at Omdurman. Nevertheless, Mason developed a short story entitled 'The Coward', which appeared to popular acclaim in the *Illustrated London News* in April 1901.¹³¹ At just three pages in length, many of the elements that became central to *The Four Feathers* are evident – a young man fearful of losing his reputation, the charge of cowardice and the prospect of adventure overseas.

Over the following year, Mason worked speedily, expanding the plot, increasing the number of characters and moving the action rapidly between England, Ireland and the Sudan. Published in October 1902, with fifteen further reprints between that year and 1940, the book was a sustained success.¹³² This is evidenced by the 1913 report of the Chief Inspector of

¹²⁹ Roger Lancelyn Green, *A.E.W. Mason; the adventure of a storyteller* (London, 1952), p. 122.

¹³⁰ Andrew C. Long, 'Oriental eyes, or seeing and being seen; popular culture and the Near Eastern fiction of Marmaduke Pickthall in Geoffrey P. Nash (ed.) *Marmaduke Pickthall; Islam and the modern world* (Leiden, 2017), pp 159-81; p. 174.

¹³¹ *The Illustrated London News*, 27 Apr. 1901.

¹³² A.E.W. Mason, *The Four Feathers* (London, 1902).

Reformatory and Industrial Schools, which suggested that boys in approved schools could be encouraged to read by the availability of ‘books of stirring adventure’, including *The Four Feathers*.¹³³ Despite its popularity, critics were at best lukewarm about the book’s merits. *The Sewanee Review*’s assessment of the work is typical of most contemporary reactions, describing it as a ‘novel of soldiers and adventure’, but noting that it was ‘slightly exaggerated’ and ‘not quite delicate enough’ in tone or writing.¹³⁴ It lauds however the ‘good description of the Soudan country’, noting that ‘the strength of the author lies in the field of adventure rather than that of psychology’.¹³⁵

Despite these literary limitations, the work is critical to our understanding of the people that governed the Sudan and the values they held in common. Although the action is set in the immediate aftermath of Gordon’s death, the values it espouses, as represented by Harry Feversham and his brother officers, reflect those of the social class who had begun to dominate the administration by 1903. Feversham and his friends conform closely in their social manners and backgrounds to the cohort discussed in Chapters Two and Three. All had been educated and trained for military careers in outposts of the British Empire. Harry Feversham is descended from a long line of distinguished soldiers, comes from a solidly respectable but untitled country family, and attended a minor public school followed by Oxford and Sandhurst. Jack Durrance, one of Feversham’s friends, is described as ‘a man so trained to vigour and activity that his very sunburn seemed an essential quality rather than an accident of the country in which he lived’, and who makes ‘desolate tracts’ his home as easily as the hedged fields of England.¹³⁶ When reminiscing about his friendship with Feversham, Durrance remarks that ‘we had rowed in the same college boat at Oxford.....the stripes on his jersey during three successive eights had made my eyes dizzy during those last hundred yards

¹³³ *The Times*, 30 Jan. 1915.

¹³⁴ ‘The Four Feathers’ in *The Sewanee Review*, xi (Jan, 1903), pp 111-2: p. 111.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

¹³⁶ A.E.W. Mason, *The Four Feathers* (London, 1902), p. 114.

of spurt past the barges'.¹³⁷ These are solidly upper middle-class young men who, while having enjoyed a youth of relative privilege, expect to make their way in the world by demonstrating grit and courage in a remote corner of the British Empire.

Despite the self-discipline and sense of responsibility the novel's protagonists are depicted as demonstrating, they maintain an aura of childishness for most of the story, living, working and socialising in homosocial, all-male groups, much in the way they did as schoolboys, and with little interaction with the outside world. While there are several female characters, there is little interaction between these women and Feversham or his friends. The exception to this is Jack Durrance, whose interactions with Eithne are linked to his concern for Harry Feversham. This conforms to what Bradley Deane calls the 'perpetual boyhood' of imperial novels, in which liminal parts of empire become 'crowded with youthful men and heroic adolescents, while the novels themselves were increasingly aimed at a male audience whose age was explicitly blurred'.¹³⁸

The centrality of the myth of Gordon is also a significant element of the novel, although it tends to be a sub-plot that is omitted from cinematic adaptations. Before Feversham arrives in the Sudan, his friends meet Gordon's native servant at Khartoum. He claims that in 1884, as the Siege of Khartoum began, Gordon 'gave him a letter which he was to take to Berber, whence the contents were to be telegraphed to Cairo'.¹³⁹ The letter however failed to reach Berber, and was instead hidden in a wall near Khartoum. A discussion then ensues about the merits of attempting its retrieval. Although one of Feversham's friends argues that its recovery 'throws no light upon the history of the siege' and therefore 'can make no real difference to anyone, not even the historian', others are less certain.¹⁴⁰ The

¹³⁷ A.E.W. Mason, *The Four Feathers* (London, 1902), p. 171.

¹³⁸ Bradley Deane, 'Imperial boyhood: piracy and the play ethic' in *Victorian Studies*, liii (Summer, 2011), pp 689-714; p. 689.

¹³⁹ A.E.W. Mason, *The Four Feathers* (London, 1902), p. 72.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

retrieval of the letter becomes a major subplot in the novel, suggesting the continued centrality of Gordon to the region's foundation myth and its enduring popularity among the British public, even as late as 1904.

Another key theme of the work is the harshness of the living conditions in which the characters find themselves, and their personal resilience in the face of these difficulties. Tawheeda Osman Hadra notes that suffering in a region as inhospitable as the Sudan 'as a price to redeem his honour' is of critical importance in the work.¹⁴¹ Throughout the novel, the brutality demonstrated by local populations is linked to the region's topography and climate. When travelling from Wadi Halfa to Assouan, one of Feversham's friends describes the Sudan as 'a callous country inhabited by a callous race'.¹⁴² The harshness of life in the Sudan is writ large on the physical bodies of the British-born characters, with a colonel of a Sudanese battalion having the grey hair 'frequent in the Soudan, and his unlined face still showed that he was young'.¹⁴³ Likewise, a newly arrived officer is warned by an experienced one that 'this is not a nice country for unattended wounds'.¹⁴⁴

In this respect, Feversham's decision to go to the Sudan, and the harrowing physical experiences he suffers there, conform to medieval descriptions of white martyrdom. In the absence of ruthless and bloody repressions of Christianity in the post-Roman world, early medieval Christians, hoping to emulate the sacrifices and spiritual purification of the early church martyrs, travelled to inhospitable corners of Europe to live as hermits or ascetics, attempting to replicate as far as possible the 'red' martyrdom of earlier generations.¹⁴⁵ Feversham's suffering in the Sudan, self-inflicted and both unnecessary and necessary,

¹⁴¹ Tawheeda Osman Hadra, 'The use of the Sudan in some English novels' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, liii (1972), pp 67-78; p. 68.

¹⁴² A.E.W. Mason, *The Four Feathers* (London, 1902), p. 220.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

¹⁴⁵ This concept is explored in Niall Coll's article, 'Light from the West' in *The Furrow*, lxxi, no. 9 (Sept. 2015), pp 459-64.

reflects the choices made by these white martyrs, not least because his trials are arguably greater than those of his friends who, by doing their duty to their regiment and each other, are spared at least some of his miseries. As such, the work represents both a warning to readers against cowardice and derogation of duty, and a moral example of muscular Christianity in the service of a new corner of the British Empire.

Essentially, Feversham, Durrance and the other young men are fleshed-out depictions of the cricket-playing schoolboy in *Vitai Lampada*. They too are a class apart, bred almost from birth for the difficult task of conquering and governing a lonely and inhospitable region, many miles from the comforts of home. At the end of the novel, when two of the officers who have been rescued by Feversham contemplate their futures, they are described as being ‘neither in England or the Sudan’, deftly summing up the mental and emotional space inhabited by so many colonial administrators, especially after 1956, when they faced leaving a country that, for all its hardships, they had come to love.¹⁴⁶ It is not coincidental that in the closing chapter Feversham is described as having become an historian of the reconquest of the Sudan, an occupation that many military and civilian governors of the region turned to once they returned to Britain.

The sustained popularity of *The Four Feathers* for cinematic adaptation means that it has developed a life and identity which is remote from the original text. Viewers of modern adaptations would be astonished to learn that most of the book’s action takes place away from the Sudan, that Harry Feversham is a shadowy, absent character for most of the story, whose movements are recounted by others, or even that Ireland, depicted as a kind, friendly corner of the British Empire, plays a key role in the plotline.

Successive generations of filmmakers have used the novel as little more than an avatar for popular anxieties. It is hardly surprising that the first adaptation, a silent 1915

¹⁴⁶ A.E.W. Mason, *The Four Feathers* (London, 1902), p. 270.

rendering, was primarily concerned with the themes of bravery, sacrifice, corporate belonging and cowardice in war.¹⁴⁷ Similarly, the 1978 version examines gender roles, and presents Harry Feversham as a proto-bohemian, with little interest in the martial values of his family.¹⁴⁸ The most recent adaptation, which appeared in cinemas in 2002 as the post 9/11 War on Terror gained momentum around the world, explores the West's complicated relationship with Islam.¹⁴⁹

All of these adaptations, which were popular with audiences, lose the significance of the original text in terms of its contribution to our understanding of the cultural and social forces brought to bear in the Sudan. When A.E.W. Mason died in November 1948, his *Times* obituary remarked that *The Four Feathers* had 'struck a happy and prosperous vein of heroic adventure in a contemporary setting', suggesting that even by this date, the novel's cultural context was becoming obscured.¹⁵⁰ Much like *Cleopatra*, *The Four Feathers* is a hybrid novel, created from the cultural values of the early Condominium years but applied to a story set almost twenty years before. As such it reflects less what happened, than it does the self-identity of the first generation of British-born administrators of the Sudan, and the foundation myths that became crucial to the success of the administration.

Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians* (1918).

The blurring of social orders experienced so intensely in early twentieth-century Britain is evident in many literary depictions of the age. This is particularly true of the writings of the Bloomsbury set, and is especially so in those of Lytton Strachey, the radical thinker and historian. Strachey's literary and personal reputation was contentious during his lifetime, and continues to be contested up to the present age. This is especially so in analyses of his widely

¹⁴⁷ *The Four Feathers*. Directed by J. Searle Dawley, Dyreda Art Film Corporation, 1915.

¹⁴⁸ *The Four Feathers*. Directed by Don Sharp, Trident Films Ltd., 1978.

¹⁴⁹ *The Four Feathers*. Directed by Shekhar Kapur, Paramount Pictures, 2002.

¹⁵⁰ *The Times*, 23 Nov. 1948.

read biographical sketches, *Eminent Victorians* and *Queen Victoria*, which were hugely influential in the early twentieth century.¹⁵¹ *Eminent Victorians*, appearing in the final months of the First World War, was especially popular. In his examination of retrospective literary investigations of Victorian culture, John Gardiner estimates that the work sold 35,000 copies in the United Kingdom and 55,000 copies in the United States during Strachey's own lifetime.¹⁵² Strachey's works were considered to be historiographically innovative, but not always for the better, with the American historian Douglas Southall Freeman describing them as 'one of the most pernicious influences in modern biography'.¹⁵³ While the impact of Strachey's attempts to present 'Victorian visions to the modern eye' of four well-known British Victorians – Cardinal Manning, Florence Nightingale, Dr. Arnold and General Gordon – has been comprehensively examined as part of the renewed academic interest in the British Empire, Strachey's interpretation of the character and actions of Gordon, and what it discloses about the attitude of the British intelligentsia to colonial expansion into the Sudan, has been wholly overlooked.¹⁵⁴

Much in the way Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince*, an atypical example of the *principum specula*, has come to define the genre for generations of students, Strachey's atypical collection of biographical sketches quickly defined a specific genre of Victorian biography. Other works in the genre sought to ask pertinent questions of reputations of the figures they investigated, but were rarely impertinent in tone, as Strachey's generally were. One of the earliest of these was J.C. Carr's 1908 work, *Some Eminent Victorians*, which discussed the literary reputations of characters such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Edward Burne-Jones.¹⁵⁵ Not insignificantly, the work's rather verbose introduction, which describes

¹⁵¹ Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians* (London, 1918) and *Queen Victoria* (London, 1921).

¹⁵² John Gardiner, *The Victorians: an age in retrospect* (London, 2006), p. 132.

¹⁵³ Michael Holroyd, *Lytton Strachey and the Bloomsbury group: his work, their influence* (London, 1971), p. 7.

¹⁵⁴ Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians* (London, 1918), p. 6.

¹⁵⁵ J.C. Carr, *Some Eminent Victorians* (London, 1908).

the author's upbringing and education, notes that an early childhood influence was his headmaster, George Birkbeck Hill, who later edited Gordon's letters.¹⁵⁶ A later example of the same genre was H.G. Hutchinson's 1920 work *Portrait of the Eighties*, which covered some of the same territory as Strachey's work, assessing the careers of General Gordon, Lord Wolseley and Lord Roberts.¹⁵⁷

While both works are occasionally critical of the adulation that the great men and women of the previous generation received, they are nevertheless celebratory of the achievements of the Victorian age. Contemporary reviewers noted the marked differences in tone between Strachey's work and other sketches of prominent Victorians. One reviewer compared unfavourably the 'delicate malice' of *Eminent Victorians* to Hutchinson's work, lauding his attempt to present similar figures 'shown in a different light, with as little desire to flatter, but with more resolve to be just'.¹⁵⁸ Divergences in opinion in how the great figures of the previous age were being reinterpreted, and their contributions reassessed made up a considerable part of the cultural introspection of the age, as Edmund Gosse's article, 'The Agony of the Victorian Age', which was written partially in shocked response to *Eminent Victorians*, is testament to.¹⁵⁹

When contrasted to the other biographical sketches in the work, Strachey's assessment of Gordon is surprisingly subtle. Compared to the rather spiteful tone employed in the discussion of the other three eminent figures, Strachey appears to be more measured in his assessment, at least on a surface level. In his work on the history of biography, Nigel Hamilton notes that using by 'subtle camp mockery', Strachey 'took a legendary British hero

¹⁵⁶ J.C. Carr, *Some Eminent Victorians* (London, 1908), pp 6-7.

¹⁵⁷ H.G. Hutchinson, *Portrait of the eighties* (London, 1920).

¹⁵⁸ *The Times*, 13 May 1920.

¹⁵⁹ Edmund Gosse's essay 'The Agony of the Victorian Age' originally appeared in *The Edinburgh Review* in 1918 and was reproduced in an edited collection, *Some diversions of a man of letters* (London, 1920), pp 313-37.

and put him under a twentieth century microscope'.¹⁶⁰ Rather than attack the integrity of Gordon's personality directly, Strachey attacks the world that created, manipulated and eventually destroyed him by skilfully subverting the popularly understood image of Gordon as an eccentric genius into that of a pathetic and easily-manipulated dupe. His condemnation is therefore no less devastating for its subtlety.

Strachey recounts that Gordon's 'eccentricities grew upon him', and that he 'found it more and more uncomfortable to follow the ordinary course'.¹⁶¹ This eccentricity is linked to more negative behaviour however, and Strachey describes, surprisingly judgementally, his 'bouts of depression and drinking, with a 'hatchet and a flag' placed outside his tent as a warning to others to leave him alone.¹⁶² In addition to eccentricity, he is characterised as being open in manner in speech, to the extent of being foolish and, on occasion, rather limited. Strachey sneeringly describes his speech as 'facile', and capable of 'furnishing good copy for a journalist'.¹⁶³ Similarly, his lack of guile in cultivating a public identity made him agree too readily to the unexpurgated publication of his letters and journals.¹⁶⁴ This, Nigel Hamilton argues, abandoned Gordon to the fate of 'sacrificial lamb of Victorian expansionists', something that Strachey recalls with 'painstaking objectivity, refusing to be seduced by the patriotic cant' of the Edwardian age.¹⁶⁵

This naive, guileless, even limited man is in marked contrast to the image of an unflinching Christian warrior that developed after Gordon's death. Instead, Strachey depicts a somewhat pathetic character – unsophisticated and easily manipulated by the political world for its own cynical ends which, Strachey argues, caused Gordon to be 'plunged into the whirl of high affairs; [where] his fate was mingled with the frenzies of Empire and the doom of

¹⁶⁰ Nigel Hamilton, *Biography; a brief history* (Harvard, 2007), p. 147.

¹⁶¹ Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians* (London, 1918), p. 265.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 264.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp 284-5.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp 263-4.

¹⁶⁵ Nigel Hamilton, *Biography; a brief history* (Harvard, 2007), p. 151.

peoples'.¹⁶⁶ His death, Strachey contends, was at the hands of a 'veering and vacillating government'¹⁶⁷ which sent Gordon to the Sudan not as part of a rational strategic plan, but in response to 'agitated letters from colonels and clergymen demanding vengeance'.¹⁶⁸ He is equally sneering of the hagiographical veneration of Gordon after his death, arguing that witnesses saw a 'warrior' die on the steps of the Viceregal Palace, rather than a saint, recounting with ill-concealed irritation how one of his bibles was sent by his sister to Queen Victoria, and was prominently displayed at Windsor Castle.¹⁶⁹ This is a pointed and surprising final remark in the work, given its previous determination to characterise Gordon as an easily-manipulated misfit rather than a Christian knight.

However, it is for Sir Evelyn Baring, later Lord Cromer, that Strachey reserves his most biting comments. Baring, cold, ambitious and scheming, is characterised as the antithesis of Gordon:

His temperament, all in monochrome, touched in with cold blues and indecisive greys, was eminently unromantic. He had a steely colourlessness, and a steely pliability, and a steely strength...His life's work had in it an element of paradox. It was passed entirely in the East; and the East meant very little to him; he took no interest in it. It was something to be looked after. It was also a convenient field for the talents of Sir Evelyn Baring. Yet it must not be supposed that he was cynical; perhaps he was not quite great enough for that. He looked forward to a pleasant retirement – a country place – some literary recreations...His ambition can be stated in a single phrase; it was, to become an institution: and he achieved it. No doubt, too, he deserved it.¹⁷⁰

This scathing assessment of Lord Cromer's character tells us a great deal about the attitude of the intelligentsia towards the cohort that governed the Sudan and influenced events in Egypt. Unlike other works explored in this chapter, Strachey demonstrates little insight into the social differences between the upper middle classes who administered the Sudan and the upper classes who were primarily interested in Egypt. To the *bien pensant* Bloomsbury

¹⁶⁶ Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians* (London, 1918), p. 246.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp 347-8.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

set, both groups conspired to exploit ‘the East’, a catch-all phrase to describe Egypt and the Sudan, for personal gain, and as a means of fulfilling bourgeoisie and upper-class aspirations for preferment and titles. To Strachey, Evelyn Baring personified these aspirations. Therefore, his assessment of Gordon is primarily framed to dishonour Baring, and the political regime he represented, and Strachey loathed, rather than to critically assess Gordon’s personality or legacy.

Strachey’s biographer Michael Holroyd links this decision of Strachey’s, not only to his membership of a largely anti-establishment intelligentsia, but also to his personal circumstances and family background. Baring was known to Strachey as a young man, having sat on the India Council with both his father and uncle.¹⁷¹ Furthermore, Strachey became acquainted with Baring when they both worked as reviewers at *The Spectator*. During these years, the magazine was under the editorship of his cousin St. Loe Strachey, a situation that Strachey found boring, difficult and creatively stifling. Holroyd contends that for Strachey, ‘the name of Evelyn Baring came to represent that part of his inheritance that he was most determined to shed’, bringing with it connotations of bourgeoisie ambition, the excesses of New Imperialism and, in effect, everything that irked the bohemian set of which he was a prominent member.¹⁷² In his exploration of Strachey’s career as an historian, Todd Avery argues that family background was key, and that his ‘hostility towards militarism, imperialism and other ‘fashionable ideals’ of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries implies a sharp break from his paternal lineage’.¹⁷³ However, in her work on the Strachey family as a collective, Barbara Caine argues that despite this, Lytton Strachey’s ‘adherence to

¹⁷¹ Michael Holroyd, *Lytton Strachey and the Bloomsbury group: his work, their influence* (London, 1971), p. 121.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ Todd Avery, ‘The historians of the future; Lytton Strachey and modernist historiography between the two cultures’ in *English Literary History*, lxxvii (Winter, 2010), pp 841-66; p. 841.

family values' remained intact, suggesting a troubled and sometimes contradictory social and emotional relationship with his own family background.¹⁷⁴

Nevertheless, Gordon's inclusion in *Eminent Victorians* was an effective means for Strachey to attack publicly a set of cultural and social tropes to which he no longer wished to belong. This attack on Gordon, Baring, and the administration of the Sudan, Holroyd argues, was an attempt to declare freedom from the 'dead trappings' of his family, and to openly declare himself a political, cultural and social bohemian.¹⁷⁵ Once again, we see a literary depiction of the Sudan that was less concerned with the region itself, but which acted as an avatar for political, social and cultural anxieties in post-Victorian Britain.

The class dimension to these cultural anxieties, particularly in relation to the manner in which the Victorian age was assessed in the decades immediately after Queen Victoria's death, is especially illuminating. This is best illustrated in Herbert Asquith's delivery of the 1918 Romanes lecture in Oxford. Speaking on the theme of 'Some aspects of the Victorian Age', he opened the lecture by remarking that 'among the aspects of the post-Victorian Age, there is none which this University, and I believe every section of the public, regards with so much abhorrence and disgust as the gross and gratuitous defamation of the character of our public men'.¹⁷⁶ Describing the 'almost paradoxical incongruity between what might be aptly termed its outward and inward life', he noted that it was the middle classes, while moving 'in uninspiring surroundings', who began to feel the 'growing pains of democracy'.¹⁷⁷ He concluded by sharply criticising *Eminent Victorians*, noting that while 'none of the four could be said to have contributed anything to the permanent improvement of the literature, art, or science of their time', 'each of them in their day was a prominent and potent personality'.

¹⁷⁴ Barbara Caine, *Bombay to Bloomsbury; a biography of the Strachey family* (Oxford, 2005), p. 261.

¹⁷⁵ Michael Holroyd, *Lytton Strachey and the Bloomsbury group: his work, their influence* (London, 1971), p. 123.

¹⁷⁶ *The Times*, 10 Jun. 1918.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

These statements are at best contradictory and perhaps even deliberately misleading, representing genuine anxiety, not only about how the recent past was being interpreted, but the class dimensions of this exercise. Increasingly, traditional interpretations and literary representations of Egypt and the Sudan failed to reflect reality, especially as the enormous social changes brought about by the First World War began to impact British peoples' lives in a meaningful way. Furthermore, *Eminent Victorians* can be seen as Strachey's contribution to the Bury-Trevalyan debate concerning the opposing historiographical cultures that these two figures represented, a controversy that Nigel Hamilton noted interested Strachey, a self-confessed literary rather than scientific historian, immensely.¹⁷⁸

The relative lack of consistent interest shown by the British public in Sudanese affairs through the life of the Condominium, and the resulting paucity of newspaper coverage means that popular literary sources are especially important for understanding how the region, and Britain's involvement in it, was popularly presented, consumed and understood. Such sources, representing 'middle-brow' reading habits, are particularly useful in the exploration of MacKenzie's arguments relating to non-elite cultural norms, and their utility in assessing the impact of imperialism on all sectors of society. Of the five selected texts, four were calculated to appeal most to a middle-class audience which, although reasonably prosperous and well-educated, was unlikely to travel extensively and see for itself the world depicted in these works. *Eminent Victorians*, while widely consumed by a middle-class readership, was a critique of this class from a self-proclaimed bohemian who had personally and professionally rejected the apparently bourgeois preoccupations of imperial Britain. These works therefore reflected, reinforced and validated middle-class values such self-reliance, moral duty and resilience. Therefore, whether admiring or critical of imperialism, they acted as a window,

¹⁷⁸ Todd Avery, 'The historians of the future; Lytton Strachey and modernist historiography between the two cultures' in *English Literary History*, lxxvii (Winter, 2010), pp 841-66; p. 843.

not only into popular perceptions of the British Empire as a political expression, but as a lived domestic reality.

CHAPTER FIVE

Social interaction, personal identity and corporate belonging: material culture as evidence in the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium and Britain.

This chapter attempts to explore issues raised by Research Questions Three, Four and Seven. These questions seek to understand the role of material objects in the creation of corporate identity among British-born administrators, the importance of material culture in the persuasion of local populations of the authority of the new colonial administration, and the cultural impact of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan on Britain.

In the introductory chapter to a recent students' handbook on the use of material culture as an alternative historical source, Karen Harvey argues that 'as a staple of historical training, material culture has generally been absent from most university history programmes' and that consequently, 'history is impoverished' by this omission.¹ She also notes that 'archaeologists, literary historians, art historians, sociologists, [and] anthropologists' have consistently integrated the examination of objects into their research, and that historians have much to learn from these studies.² This is particularly true of investigations into the Sudan, which has received intense attention from anthropological, sociological and political prisms but, as discussed in this work's introduction, continues to be somewhat under-explored from a purely historiographical perspective. This omission is surprising, as investigations into material culture are a particularly useful tool for the study of non-literate cultures and regions. A notable exception to this is Kate Hickerson's recent research, which utilises the material culture of death rituals to understand 'the changing nature of power, authority, and colonialism in Sudan'.³ Contrastingly, there exists an extensive body of literature relating to Egyptian material culture, pharaonic and modern,

¹ Karen Harvey, 'Introduction: practical matters' in Karen Harvey (ed.) *History and material culture: a student's guide to approaching alternative sources* (New York, 2009), pp 1-23: p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³ Kate Hickerson, *Death Rites and Imperial Formations in Sudan, 1865-1935* (Pennsylvania State, 2017), ix.

particularly in relation to the presentation and interpretation of Egyptian culture by non-Egyptian populations and cultural institutions around the world. This is in line with broader historiographical trends in imperial studies about which, as noted by Joanna de Groot in her discussion on consumption, material culture and empire, ‘there is now a body of writing and debate on the constitutive role of colonial and imperial elements in the material and cultural as well as political history of the United Kingdom’.⁴

In her thesis on Anglo-Sudanese identity, Lia Paradis presents the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan as a ‘materially Spartan’ world.⁵ Because administrators never settled permanently in the region, they lived in rented houses, often furnished with possessions purchased directly from the house’s previous residents.⁶ This is echoed in the Imperial War Museum interviews, who recall an active trade in European household goods, such as Robert Home Stewart Popham, who bought his furniture from the colonial administrator he replaced.⁷ With few local crafts apart from ‘poor quality’ silver, Paradis argues that the popular image of the colonial administrator’s residence in India, with its ‘elephant foot umbrella stand and tiger skin rugs’, does not apply to the Sudan.⁸

Nevertheless, in the early years of the Condominium, the administration’s material culture explicitly symbolised its most cherished foundation myths and ideological preoccupations. Janice Boddy describes the interior of Khartoum Cathedral, noting that the Gordon Chapel was decorated with an altar cloth containing ‘gold braid from the martyr’s uniform’.⁹ Moreover, M.W. Daly reminds us of the persistent ‘myth that Kitchener

⁴ Joanna de Groot, ‘Metropolitan desires and colonial connections: reflections on consumption and empire’ in Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (eds), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, 2006), pp 166-90; p. 166.

⁵ Lia Paradis, *Return Ticket: The Anglo-Sudanese and the Negotiation of Identity* (Rutgers, 2004), p. 131.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁷ Interview with Robert Home Stewart Popham, 11 Jan. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4288).

⁸ Lia Paradis, *Return Ticket: The Anglo-Sudanese and the Negotiation of Identity* (Rutgers, 2004), p. 137.

⁹ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 19.

personally designed the layout of Khartoum's streets to resemble a Union flag, despite the fact that 'there is no evidence that such a resemblance was intended'.¹⁰

While the role of objects used in the creation of the British Empire, and the objects created in response to its acquisition, is now well-integrated into the study of imperialism at home and abroad, the objects under scrutiny tend to fall into two categories, namely monumental structures and items created for mass consumption. This is evident in the continual academic interest in Sir Edwin Lutyens' redesign of New Delhi, or the popular fascination with *Boys' Own*-type adventure stories set in outposts of Empire, such as some of the works of fiction discussed in Chapter Four. However, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, with its short timespan and with a limited grip on the British public's imagination cannot best be understood via either monumental structures or mass-produced and consumed objects. Instead, we must examine other categories of objects, especially small, personal and highly portable items, which often moved easily and regularly between Britain and the Sudan. Such objects are more representative of British rule in the region and are particularly useful in the examination of the nature of personal interactions between colonial administrators and local populations, administrators' own sense of personal and corporate identity, and the popular understanding and consumption of Sudanese culture in early twentieth century Britain.

Bernard L. Herman, one of the leading proponents of the integration of material culture into the researcher's historiographical tool-box, divides this enterprise into two approaches, which he describes as 'object-centred' and 'object-driven' research.¹¹ Object-centred research examines the development of production techniques and design, the changing nature of fashion and the classification of objects into categories, while object-driven investigations seek to examine objects to 'take the evidence and questions generated

¹⁰ M.W. Daly, *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1898-1934* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 25.

¹¹ Bernard L. Herman, *The Stolen House* (Charlottesville and London, 1992), p. 4.

by material culture and extend them into a broader inquiry aimed at the interpretation of society and culture'.¹² Therefore, an object-driven approach to the items discussed in this chapter is likely to yield more insights, especially in response to questions surrounding social interactions and personal and corporate identity.

This object-driven approach will be achieved by the application of E. McClung Fleming's classic proposed model for artefact study as a general methodology.¹³ Its two component elements, namely classification and operations, will be loosely used to analyse objects, which will allow for the collection of basic object details such as provenance, material, construction, design and function, as well as broader 'operations' such as identification, evaluation, cultural analysis and interpretation.¹⁴

Upon reflection of the considerations discussed by Herman and McClung Fleming, as well as the existing body of literature relating to material culture, three objects have been chosen as representative specimens of the material culture of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The three selected objects have the following in common:

1. Each object was manufactured in either Great Britain or the Sudan, between the dates 1885 and 1924. These dates reflect the first phase of British engagement with the region, starting with the immense public interest in the death of Gordon and concluding with the assassination of Lee Stack, when the administration assumed different characteristics.
2. Each object has moved between Great Britain and the Sudan at least once, and all have now found a permanent home in Britain.

¹² Bernard L. Herman, *The Stolen House* (Charlottesville and London, 1992), p. 11.

¹³ E. McClung Fleming, 'Artefact study: a proposed model', in *Winterthur Portfolio*, ix (1974), pp 153-73.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp 154-6.

3. Each object has recognisable cultural, social, political, financial or religious significance in both Africa and Britain, which may or may not have changed when the object moved jurisdictions.
4. Each object has a reasonably clear and provable provenance from the period 1885 to 1924 to the present day. While the origins of one of the objects in the selection is not definitively provable, there exists convincing circumstantial evidence to determine how it came into the owner's possession.
5. The three selected objects reflect, as far as practically possible, the professional, gender and class diversity of participants of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium.

These criteria allowed, not only for the identification of suitable objects, but facilitated the analysis of questions such as their provenance and ownership, their original purpose, the means by which they were acquired and left one region, their purpose and significance in another jurisdiction, and their significance in our understanding of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. One of these objects is held at the Sudan Archive in Durham University, while the remaining two are from the British Museum's department of ancient Egypt and Sudan. All therefore, despite the diversity of their origins, have ended up in Britain, which is in itself significant.

G.E. Matthews' jibba.



Figure 1: G.E. Matthews' jibba. Source: The British Museum.

This object was owned by Brigadier General G.E. Matthews, who served in a variety of military and civilian appointments in the Sudan between 1897 and his death at the battle of Arras in 1917.¹⁵ It was donated to the British museum by a Miss M.D.R. Collins, believed to be Matthews' niece, in 1972.¹⁶ According to the Museum's accession book, the item was part of a 78-piece 'collection of ethnographic material from the Sudan'.¹⁷ Among this collection there are two other *jibbas*, 42 spears or spear parts, two shields, a throwing stick, a ladle, a lyre, a throwing knife, four pieces of jewellery, a sculpture, two stirrups, a dagger sheath, six

¹⁵ Richard Hill, *A biographical dictionary of the Sudan* (2nd ed.) (Oxford and New York, 2016), p. 235.

¹⁶ *Jibba* (Af1972,11.19) available at the British Museum online, (https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=584971&artId=1&people=37600&peoA=37600-3-18&page=1) (1 Dec. 2018).

¹⁷ *Accession book of the British Museum* (1972).

clubs, three flags, a harpoon, four neck-rests, a bowl, and three smoking pipes.¹⁸ The *jibba* is polychromatic, comprised of red, beige, black and blue patches of cotton sewn together, and is decorated with embroidery at the neck, cuffs, pocket and elsewhere.¹⁹ A semi-anthropomorphic motif on the left side of the garment may indicate a military rank.

While it is impossible to definitively know when the item was manufactured, it is likely to have come into the owner's possession between 1902 and 1910, when serving as an administrator and later governor of the Upper Nile Province at Fashoda.²⁰ The excellence of its condition suggests that it was new or relatively new when it came into Matthews' possession and therefore may have been a ceremonial item, or perhaps intentionally manufactured as a gift, rather than as an object intended for daily use. A possible provenance for this item can be found among the large volume of correspondence between Matthews and Sir Reginald Wingate, which discusses Matthews' attempts to establish what he described as a 'working relationship' with Fadiet Walad Kwadker, the local Shilluk tribal leader, in an effort to control the ivory trade.²¹ However, no reference is made elsewhere in this correspondence to any exchange of gifts between the two, although gifting was a common practice between colonial administrators and local leaders. This item provides understanding into the centrality of the *jibba* in how British administrators viewed the Sudanese. It also represents the nature of collecting patterns among this cohort. Furthermore, it reflects the enduring importance of military personnel in the government of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and the values that they espoused, even after a civilian administration was officially established.

¹⁸ Matthews' ethnographical collection (Afl1972,11.1-78) available at the British Museum online, (https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collect.1-78ion_online/search.aspx?people=37600&peoA=37600-3-18) (1 Dec. 2018).

¹⁹ Curator's notes, *Accession book of the British Museum* (1972).

²⁰ Richard Hill, *A biographical dictionary of the Sudan* (2nd ed.) (Oxford and New York, 2016), p. 235.

²¹ SAD 275/5/37-38.

The *jibba*, described by the ethnographer K.M. Barbour as a ‘most important garment’, was a smock-like coat with ‘wide half-length sleeves’ that reached ‘down to the knees.’²² Its production, ceremonial value and political significance have been relatively well-examined by ethnographers and historians alike, and is continually referenced in administrators’ memoirs, suggesting that it was a potent symbol of Sudanese identity, at least in the minds of British-born soldiers and administrators. It was not universally worn in the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries and in C.B. Stanley’s 1912 description of Southern Sudan, he notes that ‘the richer sheik...wear Arab dress’, while men of lower economic status tended to wear a *jibba* ‘of coarse undyed material, loose and sleeveless, with coloured threads worked in patterns on the front and back’.²³

Although in use for several generations prior to the late nineteenth century, it was particularly associated in the minds of British personnel with Mahdist Sudan. British soldiers first encountered the garment during the attempted conquest of the region in the 1880s. In *Khartoum at Night*, Marie Grace Brown explains that the Mahdi forbade foreign imports and Turkish-style dress and ‘to demonstrate their allegiance and communal identity, men chose a new type of dress, consisting of a turban, knee-length cotton pants, and a variation of the local jallabiyya (robe) known as the *jibba*’, which was often constructed from patched materials to demonstrate the wearer’s modesty and humility.²⁴ However, within a few years, the *jibba* was transformed from a simple and relatively modest garment intended for everyday use, into a status symbol, constructed with expensively dyed fabric and bearing ornate patching and embroidery, sometimes with insignia representing the wearer’s military

²² K.M. Barbour, ‘The Wadi Azum: from Zalingei to Murnei’ in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxi, no. 1 (Jun., 1950), pp 105-28; p. 121.

²³ C. V. B. Stanley, ‘The Oasis of Siwa’ in the *Journal of the Royal African Society*, xi, no. 43 (Apr., 1912), pp 290-324; p. 306.

²⁴ Marie Grace Brown, *Khartoum at Night: Fashion and Body Politics in Imperial Sudan* (Stanford, 2017), p. 20.

rank or high social status.²⁵ While it is impossible to definitively date G.E. Matthews' *jibba*, it is likely that it was produced between 1880 and 1910, and displays a high level of workmanship and decorative detail, when compared to similar garments.

Mahdist-era *jibbas* are attractive and colourful items, and display well in museum contexts, especially when compared to other Sudanese-manufactured objects of the same era, which are less colourful and rather functional. Notwithstanding, they are neither acquired nor displayed by museums in large numbers. *Jibbas* are not found among the acquisitions of the Imperial War Museum, the Pitt Rivers Museum or the Royal Geographical Society, despite the large amounts of material relating to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan that these institutions hold. Therefore, it can be argued that while *jibbas* were regularly acquired by members of the administration, proportionally few were donated to museums, possibly due to the speed at which the deterioration of textiles occurs compared to objects manufactured from wood, metal and clay. It is also possible that these vibrant and attractive items were of sentimental value to their owners, and therefore remained in private ownership, although evidence of this is scarce. Therefore, their relative scarcity in museum collections when compared to their ubiquity in memoirs indicates a considerable gulf between how Sudanese material culture was consumed by British-born administrators and how this is represented in museum collections.

This object serves as an entry point into a number of significant issues concerning Sudanese identity, British identity and how they interacted in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Firstly, the *jibba* offers us insights into the collection habits of British-born military and civilian personnel in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and how these habits are represented in patterns of donation, acquisition and display in British museums. In their description of the Sainsbury

²⁵ Nigel Barley, Julie Hudson and Christopher Spring, 'The Sainsbury African galleries at the British Museum' in *African Arts*, xxxiv (Autumn, 2001), pp 18-37+93; p. 27, 31.

African galleries of the British Museum, Nigel Barley, Julie Hudson and Christopher Spring note that the *jibba* is ‘relatively common in museum collections in Britain’, although few appear on display in museums today, and are underrepresented in museum collections when compared to their ubiquity in British accounts of the Sudan.²⁶ G.E. Matthews had three *jibbas* among his Sudanese ethnographical curiosities, and the British Museum holds a total of twelve among its African collections.²⁷ The Sudan Archive contains a small amount of material culture, among which is the *jibba* worn by Count Rudolph Slatin during his eleven-year captivity at the hands of the Mahdi.²⁸

Secondly, the *jibba* acted as an accessible symbol of Sudanese identity in the minds of the British public. The extent to which the *jibba* is referenced in soldiers’ and administrators’ memoirs suggests that Britons in the Sudan, first encountering it in fierce desert battles with Mahdist troops, viewed it with a mixture of dread and fascination. E. J. Montague-Stuart-Wortley, part of the first group of British officers to serve in the Sudan, later recorded Sheikh Ibrahim Farah of the Jaalin tribe, who had fought against British troops at the battles of Abu Klea and Metamma, ‘wearing a *jibba* and carrying a spear’.²⁹ Likewise, Emir Abu Anga, a vassal to the Mahdi’s successor, known as the Khalifa, is described as ‘clothed in a *jibba* of red leather’ in a later memoir.³⁰ Writing in 1926, the colonial administrator H.C. Jackson described visiting a battlefield surviving from Butler’s campaign of the Cataracts, a now-forgotten action that was part of the Relief of Gordon.³¹ Having climbed uphill to observe the

²⁶ Nigel Barley Julie Hudson and Christopher Spring, ‘The Sainsbury African galleries at the British Museum’ in *African Arts*, xxxiv (Autumn, 2001), pp 18-37+93; p. 27.

²⁷ *Jibba* (Af1972,11.14) available at the British Museum online, (https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=584976&partId=1&searchText=jibba&place=41071&from=ad&fromDate=1850&to=ad&toDate=1950&page=1) (1 Dec. 2018).

²⁸ SAD 426/3.

²⁹ E. J. Montague-Stuart-Wortley, ‘My reminiscences of Egypt and the Sudan (from 1882 to 1899) (continued)’ in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxiv, no. 4 (Dec., 1953), pp 172-188; p. 183.

³⁰ R. Salmon and D. Newbold, ‘The story of Sheikh Abdullahi Ahmed Abu Gelaha, a Sudanese vicar of Bray’ in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxi, no. 1 (1938), pp 79-103; p. 93.

³¹ H. C. Jackson, ‘A trek in Abu Hamed district’ in *Sudan Notes and Records*, ix, no. 2 (Dec., 1926), pp 1-35.

place which saw ‘a marvellous feat of arms on the part of the Royal Highlanders and South Staffordsires’, he noted that ‘even now the place is strewn with human skulls, bones and scraps of *jibba* that have defied the passing of the years’.³²

The centrality of the *jibba* as a symbol of Sudanese identity - and perhaps even resistance - was also rapidly absorbed into fictional depictions of the Sudan, as evidenced by its mention in A.E.W. Mason’s *The Four Feathers* in 1902.³³ During his captivity in Omdurman, Harry Feversham has his British ‘clothes stripped from him’, and in their stead ‘wore only a torn and ragged jibbeh upon his body and a twist of cotton on his head’, representing his cultural and physical dislocation from his original identity, as well as his moral transformation.³⁴ Similarly, as Janice Boddy discusses in *Civilizing Women*, the ‘lively yarns’ of G.E. Henty, depict their British-born heroes dressed in *jibbas*, such as in *With Kitchener in the Soudan*, where the work’s hero disguises himself as a dervish by staining his skin dark and dressing in a *jibba*.³⁵ This, Boddy argues, reflected a tradition of British-born men “passing” as Arabs, most notably Sir Richard Burton, whose tales of entering Mecca while disguised as an Arab were immensely popular with the British public.³⁶

Thirdly, this *jibba* reminds us of the continual importance and influence of military personnel in the government of the region, and the unique set of values that they espoused. As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, the establishment of the Sudan Political Service in 1901 did little to undermine the essentially military nature of the administration. G.E. Matthews’ Sudan career followed a similar pattern to many others, having first arrived in the region as a young officer on secondment to the Egyptian Army, served in Kitchener’s Nile

³² H. C. Jackson, ‘A trek in Abu Hamed district’ in *Sudan Notes and Records*, ix, no. 2 (Dec.,1926), pp 1-35, p. 32.

³³ A.E.W. Mason, *The Four Feathers* (London, 1902).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp 189-90.

³⁵ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), pp 26-8.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

campaigns, and then transferred into the newly-created civil administration.³⁷ Therefore, even as he swiftly progressed through the ranks of a civilian organisation, he was part of a corps whose ethos was intrinsically linked to a foundation mythology created by the death of Gordon and Kitchener's revanchist reconquest.

As late as 1936, Khartoum was described by Private Joseph Chelsea Lambe as the 'place where General Gordon was killed'.³⁸ Similarly, he described Omdurman, a dull administrative suburb, as the place 'where the big battle was'.³⁹ Sydney Hugh Curwen Stotherd, who served in the Sudan Defence Force between 1936 and 1938 recalls meeting Sudanese men who had taken part in the Battle of Omdurman as children, remembering 'a lame old man with a bullet wound on his thigh', which he had sustained during the 'charge of the 21st Lancers'.⁴⁰ He also recalled a Sudanese cook who claimed that he had worked for Kitchener.⁴¹ While such stories are unverifiable, it would suggest that the Sudanese who cooperated with the Condominium identified the importance of its foundation myths and duly incorporated them into their personal identities, if only for reasons of survival and economic pragmatism. Therefore, the *jibba*, as well as a representation of British fears of the savagery and fanaticism of the Mahdi, was also a potent symbol of a common past and a common enemy. However contestable and problematic this shared memory was, it nevertheless allowed colonial administrators, and the populations they governed, to harness recollections of the tyranny and brutality of the Mahdist era in the creation of a new and reasonably stable regime.

³⁷ Richard Hill, *A biographical dictionary of the Sudan* (2nd ed.) (Oxford and New York, 2016), p. 235.

³⁸ Interview with Joseph 'Chelsea' Lambe, undated (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 11213).

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Interview with Sydney Hugh Curwen Stotherd, 1 Feb. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4294).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

Fourthly, the *jibba* acts as a reminder of the significance of sumptuary codes in the region, and importance placed by both British and Sudanese participants in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan on the symbolism and spectacle of dress. Whether dressing in formal black tie for dinner in Khartoum, donning military uniform, or the dress of the Sudan Political Service, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was a place where clothing, and the ideology it represented, mattered. This, Janice Boddy argues, is evident in the existence of memos which debated ‘intricate points of decorum’ about how civilians should dress when dining in regimental messes.⁴² Similarly, Heather J. Sharkey uses the changing dress codes imposed upon students at Gordon College as a mechanism for identifying the significance of clothing, noting that after the uprisings and unrest of the years 1919 to 1924, the college’s dress code was altered to forbid ‘students from wearing Western dress’.⁴³ This, she suggests, was linked to ‘the concept of indirect rule’, which ‘responded to threats of incipient nationalist organization by favouring the preservation or invention of tradition’.⁴⁴

The importance of clothing as a means of negotiating identity is mentioned in several accounts of life in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, perhaps most notably by Edward Atiyah, who recalls his distaste for local clothing in favour of European dress as a means of expressing his identity as a child of the British Empire:

The first symptoms of it appeared when I was still in the Sudan, before I went to school. I began to disapprove of my father’s confirmed Orientalism, to be secretly ashamed of it, to wish that out home life was more English. Not that there was anything inherently objectionable in the things I disapproved of. It was entirely a question of symbolism. Whatever seemed to symbolize the East I began to regard with repugnance, as though contact with it would contaminate me, stamp me with an opprobrious mark. Even from the dignified and beautiful silk Caftan I turned away with feelings of aversion, wished that my father did not wear it at home, that he wore instead a European dressing-gown. I myself had worn the Caftan at home in my younger days. Now the memory of it stirred in me feelings of shame.⁴⁵

⁴² Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 75.

⁴³ Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism; Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley & London, 2003), p. 48.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁴⁵ Edward Atiyah, *An Arab tells his story; a study in loyalties* (London, 1946), p. 43.

However it was acquired, and whatever its true provenance, G.E. Matthews' *jibba* can be seen as a representation of many aspects of the British experience in the Sudan. Primarily, it represents British horror-tinged fascination with Mahdist warriors' fearsome appearance and reputation for clinical ruthlessness in battle, as well as the enduring importance of the Sudan Wars of so-called reconquest on the psychology and mythology of the administration. It also reminds us of how the Sudan, and the Sudanese, were depicted in contemporary works of popular fiction, and the continuation of Victorian Britain's fascination for European men disguising themselves as Arabs into the twentieth century. Lastly, and perhaps most significantly, the *jibba* represents the centrality of dress and dress codes in the negotiation of identity in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. While the *jibba* was associated in British minds with the tyranny and brutality of Mahdism, other types of Sudanese dress were co-opted as a means of creating a Sudanese identity, which both reinforced imperial boundaries between rulers and the ruled, and allowed for the imposition of Indirect Rule.

John Almeric de Courcy Hamilton's camel whip.



Figure 2: J.A.C. de Courcy Hamilton's camel whip. Source: The British Museum.

This object was donated to the British Museum by John Almeric de Courcy Hamilton in 1960.⁴⁶ Born in 1896, Hamilton enjoyed a long career in Egypt and the Sudan, acting as an aide-de-camp in Darfur and Kassala, and serving on secondments to the Egyptian Government in the 1920s and 1930s. After a wartime career in Beirut, Bagdad and Tehran, he retired from colonial service in 1946, and developed something of a second career as an Arabist, especially during the Suez Crisis of 1956, when he was in demand as a speaker and essayist.⁴⁷

The accession book of the British Museum records that in November 1960, de Courcy Hamilton donated 'a selection of camel trappings from the Sudan'.⁴⁸ An unsigned copy of the acknowledgement letter sent to de Courcy Hamilton thanks him for 'a really most important acquisition', and explains the museum's 'usual procedure' of fumigating all new objects.⁴⁹ It

⁴⁶ British-made camel whip brought to the Sudan (Af1960,19.13) available at the British Museum online, (https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=1443390001&objectId=576881&partId=1) (1 Dec. 2018).

⁴⁷ *Catalogue of the Sudan Archive* available at Durham University Library Special Collections (http://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ark/32150_s12801pg362.xml) (1 Dec. 2018).

⁴⁸ *Accession book of the British Museum*, 25 Nov. 1960.

⁴⁹ Undated and unsigned letter, British Museum to John Almeric de Courcy Hamilton, prob. November 1960.

also asks whether de Courcy Hamilton ‘or perhaps McMichael’ – presumably Sir Harold MacMichael – ‘could come along to the Museum one day soon after the 21st November when we shall have it laid out so that we can glean all the information about assembly and other documents’.⁵⁰ However, there is no evidence in the British Museum’s institutional records that such a meeting took place, and there is no further correspondence or any other paperwork relating to the item. A clerical oversight soon after its donation meant that de Courcy Hamilton’s whip was not registered with the rest of his collection. Consequently, the whip was erroneously placed into the Museum’s Asian collections, a mistake which was only noticed and rectified in 1997.⁵¹ The whip, and its associated camel trappings, are currently in storage and do not appear to have been exhibited at any point since their acquisition.

The item is of high quality and was made by George Parker & Sons, a London-based saddlery. Established in 1851, it specialised in ‘high-class saddlery, harnesses, leather bags and trunks’, and the production of ‘colonial outfits’, listing the royal family, maharajas and generals among their clientele.⁵² Manufactured from whale bone, plaited leather and silver, the item was one of the most expensive types of whips produced by Parker & Sons, and is inscribed with the owner’s initials.⁵³ It is likely that it was produced c. 1924, prior to de Courcy Hamilton’s first deployment to the Sudan, and was used during his various postings in Kassala and Kordofan. The worn condition of the object suggests continual use during de Courcy Hamilton’s years in the Sudan, which conforms with Condominium-era memoirs describing the extent of colonial administrators’ camel treks through the most remote parts of the region.⁵⁴ However, this object is far more than simply a practical piece of kit purchased

⁵⁰ Undated and unsigned letter, British Museum to John Almeric de Courcy Hamilton, prob. November 1960.

⁵¹ Interview with James Hamill, Curatorial collections, Department of Africa, Oceania and the Americas, The British Museum, London (12 Dec. 2018).

⁵² *Parker & Sons catalogue and price list* (London, 1911), pp 2-3.

⁵³ British-made camel whip brought to the Sudan (Af1960,19.13) available at the British Museum online, (https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=1443390001&objectId=576881&partId=1) (1 Dec. 2018).

⁵⁴ For a detailed description of these journeys see Reginald Davies, *The Camel’s Back: Service in the Rural Sudan* (London, 1957).

by a young man ahead of his first overseas appointment. Its quality, its close connection to existing and developing early twentieth century Sudanese cultural practices, and even its eventual deposition at the British Museum, allows us to understand the role of objects in the establishment and maintenance of British rule in the Sudan, as well as how it was interpreted in Britain, particularly after 1956.

In the interviews with colonial administrators and military personnel conducted by the Imperial War Museum in the 1970s and 1980s, several discuss in detail their purchase of uniforms and other equipment in preparation for service in the Sudan. Clearly, the act of acquiring the large volume of recommended kit needed for life in Africa, particularly exotic objects such as camel trappings, was an important psychological step in a young administrator's transition from life in Britain, to that in the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. Their retention of vivid memories, well into old age, of what appears on the surface to be a mundane pre-deployment task, illustrates the significance of these acquisitions.

William Hamilton Scriver, who served as a doctor in the Royal Army Medical Corps, was given a uniform and kit list but was advised that uniforms were easily available in Khartoum and cheaper than in London.⁵⁵ However, he bought some of his kit at 'Hugh Bakers' and Moss Brothers, both in London.⁵⁶ Similarly, Ernest Reginald Goode, who served with the Sudan Defence Force in the Sudan and Eritrea, received a letter from his commanding officer prior to travelling to the Sudan, telling him 'not to buy anything except boots and riding boots'.⁵⁷ Indeed, most personnel had their uniforms made in Balfyards, a Greek-owned shop in Khartoum, where uniforms were 'beautifully done and very cheap'.⁵⁸ H.P.W. Hutson recalls buying camping equipment and a 'tin uniform box' from a London

⁵⁵ Interview with William Hamilton Scriver, 5 Feb. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4295).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Interview with Ernest Reginald Goode, 17 Jan. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4291).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

firm ‘that sold things specifically for the Sudan’, but bought the bulk of his kit from a shop run by Angelo Capato, a Greek merchant who had been ‘one of Kitchener’s contractors’, a heritage which was doubtlessly good for business among members of the Sudan Government.⁵⁹

First-time administrators often bought selected kit from a list distributed by outfitters such as the Army and Navy Stores. Cyril Gordon Martin recalls that a friend who had been in the Sudan gave him a list of items such as khaki drill uniforms and helmets, which he purchased from ‘the Army and Navy’.⁶⁰ Almost all administrators brought leather goods such as saddles, footwear and tack from Britain. This was partially for practical reasons, because while the Sudanese kept cattle herds, they did so as a form of currency rather than for slaughter. Therefore, there was no well-developed tradition of leatherworking in the region. Leather was liable to crack in the northern Sudanese heat, or rot in the humidity of the south, so company headquarters usually maintained a British-born saddler to look after saddles, whips and ‘anything else ‘that required a needle and thread’, according to the recollections of Johnson Thewlis Clarkson.⁶¹

Lia Paradis describes a reverse of this process, when she examines the significance of the auctions that retiring colonial administrators held prior to their eventual return to Britain. These auctions, which saw senior administrators pass on to younger personnel, recently married or moved to the region, household items that were otherwise too costly and inconvenient to ship from Britain, acted as ‘an institution and a rite of passage’, as one generation divested itself of the administration’s material culture in favour of the next generation.⁶² The significance of this process became even more pointed, Paradis argues, in

⁵⁹ Interview with H.P.W. Hutson, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4465).

⁶⁰ Interview with Cyril Gordon Martin, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4470).

⁶¹ Interview with Johnson Thewlis Clarkson, 15 Feb. 1984 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 7381).

⁶² Lia Paradis, *Return Ticket: The Anglo-Sudanese and the Negotiation of Identity* (Rutgers, 2004), pp 138-9.

the years before Sudanese independence, when such auctions were poorly attended as incoming Sudanese officials demonstrated little interest in acquiring the possessions of British-born administrators.⁶³

In the main, colonial administrators appeared to have brought high-quality leather products such as saddles, tack and riding crops from Britain as status symbols and reminders of their place in the new regime they were creating. In the essentially non-literate world in which the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium operated, and in the south especially, where monumental material culture was scarcer than in Khartoum, an object such as de Courcy Hamilton's camel whip was an essential pre-deployment purchase. This small, portable and highly personal object was a potent symbol of both his personal authority and that of the administration he represented. Furthermore, it typifies the types of small objects that were crucial to the development of a sense of corporate identity among the regime's administrators, binding them to one another and to a shared sense of common purpose through the acquisition and use of similar items.

It also symbolises the paternalism, racial biases and class consciousness seen in the personalities of many members of the Anglo-Egyptian administration, as evidenced in Charles Douglas-Home's description of colonial administrators being little more than Masters of Fox Hounds, who ruled via a system of 'plenty of dog biscuit and a good strong whip'.⁶⁴ Therefore, this whip was a symbol of the dark side of the administration, where violence, literal and metaphorical, was always a possibility. This is reflected in the comments of Gordon Muortat, a member of the Agar Dinka tribe, who greatly resented the corporal punishment to which he was subjected while a student at Gordon College. While school authorities saw such punishment as simply the imposition of British educational norms on

⁶³ Lia Paradis, *Return Ticket: The Anglo-Sudanese and the Negotiation of Identity* (Rutgers, 2004), p. 138.

⁶⁴ Charles Douglas-Home, *Evelyn Baring: The Last Proconsul* (London, 1978), p. 110.

Sudanese boys, it is clear from Muortat's recollections that he viewed incidents of corporal punishment as having a racial dimension, stating that 'if one was penalized for violation of some school rules or for provoking trouble with another boy, then one was paraded before this Englishman who either beat one or threatened to beat one, and who talked as a master'.⁶⁵

In his examination of the importance of ceremony and spectacle in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Justin Willis notes that the new administration 'was a regime of pomp, and exhibition took many forms', in which items such as flags, uniforms and weapons were carefully deployed as part of the Condominium's display of power and authority.⁶⁶ While some of these practices had been inherited from the pre-Mahdist Turco-Egyptian state, which was in itself 'a hybrid of Ottoman practice and European influence', the Mahdist state, despite its alleged opposition to wealth and ceremony, made great symbolic use of spaces like the Mahdi's tomb, the destruction of which in the Sudan Campaign suggests that its significance was understood by the incoming regime.⁶⁷ Therefore, Willis argues, destructive acts could be interpreted as ceremonial spectacles in Sudanese cultural tradition, regardless of who undertook such an act of destruction.

The symbolism of camel whips in the process of persuading local populations of the authority of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium may not have been iterated in a deliberate way by administrators, but it coincidentally chimed well with existing traditions in the region, including the complex, and at this time ill-understood, tribal initiation rituals in which Sudanese men often participated. Although E.E. Evans-Prichard, one of the first anthropologists to undertake formal field work in the Sudan, was in-situ in the region, his publishing career, and consequent sudden augmentation of British understanding of sub-

⁶⁵ M.W. Daly and Francis M. Deng, *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989), p. 170.

⁶⁶ Justin Willis, 'Tribal gatherings: Colonial spectacle, native administration and local government in Condominium Sudan' in *Past and Present*, ccxi (May, 2011), pp 243-68; pp 248.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

Saharan cultural practices, were later occurrences. Therefore, many of these customs were not fully understood or appreciated by colonial administrators. While evidence of these customs is sparse, the recollections of enlisted men serving in the Sudan – of which there are regrettably few – suggest that tribal initiation rituals were adopted in a modified format into the units of Sudanese-born soldiers. One of these initiation rituals was vividly described by Leslie Hassack. He recalled that ‘once or twice a year’ a party, consisting of singing, dancing and drinking, would conclude with new entrants to the unit exposing their backs and being lashed with a camel whip belonging to a British-born officer, causing scars which were preserved by the rubbing of salt into the whip marks.⁶⁸ This, Hassack explained, was an important ritual in the life of Sudanese-born soldiers, noting that ‘every one of my soldiers had been lashed like that.’⁶⁹ Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter Three, native troops were subjected to physical punishment for misdemeanours during the life of the Condominium, as seen in Cyril Gordon Martin’s description of his soldiers being lashed with ‘a whip of eight to nine leather lashes on a stick, like in the Navy’.⁷⁰

Therefore, like the English-manufactured cricket bat which was repaired with the skin of a Nilotic alligator, which is discussed in this study’s introduction, the use of an English-manufactured camel whip in a modified version of a sub-Saharan male tribal initiation ceremony, reflects both the clash of cultures of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and the means through which these cultures attempted to accommodate each other. This is also evident in Rosemary Kenrick’s collection of colonial administrators wives’ memoirs, one of which

⁶⁸ Interview with Leslie Hassack, 18 Dec. 1978 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 3998).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Interview with Cyril Gordon Martin, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4470).

describes young Sudanese women scarifying Union Jacks into their bodies alongside more traditional designs.⁷¹

Lastly, the object's eventual donation to the British Museum, and obscurity there, also offers insights into the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, particularly how it was popularly understood by British people in the decolonisation era of the late 1950s and early 1960s, when the object was donated. Like other colonial administrators who served in physically dangerous or uncomfortable parts of the British Empire, de Courcy Hamilton retired at fifty. Heather J. Sharkey notes that while some senior administrators had reached retirement age during the decolonisation process and returned to Britain with generous pensions, newer entrants found themselves without work in their thirties and forties.⁷² These "fallen angels", Sharkey explains, struggled to find careers in Britain.⁷³

In the absence of other, more marketable skills, some ex-colonial officials developed Sudan-related second careers. This was often through economic necessity, but most continued to display an interest in the region in general, even many years after their service there had come to an end. Christopher Prior reminds us that Clause 57 of the regulations under which colonial officials worked stated that they could have no 'dealings with the press without the expressed permission' of their superiors, which meant that serving administrators rarely published any works more controversial than books on African natural history or social customs.⁷⁴ Therefore, retirement from colonial service gave administrators the time and freedom to write and publish memoirs of their experiences overseas, although few were

⁷¹ Rosemary Kenrick, *Sudan Tales; Recollections of some Sudan Political Service wives 1926-56* (Cambridge, 1987).

⁷² Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism; Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley & London, 2003), p. 93.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Christopher Prior, *Exporting Empire: Africa, colonial officials and the construction of the British Imperial State, c. 1900-39* (Manchester, 2013), p. 9.

anything but complimentary to the country in which they served, and such works were often romanticised and self-serving in tone.

De Courcy Hamilton's scholarly interest in the Sudan had begun prior to his retirement, as evidenced by his editorship of the 1935 work *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan from within*.⁷⁵ The Sudan Archive at Durham University contains drafts of an unpublished memoir of his years in the Sudan Political Service, as well as a series of 'obiter scripta', comprising of anecdotes of his life in the region, suggesting that de Courcy Hamilton had planned to write his own version of the many Sudan memoirs that appeared in Britain in the 1950s.⁷⁶ He also contributed to scholarly journals such as the *Central Asian Society Journal*, and lectured on the Arab world in the Middle East Centre of Arab Studies and the University of London.⁷⁷

It is likely that de Courcy Hamilton's donation of his camel whip and other camel trappings to the British Museum demonstrates the extent to which service in the Sudan was part of his self-image, many years after his service there had ended. However, the fact that neither the camel whip nor associated trappings have ever been displayed to the public indicates the relative lack of interest on the part of the British public for Sudanese or Sudanese-related objects, however polite the curators were on receipt of such artefacts. It is also likely that as the British Empire effectively collapsed during the 1950s and 1960s, de Courcy Hamilton's donation was an uncomfortable material reminder of an increasingly contested and problematic legacy.

⁷⁵ John Almeric de Courcy Hamilton (ed.), *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan from within* (London, 1935).

⁷⁶ SAD 490/4/2-200, 490/2/1-152 and 490/3/1-133.

⁷⁷ J.A.C. de Courcy Hamilton, 'The Hadendowa tribe of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan' in the *Central Asian Society Journal*, xiii (1926), pp 375-81.

Midwifery kit of Mabel and Gertrude Wolff. ⁷⁸

This set of midwife's boxes were owned by Mabel and Gertrude Wolff, who introduced European-style obstetric practices to the Sudan between 1914 and 1937. One manufactured from tin, and another from wood, they were designed to hold midwives' implements, and are part of a collection of 9 boxes of material donated to the Sudan Archive by the Wolff sisters after their retirement from the Sudan.⁷⁹

Marie Grace Brown describes the Wolff sisters as 'no strangers to hardship in the Middle East'.⁸⁰ Unlike most British-born participants of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, the sisters grew up in Egypt, where their father was a shipping clerk.⁸¹ As a result, they spoke Egyptian Arabic.⁸² While both sisters acquired their educational qualifications in Britain, they initially worked in Egypt, managing dispensaries and a midwifery training school at Fayoum.⁸³ Mabel arrived in the Sudan in 1914, with Gertrude following her some years later, and while they initially struggled to make themselves understood, they soon became embedded in the newly-established civil medical system.⁸⁴ In his recent work on the history of medical services in the Sudan, Siddiq Ibrahim Khalil notes that in 1899, there was 'little existing foundation on which the new form of government could build', and that British-born doctors seconded to the Egyptian Army were called upon to deal not only with the health of soldiers, but public health problems also.⁸⁵ The first five years of the Condominium saw some advances in the provision of medical services, with the number of civil (public)

⁷⁸ It was not possible to photograph this object.

⁷⁹ SAD 746/1.

⁸⁰ Marie Grace Brown, *Khartoum at Night: Fashion and Body Politics in Imperial Sudan* (Stanford, 2017), p. 43.

⁸¹ Heather Bell, 'Midwifery training and female circumcision in the inter-war Anglo-Egyptian Sudan' in the *Journal of African History*, xxxix, no. 2 (1998), pp 293-312; p. 297.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Marie Grace Brown, *Khartoum at Night: Fashion and Body Politics in Imperial Sudan* (Stanford, 2017), p. 43.

⁸⁴ E.M. Kendall, 'A short history of the training of midwives in the Sudan' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxiii, no. 1 (Jun., 1952), pp 42-53; p. 42.

⁸⁵ Siddiq Ibrahim Khalil, *A history of medical services in Sudan* (London, 2018), p. 52.

hospitals increasing from four to ten by 1904.⁸⁶ However, the first female medical nurse only arrived in the region in 1907, and there was almost no political interest in the provision of midwifery services in the early years of the administration.⁸⁷ While there is some uncertainty over how precisely the Wolff sisters arrived in the Sudan, a telegram dated May 1915 indicates that both volunteered as part of the general war effort.⁸⁸ At any rate, both were instrumental in the westernisation of midwifery practices in the region, establishing the Midwifery Training School at Omdurman, and implementing a system of licencing and inspection of independent midwives.

The boxes are functional, mass-produced in Britain and designed to contain western-style obstetric equipment. On successful completion of the Wolff sisters' midwifery course, women were given a certificate of competence and a midwifery box such as this one, containing all of the supplies required for their profession.⁸⁹ What is notable about this box is its mixture of traditional, western obstetric objects as well as some Sudanese-produced items. These objects were identified by E.M. Kendall in 1982 and include a model of a placenta used for teaching, sterilising equipment, cotton string, a metal tin made in Omdurman suq used for housing Midwifery certificates and licences, test tubes, towels, a Sudanese *hijab* or necklace for the spiritual protection of an infant, a rudimentary communication system for use by midwives in non-literate communities and a donkey saddle bag for storing and transporting these items.

M.W. Daly argues that it is 'impossible to estimate with any confidence the population of the Sudan in 1900' as no formal census took place until 1956 and before that government officials simply estimated the population of various regions'.⁹⁰ The

⁸⁶ *Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1904* (1905).

⁸⁷ Siddiq Ibrahim Khalil, *A history of medical services in Sudan* (London, 2018), p. 63.

⁸⁸ SAD 579/2/18-20.

⁸⁹ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 222.

⁹⁰ M.W. Daly, *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1898-1934* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 18.

Condominium's belief in a significant population decline in the years before 1899 was part of its own propaganda, supporting its self-belief in the brutality and loss of life experienced in Madhist Sudan. Whatever the statistical reality, the administration believed that this low population was the primary cause of 'chronic shortage of labour', which it linked to the lack of economic development in the region.⁹¹

In her contribution to Margaret Lock and Judith Farquhar's anthropological study of the Sudan, Janice Boddy links the Wolff sisters' activities to the 'political and pragmatic' wish to create a populous and healthy local workforce to develop the region's cotton plantations, in order 'to feed the Lancashire mills'.⁹² Elsewhere, she argues, this process also supported British plans to 'stabilize their presence by making Sudan financially independent and free of Egyptian influence' through the securing of 'a reliable and disciplined workforce'.⁹³ This is reflected in the 1924 governor-general's report, which states that

the value of medical and sanitary work in connection with economic development is obvious and its objects are briefly;

- i. To keep the existing population healthy and fit to work.
- ii. To ensure a steady increase of population to provide for future development.⁹⁴

While there is no evidence of this perspective among the Wolff sisters' papers deposited at the Sudan Archive, it can be argued that the administration's support – albeit lukewarm – of the imposition of westernised midwifery practices, was part of a process which hoped to increase the region's population.

For the women who carried them as professional tools or were tended to during labour using equipment stored in them, maternity boxes represented modernity, progress and the imposition of European-style medical and cultural practices into female realms. In her

⁹¹ M.W. Daly, *Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1898-1934* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 213.

⁹² Janice Boddy, 'Remembering Amal: on birth and the British in northern Sudan' in Judith Farquhar and Margaret Lock (eds), *Beyond the body proper: reading the anthropology of material life* (Durham and London, 2007), pp 315-29; p. 321.

⁹³ Janice Boddy, 'Clash of selves: gender, personhood, and human rights discourse in colonial Sudan' in the *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, xli, no. 3 (2007), pp 402-26; p. 404.

⁹⁴ *Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1924* (1925), p. 47.

contribution to Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler's work *Tensions of Empire*, Nancy Rose Hunt contends that the colonial project in Africa 'entered into some of the most intimate aspects of African women's lives: the birthing process, breast feeding, weaning, dietary choices, and sexual activity'.⁹⁵ Her examination of infant feeding in the Belgian Congo highlights the link between women's reproductive lives and 'a discourse which viewed African birth spacing customs as insidious and saw a solution in European women'.⁹⁶ These conclusions could also be applied to the provision of midwifery services in the Sudan, especially when it was forced to confront traditional practices such as female circumcision.

Marie Grace Brown argues that while the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium saw modernity and Westernisation in Sudanese males as problematic and politically threatening to the racial ideas that underpinned imperial authority, they saw women, and women's bodies, as a safe place to impose modernity and social progress.⁹⁷ While the Wolff sisters, and the Condominium government in general, was careful to avoid excessive intervention in women's domestic and sexual lives, they nevertheless presented modern obstetric practices as paradigm examples of imperial reform.

The kit and its contents also remind us that for Gertrude and Mabel Wolff, midwifery was a moral crusade as well as a practical intervention. In the introduction to his work on popular responses to imperialism in European countries, John M. MacKenzie notes that missionary work was important 'in creating an arena for women's involvement in imperialism'.⁹⁸ While formal Christian missionary work was limited in the Sudan, and forbidden in the Muslim north, the Wolff sisters acted as secular missionaries who could, as

⁹⁵ Nancy Rose Hunt, "'Le bébé en brousse": European Women, African Birth Spacing, and Colonial Intervention in Breast Feeding in the Belgian Congo' in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds), *Tensions of Empire: colonial cultures in a bourgeois world* (Berkeley and London, 1997), pp 287-321; p. 308.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

⁹⁷ Marie Grace Brown, *Khartoum at Night: Fashion and Body Politics in Imperial Sudan* (Stanford, 2017), p. 48.

⁹⁸ John M. MacKenzie, 'Introduction' in John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *European empires and the people: Popular responses to Imperialism in France, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Italy* (Studies in Imperialism) (Manchester, 2011), pp 1-18; p. 9.

MacKenzie says of female missionaries, gain ‘access to the women’s world of ‘native’ peoples in ways that men never could’.⁹⁹ It is not coincidental that when expressing a wish that the graduates of her Maternity Training School would subtly and gradually undermine the practice of female circumcision, Mabel Wolffe described midwives as ‘minor missionaries’.¹⁰⁰

When prospective midwives first arrived in Omdurman for training, they were told in their first lecture that they must be ‘moral, trustworthy, conscientious and truthful’ and that their good character would be demonstrated by cleanliness and self-discipline.¹⁰¹ Heather Bell notes that the same lecture reminded trainees that ‘you must remember that in midwifery there are two or more lives dependent on your skill and care, each baby you help from darkness to the light of Day, is a gift from God and you should be at all times worthy to receive it’.¹⁰² At least half of the midwifery kit consists of hygiene products such as carbolic soap, towels, sterilising equipment, sterile cotton wool and scrubbing brushes, rather than medical equipment.

In her first-hand account of the work of the Wolff sisters, E.M. Kendall noted that they initially had ‘very strong prejudices to work against’, and that existing Sudanese midwives scoffed at the prospect of receiving training from women young enough to be their granddaughters.¹⁰³ However much the Wolffs, and indeed many colonial administrators’ wives, expressed horror at the unsanitary, rudimentary and often fatal nature of so-called native midwifery, they acknowledged that the profession of midwifery was usually

⁹⁹ John M. MacKenzie, ‘Introduction’ in John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *European empires and the people: Popular responses to Imperialism in France, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Italy* (Studies in Imperialism) (Manchester, 2011), pp 1-18; p. 9.

¹⁰⁰ Marie Grace Brown, *Khartoum at Night: Fashion and Body Politics in Imperial Sudan* (Stanford, 2017), p. 65.

¹⁰¹ Heather Bell, ‘Midwifery training and female circumcision in the inter-war Anglo-Egyptian Sudan’ in the *Journal of African History*, xxxix, no. 2 (1998), pp 293-312; p. 301

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ E.M. Kendall, ‘A short history of the training of midwives in the Sudan’ in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxiii, no. 1 (Jun., 1952), pp 42-53; pp 42-3.

hereditary. Midwives were held in high regard by local communities, usually worked unpaid, and viewed their efforts in spiritual rather than vocational terms.¹⁰⁴ Unlike Western women of this period, Sudanese midwives continued to practice after marriage, and some even commenced training after marriage and motherhood. This ensured a relatively stable supply of student midwives in a country where, as Siddiq Ibrahim Khalil argues, women historically ‘do not expect to be called upon to give up marriage for a profession, however important’.¹⁰⁵

Heather Bell notes that the Wolffs successfully navigated this potential problem by training wherever possible the daughters of *dayas*, or traditional Sudanese midwives, ‘in order to eliminate traditional rivals and to conform to the Sudanese custom of passing midwifery practices from mother to daughter’.¹⁰⁶ They also ensured that potential trainees were of good standing in their community, and ‘were bound to reject even a capable woman unless she had popular support’.¹⁰⁷ It is also significant that they selected married or divorced women to train, which ensured a level of respectability and authority in their communities, as well as maintaining a reasonably constant pool of potential trainees available to them.¹⁰⁸

Similarly, while the Wolffs had the near-unique advantage of personal and clinical familiarity with female circumcision, they actively avoided taking any stance on the practice, which would reduce the acceptability of their teachings among local populations, and potentially bring them into conflict with the administration’s key principle of non-involvement in religious and cultural issues where possible. After all, it was not until 1924 that the Condominium government expressed any formal interest in abolishing the practice,

¹⁰⁴ Siddiq Ibrahim Khalil, *A history of medical services in Sudan* (London, 2018), p. 27.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

¹⁰⁶ Heather Bell, ‘Midwifery training and female circumcision in the inter-war Anglo-Egyptian Sudan’ in the *Journal of African History*, xxxix, no. 2 (1998), pp 293-312; p. 299.

¹⁰⁷ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 213.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

and only did so under pressure from public opinion in Britain.¹⁰⁹ Consequently, midwives carried a cut-throat razor to allow midwives to undo the stitching which was performed as part of the traditional circumcision process, which was often reperformed by an unofficial midwife following the birth, a custom that Wolff-trained midwives chose to ignore.¹¹⁰ Likewise, while the midwives' kit contained in the main British-manufactured obstetric equipment, the presence of a Sudanese *hijab* 'consisting of two coins, a small bag of black camoon, coffee and maize, a shell and a bit of white metal', which 'was placed around the child's neck to protect it against being alone', is indicative of the toleration of some traditional birthing practices.¹¹¹

This midwifery kit also represents the centrality of material culture in the administration, as evidenced by the nomenclature that developed around both the traditional *daya*, and those who had been trained by the Wolffs and, in both cases, were represented by the items they used while assisting in labour. Traditional *dayas* were often known as 'midwives of the rope', reflecting an ancient sub-Saharan custom of upright rather than prone labour, in which the mother was supported by ropes hanging from above.¹¹² Wolff-trained midwives were often called 'midwives of the mackintoshes', as they often used rubber sheeting for hygiene and protective reasons when delivering infants.¹¹³ Heather Bell also notes that 'the most visible marks of the newly trained midwife were her white uniform and her tin midwifery box', the importance of which caused untrained midwives to assemble their own boxes, some of which were empty.¹¹⁴ This custom, Bell notes, was so problematic that

¹⁰⁹ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 202.

¹¹⁰ Janice Boddy, 'The normal and the aberrant in female genital cutting: shifting paradigms' in *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, vi, no. 2 (Autumn, 2016), pp 41-69; p. 54.

¹¹¹ SAD 746/1/12.

¹¹² Janice Boddy, 'The normal and the aberrant in female genital cutting: shifting paradigms' in *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, vi, no. 2 (Autumn, 2016), pp 41-69; p. 54.

¹¹³ E.M. Kendall, 'A short history of the training of midwives in the Sudan' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxiii, no. 1 (Jun., 1952), pp 42-53; p. 44.

¹¹⁴ Heather Bell, 'Midwifery training and female circumcision in the inter-war Anglo-Egyptian Sudan' in the *Journal of African History*, xxxix, no. 2 (1998), pp 293-312; p. 302.

the 1931 annual report of the Midwives' Training School attempted to prevent unlicensed midwives from carrying such boxes.¹¹⁵ This is also reflected in extensive correspondence between Mabel Wolff and E.S. Crispin, the administration's director of medicine, concerning the punishment of unlicensed midwives during the years 1925-7.¹¹⁶ The importance of material objects in the non-literate world of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan can also be seen in one of the objects in the kit, which is described as a set of 'two metal discs marked "I" and "II", which were used by the runners to denote the stages of labour the woman was at'.¹¹⁷ It also included 'two red tin squares - denoting the patient was haemorrhaging' and 'two green tin squares - denoting the patient was comfortable'.¹¹⁸

Janice Boddy and Marie Grace Brown both discuss at length the importance to midwives of their uniform, which consisted of a clean white *tobe* and headscarf, which was worn with a blue scarf, the colour of the Sudan Political Service.¹¹⁹ Like their maternity kit, this uniform distinguished them from unlicensed, traditional *dayas* and gave them a level of respect and status within the new regime. Marie Grace Brown also points to the lengths to which traditional *dayas* went to secure government authorisation to practice, acquiring licences from the Maternity Training School even when their practices were thriving without official sanction.¹²⁰ This suggests that the material culture of the administration, as represented in badges of occupational identity such as a midwife's maternity box and uniform, was important in creating acceptance among Sudanese populations, who saw the occupational, economic and social advantages that owning such items could bring them.

¹¹⁵ *Annual report of the Maternity Training School* (1931), SAD 581/1/29.

¹¹⁶ SAD 579/5/2-4.

¹¹⁷ SAD 746/1/15.

¹¹⁸ SAD 746/1/15.

¹¹⁹ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 221.

¹²⁰ Marie Grace Brown, *Khartoum at Night: Fashion and Body Politics in Imperial Sudan* (Stanford, 2017), p. 79.

Lastly, these objects reflect the professional isolation and social marginalisation in which midwifery operated in the early years of the twentieth century, in the Sudan and elsewhere. The midwifery kit contains no medicine, even though childbirth was becoming increasingly medicalised and pain relief was improving in safety and effectiveness. This is reflective of the low status nature of midwifery even in European countries at the time, and the fact that midwifery only became a recognised qualification and occupation when the Midwives' Act was passed in 1902.¹²¹ In the Sudan, the status of midwifery was lower again. In Ahmed Abdel Halim and Ahmed Effendi Halim's survey of medicine in northern Sudan, they declare that 'very little is known about' obstetrics and gynaecology in the region, devoting less than two pages to midwifery in an otherwise comprehensive report.¹²² This lack of respect for the work of midwives is demonstrated by the fact that rail travel warrants for Sudanese *dayas* allowed them access to third-class carriages, while teachers travelled in second class.¹²³

Furthermore, as Heather Bell argues, the Wolff sisters were denied the right to grant midwifery licences and were constantly overruled in this matter by a male-dominated Medical Department within the Sudan Government. She attributes this to both their class and gender – as the daughters of a lower-middle class shipping clerk, engaged in the apparently low-status work of midwifery, they were 'highly unusual in Sudan's upper middle-class, colonial society'.¹²⁴ Janice Boddy links the choice of Omdurman, 'the native town' for the site of their Maternity Training School, to this lack of professional esteem, as did their status as unmarried, low-church goers, which 'relegated them to the peripheries of colonial society

¹²¹ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), pp 185-6.

¹²² Ahmed Abdel Halim and Ahmed Effendi Halim, 'Native medicine and ways of treatment in the Northern Sudan in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxii (1939), pp 27-48; p. 41.

¹²³ Marie Grace Brown, *Khartoum at Night: Fashion and Body Politics in Imperial Sudan* (Stanford, 2017), p. 76.

¹²⁴ Heather Bell, 'Midwifery training and female circumcision in the inter-war Anglo-Egyptian Sudan' in the *Journal of African History*, xxxix (1998), pp 293-312; p. 303.

in Khartoum, with its Anglicanism and decidedly upper-middle-class, university-educated, athletic, and above all, masculine tone'.¹²⁵

Neither Wolff sisters, nor any of the midwives they trained, appear in the *Biographical Dictionary of the Sudan*, which lists the key participants of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium.¹²⁶ This omission is marked, when the achievements of this cohort were so considerable. However patronising, high-handed and culturally insensitive the methods used, infant mortality rates were reduced to 71 per thousand in 1926, making childbirth in the Sudan as safe as that in Wales.¹²⁷ The midwifery kit therefore represents one of the administration's greatest achievements, as well as its myopic and rigid class and gender biases.

Half a century after these three objects were used or manufactured, British interest in Egypt was renewed yet again by the arrival of the Tutankhamun exhibition to the British Museum in 1972.¹²⁸ Writing of his impressions of the event, the Egyptologist I.E.S. Edwards noted that 'archaeological discoveries seldom retain their popular appeal for more than a brief moment', but that Tutankhamun 'is still in a class of its own'.¹²⁹ For the two million or so people who queued outside for hours to view the exhibition, these 'wonderful things', still capable of arousing intense excitement decades after their discovery, were presented to them in the conventional manner for Egyptological antiquities. Dramatic lighting enhanced the sense of mystery, luxury and otherness that Egypt represented for generations of Britons. Twenty-five years after the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium collapsed, interest in this aspect of

¹²⁵ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 185.

¹²⁶ Richard Hill, *A biographical dictionary of the Sudan* (2nd ed.) (Oxford and New York, 2016).

¹²⁷ Janice Boddy, 'Remembering Amal: on birth and the British in northern Sudan' in Judith Farquhar and Margaret Lock (eds), *Beyond the body proper: reading the anthropology of material life* (Durham and London, 2007), pp 315-29; pp 318-9.

¹²⁸ For a comprehensive description of this event, please see Asaad A. Zaki's 'Tutankhamun exhibition at the British Museum in 1972: a historical perspective' in the *Journal of Tourism Theory and Research*, iii (2017), pp 79-88.

¹²⁹ I.E.S. Edwards, 'Reflections on the Tutankhamun exhibition' in *The Burlington Magazine*, cxiv, no. 829 (Apr., 1972), pp 202-8: p. 202.

its material culture had not waned, however contested and dishonourable Britain's 1957 retreat from the region may have been.

1972 also saw the end of the first Sudanese civil war, which had raged since 1955, resulting in the death of two and a half million people. As the British public peered at Egyptological treasures in the British Museum, news reports related genocide, child soldiers, famine and endemic corruption in the Sudan. The signing of the Addis Ababa agreement, which acknowledged the cultural separateness of the south, provided something of a framework for a decade of uneasy peace, but which collapsed into a second civil war in 1983. In the minds of the British public, Egypt and the Sudan had never been so remote from one another. This gulf, borne from foundation myths created almost a hundred years before, has never been crossed.

CONCLUSION

Historiographical contribution.

This work's aim of assessing cultural aspects of British participation in the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium was attempted through three main lines of inquiry, as discussed in the Introduction. The broader political and social context in which British involvement in Egypt and the Sudan occurred was examined in Chapter One, through the investigation of criticisms of so-called New Imperialism, British and international responses to the Second Anglo-Boer War and the Congo atrocities, the rise of new political, cultural and social phenomena such as mass media, the suffragette movement and the Labour Party, and the somewhat lukewarm public reaction to Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee in 1897. The link between these events and key features of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan's development such as its unique position as an example of cooperative imperialism, its foundation myths, the region's north-south divide and attempts at indirect rule was explored and assessed.

The cultural and social psychology of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium was investigated in Chapters Two and Three. This was achieved through the social profiling of the young men who made up this administration, with topics such as their educational backgrounds, motivations for seeking postings in the Sudan, and reaction to the hardships of service explored. Interactions among British, Sudanese and Egyptian participants of the administration, as viewed through British eyes, were also examined. These chapters concluded that mythmaking and historic tropes concerning the region were key in the establishment of the new state, and as a means of creating corporate cohesion among its administrators.

The differences in how Egypt and the Sudan were interpreted and consumed in Britain were discussed in Chapters Four and Five. This was achieved through the

examination of five literary works, published between 1889 and 1918, and three objects that were produced or used in the Sudan during the first half of the life of the Condominium.

Possibilities for further research.

This study was completed during, and therefore affected by the global COVID-19 pandemic. As a result, international travel was not possible, which means that some archival sources, specifically those held by the Sudan Archive at Durham University were not consulted. In compensation, published memoirs, published interviews, taped interviews and material that was available electronically were used. It is to be hoped that these archival sources can be consulted as part of further research directions that this thesis has generated.

The cultural circumstances of British involvement in the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, particularly the prevailing cultural and social ethos of the officials involved in the enterprise, and its cultural impact on Britain and on the British public is at the heart of this study. In short, it is an examination of the ‘official’ British Empire in the Sudan, and public responses to it, rather than of the region in a more general sense. As such, its focus is on a numerically small group of personnel that was remarkably similar in terms of social background, education and attitude to the Sudanese populations it governed. As an attempt to address one of the many lacunae that currently exists in African historiography, in no way does this work reflect the diversity or multiplicity of voices that exist in Sudanese culture or history, and which in many cases have yet to be heard.

As a result of this focus, this study utilises English-language primary and secondary sources. These are predominately British-produced and therefore are subject to bias, containing in particular those prejudices associated with the British Empire in Africa. Many of these sources offer unwitting testimony of the preconceptions and assumptions of the colonial officials who produced them, especially in relation to the administration’s key foundation myths, such as anti-Egyptian sentiment and belief in the importance of its martial

foundations. While these problems have hopefully been mitigated through fair and logical interpretation, it is likely that a detailed examination of non-English language, non-British-produced sources, if they were available, would alter some of the conclusions this thesis has come to, especially in relation to interactions among the Condominium's key participants.

While the problems inherent in the historiographical examination of a predominately non-literate region are difficult to compensate for, sources produced by unofficial participants of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium might be utilised to address this lacuna. These include official Arabic sources from the Ottoman Empire, material produced by Greek traders operating business ventures in Khartoum and other regional centres, and possibly also any written records generated by Italian, French and Austrian missionaries who, although geographically contained to the non-Muslim south of the region, may offer insights into the administration which are not perceptible in English-language and British-produced records. Furthermore, the emergence of a small group of university-educated Sudanese from the 1940s onwards created documentary sources for the study of the region and while outside the time scope of this study, could be utilised in order to better understand how Sudanese populations interacted with officials in the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium.

This study has also not extensively utilised an interdisciplinary approach. This was to some extent deliberate, as the region has been intensely studied from the perspective of a variety of other academic disciplines including sociology, anthropology and political science, which have not necessarily served the study of history well, particularly in relation to discussions surrounding the role of colonialism in the region's current instability. However, once historiographical examinations of the region are approached in a more objective and rigorous manner than has previously been the case, opportunities for cross disciplinary research may present themselves, and yield more constructive findings than the crude blame game that investigations into African history have traditionally descended into.

Based upon the limitations inherent in the scope and scale of this study, the availability of as yet underutilised primary sources and general historiographical trends, three research fields have emerged which may be of potential interest to historians of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. These are, firstly, the experiences of outsider groups living and working in the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium; secondly, the development of new class and cultural dynamics in the administration in the years after 1924 and lastly, legacy issues such as the reintegration of colonial officials into British life after the Condominium came to an end in 1956.

A significant number of ‘outsider’ or non-official groups lived and worked in the Sudan during the life of the Condominium. Although some did not officially participate in the official governance of the region, they participated in an unofficial administration which, while numerically small, played an important supporting role in the running of the Condominium. These groups include Lebanese doctors, diplomats and civil servants, who acted as both official and unofficial intermediaries between Sudanese populations and British officials. Of particular interest for further study may be the experiences of individuals such as Angelo Capato, a Greek-born merchant who became wealthy and powerful through his provision of supplies to the British and Egyptian Armies in the Sudan.¹ Furthermore, this thesis has touched on the experiences of non-British groups found in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, particularly communities of Greek and Syrian descent who lived and worked, sometimes over several generations, as part of the unofficial Anglo-Egyptian Condominium.

A prime example of this ill-understood part of the administration are the Atiyahs, a Syrian family that served in both official and unofficial capacities in the Sudan. The career of Edward Atiyah of the Sudan Government’s Intelligence Department, whose pioneering

¹ G.P. Makris and Endre Stiansen, ‘Angelo Capato: A Greek Trader in the Sudan’ in *Sudan Studies*, xxi (Apr. 1998), pp 10-8; p. 10.

exploration of identity, mythmaking and tribal loyalty in his 1946 autobiography has been used in this study, could act as a basis for further research into non-British figures working for the administration. Additionally, Syrians worked as civilian doctors in the region, which allowed for interactions with local populations as well as British-born colonial officials. The Syrian connection to the Sudan has a particularly contemporary resonance, with between 100,000 and 250,000 Syrian refugees now living in Sudan.

A particular lacuna which has emerged during the life of this thesis was the experiences and careers of enlisted men in the Sudan who, despite having served in countless numbers in the region, are rarely represented in the historical record. While the permanent garrison at Khartoum was numerically small, large numbers of enlisted men transiting through the Sudan, augmented these numbers. As discussed in Chapter Three, the Sudan Archive contains written records of just two enlisted men. The Imperial War Museum currently holds the private papers of twenty-two private soldiers and non-commissioned officers, in addition to a wealth of interviews, photographic material and a small collection of film reel. This material relates to service from the first to the last decade of the Condominium, with a preponderance of material relating to the two World Wars. A broad spectrum of military roles is represented in the collections of private papers, including three army medics, three signallers, an electrician, two gunners, two sailors, an engineer and a non-commissioned officer attached to the Sudan Government Intelligence Department. There is also a mix of British Army and Sudan Defence Force material. This collection might serve as a representative entry point into the topic and as a means of addressing this historiographical lacuna in an introductory way.

The archives of the National Army Museum also contain a wide variety of material relating to enlisted men's experience in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, with records spanning the entire life of the Condominium. There is also some material relating to the pre-Condominium

Sudan. Five sets of letters, five diaries, seven sets of assorted private papers, two memoirs in manuscript form and four photograph albums have been deposited in the archive, all of which have been definitively proven to have been produced by named individuals. There is also a small collection of anonymous material relating to both pre-Condominium and Condominium Sudan, which appears to have been produced by enlisted men but with unprovable provenance. Additionally, the papers of E.J. Squire, who founded the *National Society for Aid to the Sick and Wounded in War* in London in 1886, contains material relating to the support of veterans of the First Sudan War, which may be of relevance to a study of enlisted men. It is also likely that other material has been deposited in local or regimental museums and may also continue to exist in private hands.

A systematic assessment of such material would allow for insights into several unanswered questions relating to enlisted men's service in the Sudan, which have yet to be addressed by traditional historiography. These questions include individual servicemen's attitude to the British Army and to their careers in general, the length of and nature of service in the region, conditions of service, reactions to serving in both combat and non-combat roles, attitudes to and levels of interaction with local populations, attitudes to and levels of interaction with Egyptian personnel and career and life direction after service in the Sudan. The gathering and assessment of such material would hopefully allow for the creation of a more systematic and comprehensive body of knowledge of the military history of the Sudan, and possibly serve as a model for the reassessment of military history in other colonised areas.

This study is largely focused on the social culture of the pre-1924 Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, and of the outcomes for the region created by this culture. 1924, and the two years that followed, was a watershed period for the administration. In addition to obvious political developments such as Lee Stack's assassination and the establishment of the Sudan

Defence Force the following year, more oblique change is evident elsewhere in the administration. The most significant element of this change was the alteration in the social and cultural dynamics of the Sudan Government. There appears to be a number of interconnected reasons for these changes, although none of these, or the impact they had on the administration of the Sudan, have been fully explored by existing historiography.

Robert Collins and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene have both described reforms in the Sudan Political Service from the 1930s onwards. Collins notes that instead of a leisurely extra year at Oxford, new graduates selected for the Sudan instead undertook a three-month intensive Arabic course at the School of Oriental Studies in London, followed by a period of training in Khartoum.² He also notes that the men recruited after the Second World War, while similarly raised and educated as their predecessors, were fundamentally different, having been 'reared in an age of world-wide economic depression and devastating world war, and educated in schools and universities which had drastically altered their curricula'.³ Furthermore, these men were often given temporary contracts. As Kirk-Greene points out, 'of the sixty-five recruited into the S.P.S. after 1945, only twenty-six were offered pensionable terms'.⁴

However, evidence exists that as early as the mid-1920s onwards, changes in recruitment, training and conditions of service began to occur. The most significant indicator of this is the fact that these years see candidates coming from a more diverse range of universities and public schools. The extent of this change, and its potential impact on the administration requires further assessment, particularly in relation to how it affected the corporate culture of the administration.

The years after 1924 also saw the administration separating into more clearly-defined civilian and military spheres. While this was primarily achieved through the establishment of

² Robert Collins, 'The Sudan Political Service; a portrait of the 'imperialists'' in *African Affairs*, lxxi, no. 284 (Jul., 1972), pp 293-303; pp 299-300.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

⁴ A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, *Britain's Imperial Administrators, 1958-1966* (Oxford, 2000), p. 24.

the Sudan Defence Force, changes in recruitment practices into the Sudan Political Service may also have played a part, particularly the increased tendency towards what Kirk-Green describes as ‘direct-entry civilians’, or colonial administrators who had not previously served in the region in a military capacity. As late as the 1930s, the district commissioners or Bog Barons of the region’s three southern provinces were mostly ex-soldiers.⁵ However, 1922 saw the retirement of several key members of the early administration, as evidenced by that year’s governor-general’s report:

Colonel Sir E.E. Bernard K.B.E., C.M.G., accompanied the Nile Expedition in 1898 as DAAG on Kitchener’s staff, and was present at the battle of Omdurman. In 1899 he became financial secretary to the Egyptian Army, and in June 1900 joined the Sudan Government as Financial Secretary, a post which he held until 31st December 1922.⁶

It is likely that the retirement of such individuals contributed to the changing culture of the Sudan Government, but these trends require assessment, as their impact on the administration has not yet been established.

The impact of technocrats such as engineers, scientists, agriculturalists and other professionals on the story of the British Empire is a topic that has been of increased academic interest in recent years. While Chapter Two of this thesis concluded that the majority of the men who ran the Sudan conformed to clichés concerning the link between the British Empire and social elites, and that administrators were, by and large, members of the rural minority or upper middle-classes, the economic and infrastructural needs of the region meant that men with technical and vocational skills were equally required. This was of particular importance when Sudan Government policy encouraged the development of arable agricultural land for the cultivation of exportable and high-value crops such as cotton and vegetables. Equally, while industry and commercial development in the region was scant,

⁵ A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, *Britain’s Imperial Administrators, 1958-1966* (Oxford, 2000), p. 24.

⁶ *Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1922* (1923), p. 9.

slow to develop and often unprofitable, some entrepreneurial Britons were engaged in activities such as banking, retailing and oil exploration. There has been virtually no investigation into such groups, particularly into the fact that these people came from differing social backgrounds to colonial administrators. The experiences of the Wolff sisters, who were viewed with suspicion due to their lower-middle class upbringing, suggests that this may have been the case with other participants from non-traditional backgrounds.

An assessment of these questions would allow for greater understanding of how the administration, official and unofficial, operated on a cultural and social level after the political reordering of the mid-1920s. It could also function as a means of assessing the survival, or otherwise, of the administration's key foundation myths in the last three decades of the Condominium.

The legacy of colonialism on colonised regions, and on the collective identity of the colonising nation are themes that have been well-integrated into the historiography of imperialism, and of the British Empire especially. However, what has been less examined is the personal legacy of colonial service. Although the Sudan Government, aware that Sudanese self-government was in view from the early 1950s onwards, prepared for this by offering new entrants to the Sudan Political Service short-term, non-pensionable contracts only, the end of the Condominium in 1956 was nevertheless a personal and corporate loss to the region's civilian administrators. The likelihood of alternative employment was slim, especially as the British Empire effectively collapsed around them, with twenty other countries achieving political independence from Britain in the decade after Sudanese self-government. Furthermore, the Suez Crisis, just months after Sudanese independence, indicated that British administrators were not likely to feel comfortable in the region, even if it had been their home for decades.

The outcomes for colonial administrators who had to start their careers and lives afresh is explored by A.H.M. Kirk-Greene in his work on the Corona Club, which was established in 1900 for ex-colonial officials.⁷ However, the specific experiences of ex-Sudan Political Service members are less understood, particularly their ability or otherwise to retain the unified corporate entity that assumed during their years in the Sudan.

Evidence exists that some forged 'second' Sudan careers, especially after events such as the Suez Crisis and ongoing turmoil in Egypt following the deposition of King Farouk in 1952 filled British newspapers. Others became academic experts in the Sudan, such as Richard Hill, an ex-Sudan Political Service member who established the Sudan Archive. Many more converted letters and diaries produced during their years in the Sudan into memoirs which, although often limited in scale and Pooterish in tone, sold in their thousands. Others, particularly those whose long years of service in the Sudan weakened familial or social connections in England, fared less well, suffering isolation and in some cases, poverty. A 1956 advertisement for the Sudan Political Service employment service is testament to the fact that for many administrators, life after 1956 was uncertain, unhappy and difficult. The subject of colonial administrators' attempts to reintegrate into British life after many years in Africa has been covered in works of popular history, most notably in Hilary Hook's 1987 work *Home from the Hill*, which recounts his life as a colonial administrator in several parts of the British Empire, as well as his sense of cultural isolation in modern Britain.⁸

Further research into this cohort, particularly their personal and professional outcomes after 1956, would allow for a reappraisal of how the British Empire in the Sudan really ended. Convincing evidence exists that when the official British connection in the Sudan ended, a psychological and cultural connection, which had arguably more impact on British

⁷ A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, *The Corona Club, 1900-1990; an introductory history* (London, 1990).

⁸ Hilary Hook, *Home from the Hill* (London, 1987).

society than that between 1899 and 1956 was created. The sheer presence of ex-Sudan administrators, the publication of popular memoirs and scholarly works, and even the establishment of the Sudan Archive meant that in the years after 1956, British people were aware of the Sudan, possibly for the first time since Gordon's death. It is likely, for example, that the production of the film *Khartoum*, which appeared in British cinemas in 1966, was an attempt to capitalise on this renewed interest in a now-lost corner of empire.

This renewal of interest in the Sudan occurred alongside the First Sudanese Civil War, a seventeen-year long internecine conflict which saw two million Sudanese die, the almost complete infrastructural and economic destruction of vast tracts of the region, and a pattern of displacement and food insecurity which continues to the present day. The speed with which independence was granted, and the inability of the outgoing colonial government to find a solution to the perpetual problem of the north-south divide made civil war inevitable, but nevertheless horrifying for ex-administrators who could only observe from a distance. Speaking in 1990, Peter Bevil Edward Ackland lamented that he was 'more sorry than words can say of what's been happening in the Sudan lately'.⁹

The reaction of this cohort to the deteriorating situation in the Sudan requires further analysis. Many wrote letters to newspapers, and forged second careers as Sudan experts, often analysing the situation from the perspective of many years of living and working in the region. Additionally, the private papers of some of these administrators, largely housed in the Sudan Archive, cover their post-Sudan lives. The assessment of their views, particularly their willingness to discuss whether or not the legacy of colonialism was linked to the collapse of the region into anarchy, would be especially enlightening.

⁹ Interview with Peter Bevil Edward Ackland, 11 Oct. 1990 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 11584).

Afterword.

The governor-general's report for the year 1926, which appeared late in 1927, reveals not only the administration's reaction to the assassination of Sir Lee Stack, but hints at the systematic and cultural weaknesses that would consume the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in the three remaining decades of its existence. Sir John Maffey, a veteran of the administration of India, was appointed governor-general in 1926 and charged with the task of removing Egyptian influence and authority from the Sudan, as rapidly and thoroughly as possible.¹⁰ Stack's replacement, Geoffrey Archer, proved to be a disappointment to colonial officials, who left within two years of his appointment, in the main because of senior colonial officials' disapproval of his decision to visit Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi, a son of the Mahdi, at his residence on Aba Island, instead of requesting his presence at government buildings in Khartoum.¹¹

In his opening comments in that year's report, Sir John noted that since his appointment, he had 'become convinced that of the larger issues facing the government of the country few, if any, are comparable in importance with that of placing upon a more clearly defined basis our policy in regard to native administration'.¹² He warned that while 'the Sudan may still be regarded as being in its "golden age", it cannot long remain so, and it behoves us to take steps while the opportunity remains to lay a foundation upon which a lasting structure may be built from the best material to be found in the country'.¹³ The greatest chance of success in this regard, he argued, was via 'tribal organisation, tribal sanctions and old traditions', things that 'under the impulses of new ideas, and with the rise

¹⁰ Philip Woods, *John Loader Maffey* (6 Jan. 2011), available at the *Dictionary of National Biography*, (<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/34830>) (15 Feb. 2019).

¹¹ Janice Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007), p. 137.

¹² *Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan in 1926* (1927), p. 5.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

of a new generation' would be undermined.¹⁴ This process, however, could be averted if the government secured the cooperation of 'older personalities' in tribal communities.¹⁵

These remarks reflect the fact that despite the upheavals in the region between Stack's assassination and the appearance of this report, the Sudan Government continued to govern using the strategies and principles of a previous age. Most critically, it failed to address the rise of the White Flag League, a militant nationalist organisation largely comprised of British-trained Sudanese officers. This movement posed a particular threat to the Condominium by virtue of the fact that its leader, Ali Abdel Latif, was of both Dinka and Nuer blood and consequently had the potential to unite the south's primary rival tribes.¹⁶ Furthermore, the administration's policy of mistrusting 'the rise of a new generation' of educated Sudanese, meant that so-called native administration after 1924 was a failure, involving the artificial reconstruction of defunct tribal structures instead of the incorporation of a new generation of young, educated Sudanese men into the Sudan Government. This failure can be directly linked to the cultural identity of the administration, which favoured Burkean principles of tradition and hierarchy over a teleological or even meritocratic view of political development.

The establishment of South Sudan in 2011, and the decades of civil war between the north and the south that preceded it, indicates that the Condominium's southern policy, which promoted pluralism over syncretism, was realistic, allowing the administration to deal with the region's religious and cultural differences in a pragmatic yet sensitive manner. Indeed, in terms of religion, the southern policy was successful in undermining Mahdism and other forms of extreme Islam. It showed considerable enlightenment in its encouragement of moderate Islam, even in Juba, where the building of mosques was tolerated.

¹⁴ *Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan in 1926* (1927), p. 6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Randall Fegley, *Beyond Khartoum; a history of sub-national government in Sudan* (New Jersey, 2010), ii.

Ultimately however, the principles upon which the administration were founded, as represented by the upper-middle class colonial administrators who thought and acted corporately, even when separated by vast distances, and which initially allowed them to create an administration *ab initio*, damaged beyond repair the same administration, especially by its inability to react to the social and political changes of the mid-1920s. However, despite the failures of the post-1924 Condominium, its sporadic but indiscriminate violence, and even the dubious moral mix of anti-Muslim bias, geopolitical self-interest, mercantilism and ethnic condescension which predicated British involvement in the region, and the many resulting mistakes and miscalculations, its creation of a state from such disparate groups of people, with no cultural connection to the concept of a nation state, counts as a notable, if temporary achievement in the history of the British Empire.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A: PRIMARY SOURCES

Archival sources

The British Museum

Artefacts

British-made camel whip brought to the Sudan (Af1960,19.13) available at the British Museum online, (https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=1443390001&objectId=576881&partId=1) (1 Dec. 2018).

Jibba (Af1972,11.19) available at the British Museum online, (https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=584971&partId=1&people=37600&peoA=37600-3-18&page=1) (1 Dec. 2018).

Matthews' ethnographical collection (Afl1972,11.1-78) available at the British Museum online, (https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collect.1-78ion_online/search.aspx?people=37600&peoA=37600-3-18) (1 Dec. 2018).

Archives

Accession book of the British Museum (1960).

Undated and unsigned copy of letter, British Museum to John Almeric de Courcy Hamilton, prob. Nov. 1960.

Accession book of the British Museum (1972).

The Sudan Archive

Artefacts

Jibba worn by Slatin during captivity in the Sudan (SAD 426/3).

Midwifery kit of Mabel and Gertrude Wolff (SAD.746/1).

Archives

Photographic collection of Colour Sergeant F.R. Boardman (SAD.A98/1-245).

Obiter scripta by John Almeric de Courcy Hamilton, a series of anecdotes and accounts of amusing experiences (SAD 490/2/1-152; 490/3/1-133).

Memoirs of John Almeric de Courcy Hamilton; a series of papers series of papers written over a number of years and arranged chronologically (SAD 490/4/2-200).

Annual report of the Maternity Training School (1931) (SAD 581/1/29).

Correspondence between G.E. Matthews and Sir Reginald Wingate re. efforts to control the ivory trade (SAD 275/5/37-38).

Postcards belonging A.S. Turner (SAD.837/3/1-22).

Telegram notifying Mabel and Gertrude Wolff of their call-up for military service, with letters of thanks from J.G. Maxwell and D. Semple (SAD 579/2/18-20).

Correspondence between Mabel Wolff and the Sudan Government Medical Department re. the punishment of unlicensed midwives (SAD 579/5/2-4).

Newspapers

Aberdeen Weekly Journal.

Belfast Weekly News.

Cardiff Times.

Daily News.

The Dundee Courier & Argus.

The Illustrated London News.

The Illustrated Police News.

The London Gazette.

The Manchester Times and Gazette.

The New York Times.

The Pall Mall Gazette.

The Taunton Courier.

The Times.

Contemporary periodicals

Ahmed Abdel Halim and Ahmed Effendi Halim, 'Native medicine and ways of treatment in the Northern Sudan in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxii (1939), pp 27-48.

Bacon, C.R., 'Sobat Pibor District' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, i, no. 3 (Jul., 1918), pp 207-9.

Barbour, K.M., 'The Wadi Azum: from Zalingei to Murnei' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxi, no. 1 (Jun., 1950), pp 105-28.

Crossland, Cyril, 'Comfort and health in the Tropics' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, ii, no. 3 (Jul., 1919), pp 198-210.

Edwards, I.E.S., 'Reflections on the Tutankhamun exhibition' in *The Burlington Magazine*, cxiv, no. 829 (Apr., 1972), pp 202-8.

Gosse, Edmund, 'The Agony of the Victorian Age' in *The Edinburgh Review*, ccxxviii (1918), pp 276-95.

de Courcy Hamilton, J.A.C., 'The Hadendowa tribe of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan' in the *Central Asian Society Journal*, xiii (1926), pp 375-81.

Hawarden, 'Notes on the Azande' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, ii, no. 1 (1919), pp 24-30.

Jackson, H.C., 'A trek in Abu Hamed district' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, ix, no. 2 (Dec., 1926), pp 1-35.

Kendall, E.M., 'A short history of the training of midwives in the Sudan' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxiii, no. 1 (Jun., 1952), pp 42-53.

Luce, Henry, 'The American century' in *Life Magazine*, x, no. 7 (17 Feb. 1941), pp 61-65.

MacMichael, H.A., 'Nubian elements in Darfur' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, i, no. 1 (Jan., 1918), pp 30-48.

Montague-Stuart-Wortley, E.J., 'My reminiscences of Egypt and the Sudan (from 1882 to 1899)' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxiv, no. 1 (Jun., 1953), pp 17-46.

Montague-Stuart-Wortley, E.J., 'My reminiscences of Egypt and the Sudan (from 1882 to 1899) continued' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxiv, no. 2 (Dec., 1953), pp 172-88.

Newbold, D, and Salmon, R., 'The story of Sheikh Abdullahi Ahmed Abu Gelaha, a Sudanese vicar of Bray' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxi, no. 1 (1938), pp 79-103.

'Obituary: Ismaïl Pasha' in the *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York*, xxvii (1895), pp 84-5.

'Obituary: Mr. Ralph Richardson, W.S., F.R.S.E.' in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, lxix, no. 5 (1933), pp 295-6.

Page, C.H., 'Inland water navigation of the Sudan' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, ii, no. 4 (Oct., 1919), pp 293-96.

Richardson, Ralph, 'What Britain has done for Egypt' in the *North American Review*, clxvii, no. 500 (Jul., 1898), pp 1-15.

Robinson, A.E., 'Road construction across the cotton soils of southern Sudan' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, iv, no. 2 (1921), pp 108-11.

Stanley, C. V. B., 'The Oasis of Siwa' in the *Journal of the Royal African Society*, xi, no. 43 (Apr., 1912), pp 290-324.

Wingate, F.R., 'Editorial' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, i, no. 1 (Jan., 1918), pp 49-50.

Whitehead, G.O., 'Some authors of the southern Sudan' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xi (1928), pp 83-101.

Printed anthologies of memoirs etc.

Allen, Charles, *Plain Tales from the British Empire* (London, 2008).

Daly, M.W. and Deng, Francis M., *Bonds of silk: the human factor in the British administration of the Sudan* (East Lansing, 1989).

Hill, George Birbeck (ed.), *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa 1874-1879* (London, 1881).

Hill, Richard and Santi, Paul (eds), *The Europeans in the Sudan, 1834-1878: Some manuscripts, mostly unpublished; written by traders, Christian missionaries, officials, and others* (Oxford, 1980).

Hill, Richard (ed.), *The Sudan memoirs of Carl Christian Giegler Pasha, 1873- 1883* (Oxford, 1984).

Kenrick, Rosemary, *Sudan Tales; Recollections of some Sudan Political Service wives 1926-56* (Cambridge, 1987).

Platt, Julian and Wilkinson, Toby, *Aristocrats and archaeologists: An Edwardian journey on the Nile* (New York, 2017).

Price, David (ed.), *Letters from Egypt* (London and New York, 1902).

Primary printed sources

Abbas, Mekki, *The Sudan question: the dispute over the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, 1884-1951* (London, 1952).

Aciman, André, *Out of Egypt; a memoir* (London, 1996).

Atiyah, Edward, *An Arab tells his story; a study in loyalties* (London, 1946).

Atteridge, A. Hilliard, *Towards Khartoum: the story of the Soudan War of 1896* (London, 1897).

Barclay, Thomas and McIlwraith, Malcolm, *The Report of the Milner Commission on Egypt*, (London, 1921).

Boustead, Hugh, *The Wind of Morning* (London, 1972).

Carr, J.C., *Some Eminent Victorians* (London, 1908).

de Castelnau, Francis, *Renseignement sur l'Afrique centrale et sur une nation d'hommes à queue qui s'y trouvent d'après le rapport des nègres du Soudan, esclaves à Bahia* (Paris, 1851).

Churchill, Winston Spencer and Rhodes, F.W. (ed.), *The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan*, ii (London, 1899).

Conrad, Joseph, *Lord Jim* (London, 1900).

Davies, Reginald, *The Camel's Back: Service in the Rural Sudan* (London, 1957).

Dempsey, James, *Mission on the Nile* (New York, 1956).

Denon, Vivant, *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte* (Paris, 1802).

Description de l'Égypte (Paris, 1809-29).

Doyle, Arthur Conan, 'The adventure of the empty house' in *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* (London, 1903).

Gleichen, Edward (ed.), *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; a compendium prepared by officers of the Sudan Government* (London, 1905).

de Courcy Hamilton, John Almeric (ed.), *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan from within* (London, 1935).

Haggard, H. Rider, *Cetywayo and his White Neighbours* (London, 1882).

-----, *Cleopatra* (London, 1893).

-----, *Queen of the dawn: a love tale of old Egypt* (London, 1925).

-----, *The days of my life, an autobiography* (London, 1926).

Hanley, Gerald, *Warriors; life and death among the Somalis* (London, 1971).

Henderson, K.D.D., *Survey of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1899 - 1944* (London, 1946).

Henty, G.A., *The Dash for Khartoum: A Tale of the Nile Expedition* (London, 1891).

-----, *With Kitchener in the Soudan: A Story of Atbara and Omdurman* (London, 1902).

Hill, George Birbeck (ed.), *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa 1874-1879* (London, 1881).

Prince Ibrahim-Hilmay, *The literature of Egypt and the Soudan, from the earliest times to the year 1885* (London 1886).

Hobhouse, Emily, *The Brunt of the War and Where it Fell* (London, 1902).

Hobson, John, *Imperialism: A Study* (London, 1902).

Hook, Hilary, *Home from the Hill* (London, 1987).

Hutchinson, H.G., *Portrait of the eighties* (London, 1920).

Jackson, H.C., *Sudan Days and Ways* (London, 1954).

Letters of C.G. Gordon to his Sister, M.A. Gordon (London, 1888).

Low, Sidney, *Egypt in Translation* (New York, 1914).

Lugard, Lord, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (London, 1922).

Lyons, George Francis, *Narrative of travels in northern Africa with geographical notices of Soudan and the course of the Niger in 1818-20* (London, 1821).

MacMichael, Harold, *The Sudan* (London, 1954).

Madame Tussaud and Sons exhibition catalogue (London, 1905).

Mason, A.E.W., *The Four Feathers* (London, 1902).

Miot, J., *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des expéditions en Égypte et en Syrie* (Paris, 1814).

Newbolt, J.H., *Vitai Lampada* (1892).

-----, *The teaching of English in England* (London, 1921).

Parker & Sons catalogue and price list (London, 1911).

The Patriotic Association, *The Soudan 1882 to 1897; a memory and a nemesis. The story of Gordon and the great betrayal* (London, 1897).

Rousseau, Jean Jacques, *Discourse on inequality* (Geneva, 1754).

Slatin, Rudolph Carl, *Fire and sword in the Sudan; a personal narrative of fighting and serving the Dervishes, 1879 – 1895* (London, 1898).

Spencer, Herbert, *The Synthetic Philosophy* (London, 1896).

Stigland, C.H., *Equatoria: the Lado Enclave* (London, 1923).

Strachey, Lytton, *Eminent Victorians* (London, 1918).

-----, *Queen Victoria* (London, 1921).

Thesiger, Wilfred, *The Life of my Choice* (London, 1992).

Webb, Jane, *The Mummy!* (London, 1828).

Wingate, Ronald, *Wingate of the Sudan: The Life and Times of General Sir Reginald Wingate, Maker of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (London, 1955).

Recorded interviews

Interview with Peter Bevil Edward Ackland, 11 Oct. 1990 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 11584).

Interview with Stanley Parker Bird, 1984 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 7375).

Interview with Eric Gordon Brice, 19 Sept. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4473).

Interview with Johnson Thewlis Clarkson, 15 Feb. 1984 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 7381).

Interview with Ernest Reginald Goode, 17 Jan. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4291).

Interview with John Harding, 1984 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 8736).

Interview with Leslie Hassack, 18 Dec. 1978 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 3998).

Interview with H.P.W. Hutson, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4465).

Interview with Joseph 'Chelsea' Lambe, undated (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 11213).

Interview with Cyril Alexander Lea, 19 Mar. 1984 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 8183).

Interview with Cyril Gordon Martin, 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4470).

Interview with James Henry 'Jim' Miller, 13 Feb. 1996 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 16576).

Interview with Francis Mitchell, 28 Jan. 1986 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 9207).

Interview with Robert Home Stewart Popham, 11 Jan. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4288).

Interview with Frederick Charles Richardson, 22 Apr. 1980 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4623).

Interview with William Hamilton Scriven, 5 Feb. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4295).

Interview with Gerrard Frances Stayner, 19 Dec. 1978 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 3999).

Interview with Sydney Hugh Curwen Stotherd, 1 Feb. 1979 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4294).

Interview with Frederick Suter, 29 Jan. 1980 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 4611).

Interview with Jessie-Anne Cloudsley-Thompson, May 2008 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 31559).

Interview with James Yorke, 14 Oct. 1985 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 9109).

Interview with George Alan Dawson Young, 12 Dec. 1983 (Imperial War Museum and Oxford University, accession no. 7328).

In-person interviews

Interview with James Hamill of Curatorial collections, Department of Africa, Oceania and the Americas, The British Museum, London (12 Dec. 2018).

Interview with Zoe Richards, curator of Madame Tussaud's Museum, London (1 Feb. 2018).

Parliamentary debates and reports

The parliamentary debates, fourth series, *House of Commons*, 1892-1908, (vols i-cxcix, London, 1892-1909).

The parliamentary debates, fifth series, *House of Commons*, 1909-42, (vols i-cccxciii, London, 1892-1909).

Report of the consultative committee on practical work in secondary schools [CD 6849], H.C. xx.291.

Sudan Government reports and publications

Annual reports

Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1902 (1903).

Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1903 (1904).

Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1904 (1905).

Memorandum by General Sir Reginald Wingate on the finance, administration and condition of the Sudan (1914).

Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1922 (1923).

Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1923 (1924).

Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan 1924 (1925).

Report on the finances, administration and condition of the Sudan in 1926 (1927).

Intelligence reports

Staff diary and intelligence report, lxxxii (30 Apr. - 15 May 1889).

Monthly intelligence report, Pibor district, March 1922.

Gazettes

The Sudan Government Gazette, lxx (Jan., 1905).

Sudan Government Gazette, lxxv (Apr., 1905).

Sudan Government Gazette, cxlvi (Dec., 1908).

Sudan Government Gazette, ccx (Feb., 1912).

B: SECONDARY SOURCES

Works of reference

Abdalla, Ismail and Conyers, David S. (eds), *Perspectives and challenges in the development of Sudanese Studies* (New York, 1993).

Gullace, Nicoletta, Herrup, Cynthia, Kennedy, Dane Kennedy, Levack, Brian, Reznick, Jeffrey, Stansky, Peter and Wiener, Martin, *Report of the North American Conference on British Studies; The State and Future of British Studies* (Pittsburgh, 1999).

Harvey, Karen, 'Introduction: practical matters' in Karen Harvey (ed.) *History and material culture: a student's guide to approaching alternative sources* (New York, 2009), pp 1-23.

Herman, Bernard L., *The Stolen House* (Charlottesville and London, 1992).

Hill, Richard, *A biographical dictionary of the Sudan* (2nd ed.) (Oxford and New York, 2016).

Reddy, William M., *The Navigation of Feeling: a framework for the history of emotions* (Cambridge, 2001).

Sources of Sudanese studies in Sudanese journals and periodicals 1931-1967 (Khartoum, 1970).

General histories

Abbas Ibrahim Muhammad Ali, *The British, the slave trade, and slavery in the Sudan, 1820-1881* (Khartoum, 1972).

Anglim, Simon, *Orde Wingate and the British Army, 1922-1944* (London, 2015).

Baldo, Sulimar, Kyle, John, Jok, Madut and Willis, Justin (eds), *The Sudan Handbook* (London 2011).

Beswick, Stephanie, *Sudan's Blood Memory: the legacy of war, ethnicity, and slavery in early South Sudan* (Rochester, 2004).

Bivona, Daniel, *British imperial literature, 1870-1940* (Cambridge, 2008).

Boddy, Janice, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton and Oxford, 2007).

Bonnell, VE. and Hunt, Lynn, *Beyond the Cultural Turn* (Berkeley, 1999).

Bourke, Angela, *The burning of Bridget Cleary; a true story* (Dublin, 2001).

Brown, Marie Grace, *Khartoum at Night: Fashion and Body Politics in Imperial Sudan* (Stanford, 2017).

Caine, Barbara, *Bombay to Bloomsbury; a biography of the Strachey family* (Oxford, 2005).

- Cain, P.J. and Hopkins, A.G., *British Imperialism: 1688-2015* (London, 2016).
- Cannadine, David, *Ornamentalism: how the British saw their Empire* (London, 2001).
- , *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (London, 2005).
- Cole, Juan, *Napoleon's Egypt; invading the Middle East* (New York, 2007).
- Collins, Robert, *A history of modern Sudan* (Cambridge, 2008).
- Cooper, Frederick and Stoler, Ann Laura (eds), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, 1997).
- Curl, James Stevens, *Egyptomania: the Egyptian revival, a recurring theme in the History of Taste* (Manchester, 1994).
- Daly, M.W., *Imperial Sudan; The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium 1934-1956* (Cambridge, 2003).
- , *Empire on the Nile: the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1898-1934* (Cambridge, 2004).
- Dodwell, H.H. (ed.), *The Cambridge History of India* (5 vols.) (Cambridge, 1922-39).
- Donaldson, Peter, *Remembering the South African War; Britain and the memory of the Anglo-Boer War, from 1899 to the present* (Liverpool, 2013).
- Elkins, Caroline, *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya* (New York, 2005).
- Fabunmi, L.A., *The Sudan in Anglo-Egyptian relations; a case study in power politics, 1880-1956* (London, 1960).
- Farquhar, Judith and Lock, Margaret (eds), *Beyond the body proper: reading the anthropology of material life* (Durham and London, 2007).
- Feddin, Robin, *Egypt: land of the valley* (Southampton, 1977).
- Fegley, Randall, *Beyond Khartoum; a history of sub-national government in Sudan* (New Jersey, 2010).
- Franklin, J. Jeffrey, *Spirit matters: occult beliefs, alternative religions and the crisis of faith in Victorian Britain* (Ithaca and London, 2018).
- Fraser, G.M. (ed.), *The World of the Public School* (London, 1977).
- Gardiner, John, *The Victorians: an age in retrospect* (London, 2006).
- Gosse, Edmund, 'The Agony of the Victorian Age' in *Some diversions of a man of letters* (London, 1920), pp 313-37.

- Gray, Richard, *A history of the southern Sudan, 1839-1889* (London, 1961).
- Green, Roger Lancelyn, *A.E.W. Mason; the adventure of a storyteller* (London, 1952).
- Kirk-Greene, A.H.M., *The Corona Club, 1900-1990; an introductory history* (London, 1990).
- , *Britain's Imperial Administrators, 1958-1966* (Oxford, 2000).
- Halévy, Elie, *Imperialism and the rise of Labour 1895-1905* (London, 1951).
- Hall, Catherine (ed.) *Cultures of empire: colonizers in Britain and the empire in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; a reader* (Manchester, 2000).
- Hall, Catherine and Rose, Sonya O. (eds), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, 2006).
- Hamilton, Nigel, *Biography; a brief history* (Harvard, 2007).
- Hewitt, Martin, *The dawn of the cheap press in Victorian England: the end of the 'taxes on knowledge', 1849-69* (London, 2013).
- Hochschild, Adam, *King Leopold's ghosts: a story of greed, terror and heroism in colonial Africa* (London, 1998).
- Holroyd, Michael, *Lytton Strachey and the Bloomsbury group: his work, their influence* (London, 1971).
- Douglas-Home, Charles, *Evelyn Baring: The Last Proconsul* (London, 1978).
- Hughes, Kathryn, *Victorians undone; tales of the flesh in the age of decorum* (London, 2017).
- Kennedy, Dane, *The Imperial History Wars: Debating the British Empire* (London & New York, 2018).
- Khalil, Siddiq Ibrahim, *A history of medical services in Sudan* (London, 2018).
- Leonardi, Cherry, *Dealing with Government in South Sudan: Histories of chiefship, community & state* (Woodbridge, 2015).
- Louis, Wm. Roger (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire* (Oxford, 1998-9).
- MacKenzie, John M., *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion 1880-1960* (Studies in Imperialism) (Manchester, 1986).
- (ed.), *Imperialism and popular culture* (Studies in Imperialism) (Manchester, 1986).
- (ed.), *European empires and the people: Popular responses to Imperialism in France, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Italy* (Studies in Imperialism) (Manchester, 2011).

- Mangan, J.A. (ed.), *'Benefits bestowed?': education and British imperialism* (Manchester and New York, 1998).
- Mantena, Karuna, *Alibis of Empire; Henry Maine and the Ends of Liberal Imperialism* (Princeton and Oxford, 2010).
- Memmi, Albert, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, trans. Lawrence Hoey (London, 1965).
- de Menddelssohn, Peter, *The Age of Churchill: Heritage and Adventure 1874–1911* (London, 1961).
- Moorehead, Alan, *The White Nile* (London, 1960).
- Morris, Jan, *Pax Britannica: The climax of an empire* (London, 1998).
- Moshenska, Gabriel, *Archaeologists in popular culture* (London, 2017).
- Nash, Geoffrey P. (ed.) *Marmaduke Pickthall; Islam and the modern world* (Leiden, 2017).
- Owen, Nicholas, *The British left and India: metropolitan anti-imperialism, 1885–1947* (Oxford, 2007).
- Paxman, Jeremy, *Empire* (London, 2011).
- Porter, Bernard, *The Absent-minded Imperialists; Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford, 2004).
- Powell, Eve Troutt, *A different shade of colonialism; Egypt, Great Britain and the mastery of the Sudan* (Berkeley, 2003).
- Prior, Christopher, *Exporting Empire: Africa, colonial officials and the construction of the British Imperial State, c. 1900-39* (Manchester, 2013).
- Said, Edward, *Culture and Imperialism* (London, 1993).
- Santandrea, Stefano, *Bibliographia di studi Africani delle Missionaire delle' Africa Centralle* (Verona, 1948).
- Serels, Stephen, *Starvation and the State; Famine, Slavery, and Power in Sudan, 1883-1956* (Basingstoke, 2013).
- Sharkey, Heather J., *Living with Colonialism; Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley & London, 2003).
- Spiers, Edward M., *The Late Victorian army, 1869-1902* (Manchester, 1972).
- Strong, Roy, *Coronation: a history of kingship and the British monarchy* (London, 2005).

Taylor, A.J.P., *The Trouble Makers; Dissent over Foreign Policy, 1792-1939* (London, 1957).

Thomas, Graham F., *Sudan: Struggle for survival* (London, 1993).

Vaughan, Chris, *Darfur; Colonial violence, sultanic legacies and local politics, 1916-1956* (New York, 2015).

Walker, Philip, *Behind the Lawrence legend: the forgotten few who shaped the Arab Revolt* (Oxford, 2018).

Warburg, Gabriel, *The Sudan under Wingate: administration in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1899-1916* (London, 1971).

Watterson, Barbara, *The Egyptians* (London, 1997).

Wesseling, H.L., *Divide and rule: the partition of Africa, 1880-1914* (Westport, 1996).

Wilber, Donald N., *Egypt; its people; its society; its culture* (New Haven, 1969).

Seton-Williams, M.V., *A short history of Egypt* (London, 1989).

Journal articles

Addison, Paul, 'The Political Beliefs of Winston Churchill' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, xxx (1980), pp 23-47.

Anstey, Roger, 'The Congo rubber atrocities – a case study' in *African Historical Studies*, iv, no. 1 (1971), pp 59-76.

Arnstein, Walter L., 'Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee' in *The American Scholar*, lxvi, no. 4 (Autumn 1997), pp 591-7.

Avery, Todd, 'The historians of the future; Lytton Strachey and modernist historiography between the two cultures' in *English Literary History*, lxxvii (Winter 2010), pp 841-866.

Barley, Nigel, Hudson, Julie, and Spring, Christopher, 'The Sainsbury African galleries at the British Museum' in *African Arts*, xxxiv (Autumn, 2001), pp 18-37+93.

Beckett, Ian F.W., 'Victorians at War – War, Technology and Change' in *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, lxxxi, no. 328 (Winter, 2003), pp 330-8.

Bell, Heather, 'Midwifery training and female circumcision in the inter-war Anglo-Egyptian Sudan' in the *Journal of African History*, xxxix, no. 2 (1998), pp 293-312.

Berry, Sara, 'Hegemony on a Shoestring: Indirect Rule and Access to Agricultural Land' in *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, lxii (1992), pp 327-55.

Boddy, Janice, 'Clash of selves: gender, personhood, and human rights discourse in colonial Sudan' in the *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, xli, no. 3 (2007), pp 402-26.

-----, 'The normal and the aberrant in female genital cutting: shifting paradigms' in *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, vi, no. 2 (Autumn, 2016), pp 41-69.

Boehmer, Elleke, 'The wording of the jingo poem' in *The Yearbook of English Studies*, xli (2011), pp 41-57.

Charmley, John, 'Essay and Reflection: Churchill as War Hero' in *The International History Review*, xiii, (Feb., 1991), pp 96-104.

Coll, Niall, 'Light from the West' in *The Furrow*, lvxi, no. 9 (Sept. 2015), pp 459-64.

Collins, Robert, 'Patrols against the Beirs' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xli (1960), pp 35-58.

-----, 'The Sudan Political Service; a portrait of the "imperialists"' in *African Affairs*, lxxi, no. 284 (Jul., 1972), pp 293-303.

Daly, M.W., 'The Egyptian Army mutiny at Omdurman January-February 1900' in *Bulletin* (British Society for Middle Eastern Studies), viii, no. 1 (1981), pp 3-12.

-----, 'The development of the governor-generalship of the Sudan, 1899-1934' in *The Journal of African History*, xxiv, no. 1 (1983), pp 77-96; p. 87.

Deane, Bradly, 'Imperial boyhood: piracy and the play ethic' in *Victorian Studies*, liii (Summer, 2011), pp 689-714.

Etherington, Norman A., 'Rider Haggard, Imperialism and the layered personality' in *Victorian Studies*, xx (Autumn, 1978), pp 71-87.

Fulton, Richard, 'The Sudan Sensation of 1898' in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, iv, no. 1 (Spring 2009), pp 37-63.

Gallagher, John and Robinson, Ronald, 'The imperialism of free trade' in *The Economic History Review*, vi, no. 1 (1953), pp 1-15.

Greenberg, Allan, 'Lutyens' Architecture Restudied' in *Perspecta*, xii (1969), pp 129-52.

Kirk-Greene, A.H.M., 'The Thin White Line: The Size of the British Colonial Service in Africa' in *African Affairs*, vol 79, no. 314 (1980), pp. 25-44.

-----, 'The Sudan Political Service: a profile in the sociology of Imperialism' in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, xv, no. 1 (1982), pp 21-48.

-----, 'Badge of office: sport and his excellency in the British Empire' in *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, vi (1989), pp 178-200.

Griffiths, Andrew, 'Winston Churchill, the Morning Post, and the End of the Imperial Romance' in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, xlvi, no. 2 (Summer, 2013), pp 163-83.

Hadra, Tawheeda Osman, 'The use of the Sudan in some English novels' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, liii (1972), pp 67-78.

Headrick, Daniel R., 'The Tools of Imperialism: Technology and the Expansion of European Colonial Empires in the Nineteenth Century' in *The Journal of Modern History*, li, no. 2, (Jun., 1979), pp 231-63.

Horáková, Hana, 'Past and present: sub-Saharan Africa in European perception' in *Asian and African Studies*, xvi (no. 1), pp 45-54.

Jevons, Stanley, 'The second industrial revolution' in *The Economic Journal*, xli, no. 161 (Mar., 1931), pp 1-18.

Johnson, Douglas H., 'Evans-Pritchard, the Nuer, and the Sudan Political Service' in *African Affairs*, lxxxii (1982), pp 231-46.

Jones, R.V., 'Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill 1874-1965' in *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Royal Society*, xii (Nov., 1966), pp 34-105.

Laki, Sam L., 'Self-determination: a solution to the Sudan problem' in *Northeast African Studies*, iii, no. 2 (1996), pp 7-20.

Louis, William Roger, 'Roger Casement and the Congo' in *The Journal of African History*, v, no. 1 (1964), pp 99-120.

MacMichael, H.A., 'Review' in *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, xxii (1952), pp 379-80.

Mangan, J.A., 'The education of an elite imperial administration; the Sudan Political Service and the British public school system' in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, xv, no. 4 (1982), pp 671-99.

Makris, G.P., and Stiansen, Endre, 'Angelo Capato: A Greek Trader in the Sudan' in *Sudan Studies*, xxi (Apr. 1998), pp 10-18.

Mayo, David Nailo N., 'The British southern policy in Sudan: an inquiry into the Closed District Ordinances (1914-1946)' in *Northeast African Studies*, i, no. 2/3 (1994), pp 165-85.

McClung Fleming, E., 'Artefact study: a proposed model', in *Winterthur Portfolio*, ix (1974), pp 153-73.

Muller, James W., 'The River War: Preparing the Definitive Edition' in *Finest Hour*, 171 (Winter 2016), p. 10.

Muller, R.D., 'The books of H. Rider Haggard; A chronological survey' in *Science Fiction Studies*, v (Nov. 1978), pp 287-91.

Nworah, Kenneth D., 'The Aborigines' protection society, 1889-1909: a pressure-group in colonial policy' in the *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, v, no. 1 (1971), pp 79-91.

Plamper, Jan, Reddy, William, Rosenwein, Barbara H., and Stearns, Peter, 'The history of emotions' in *History and Theory*, lxix (2010), pp 237-65.

Pocock, David F., 'Sir Edward Evans-Pritchard 1902-1973: an appreciation' in *Africa*, lxxv, no. 3 (Jul., 1975), pp 327-30.

Raugh, Harold E. Jr., 'The Battle of the Books: An Indian Mutiny Historiography Part One' in the *Journal for the Society for Army Historical Research*, xciv, no. 380 (Winter, 2016), pp 294-313.

-----, 'The Battle of the Books: An Indian Mutiny Historiography Part Two' in the *Journal for the Society for Army Historical Research*, xcvi, no. 381 (Spring, 2017), pp 34-51.

Readman, Paul A., 'The 1895 general election and political change in late Victorian Britain' in *The Historical Journal*, xlii, no. 2 (Jun., 1999), pp 467-93.

-----, 'The Conservative party, patriotism, and British politics: the case of the general election of 1900' in the *Journal of British Studies*, xl, no. 1 (2001), pp 107-45.

Saffell, Cameron L., 'An alternative means of field research: extending material culture analysis to farm implements' in *Agricultural History*, lxxxviii, no. 4 (Fall, 2004), pp 517-537.

Veitch, Colin, 'Play up! Play up! And win the war! Football, the nation and the First World War 1914-15' in *Journal of Contemporary History*, xx (Jul., 1985), pp 363-78.

Vezzadini, Elena, 'Nationalism by telegrams: political writings and anti-colonial resistance in Sudan, 1920-1924' in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, lxvi, no. 1 (2013), pp 27-59.

Warburg, Gabriel, 'Richard Hill (1901-1996): In memoriam' in *Middle Eastern Studies*, xxxiii (1997), pp 193-5; p. 194.

-----, 'The Wingate literature revisited: the Sudan as seen by members of the Sudan Political Service during the Condominium: 1899-1956' in *Middle Eastern Studies*, xli, no. 3 (May, 2005), pp 373-89.

Williams, Patrick, 'Imperial visions: anti-colonial revisions in *Critical Survey*, x (1988), pp 114-23.

Willis, Justin, 'Tribal gatherings: Colonial spectacle, native administration and local government in Condominium Sudan' in *Past and Present*, ccxi (May 2011), pp 243-68.

Zaki, Asaad A., 'Tutankhamun exhibition at the British Museum in 1972: a historical perspective' in the *Journal of Tourism Theory and Research*, iii (2017), pp 79-88.

Theses

Hickerson, Kate, *Death Rites and Imperial Formations in Sudan, 1865-1935* (Pennsylvania State, 2017).

Paradis, Paradis, *Return Ticket: The Anglo-Sudanese and the Negotiation of Identity* (Rutgers, 2004).

Ruay, Deng D. Akol, *The politics of two Sudans: the South and the North, 1821-1969* (Uppsala, 1994).

Films and television programmes

Dad's Army; 'Two and a Half Feathers'. Directed by David Croft, BBC, 1970.

The Four Feathers. Directed by J. Searle Dawley, Dyreda Art Film Corporation, 1915.

The Four Feathers. Directed by Don Sharp, Trident Films Ltd., 1978.

The Four Feathers. Directed by Shekhar Kapur, Paramount Pictures, 2002.

Khartoum. Directed by Basil Dearden & Eliot Elisofon, Julian Blaustein Productions Ltd., 1966.

Websites

Berko, Reuven, 'How the lies of 'Lawrence of Arabia' continue to put the West in peril', undated, available at the *Jewish World Review* (http://www.jewishworldreview.com/0114/berko_Lawrenceof_Arabia.php3#.XHLMxej7TDc) (1 Jan. 2019).

Catalogue of the Sudan Archive available at Durham University Library Special Collections (http://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ark/32150_s12801pg362.xml) (1 Dec. 2018).

Rosenwein, Barbara H., *Problems and methods in the history of emotions*, available at Passions in Context, (<http://www.passionsincontext.de>) (2 Jan. 2016).

Dictionary of National Biography articles

Callahan, Raymond, *Orde Charles Wingate* (23 Sept. 2004), available at *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/36978>) (24 Feb. 2019).

Cohen, N. Morton, *H. Rider Haggard* (3 Oct. 2013), available at the *Dictionary of National Biography*, (<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/33632>) (22 June 2018).

Daly, M.W., *Sir Harold Alfred MacMichael* (23 Sept. 2004), available at the *Dictionary of National Biography*, (<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/34797>) (1 Feb. 2018).

Daly, M.W., *Sir Lee Oliver Fitzmaurice Stack* (23 Sept. 2011), available at *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/36230>) (30 Oct. 2019).

Daly, M.W., *Sir (Francis) Reginald Wingate* (22 Sept. 2011), available at *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<https://doi-org/10.1093/ref:odnb/36977>) (30 Oct. 2019).

Kirk-Greene, A.H.M., *Sir Ralph Dolingon Furse* (23 Sept. 2004), available at the *Dictionary of National Biography*, (<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/31129>) (15 Feb. 2018).

Neilson, Keith, *Horatio Herbert Kitchener* (23 Sept. 2004), available at *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<https://doi-org/10.1093/ref:odnb/34341>) (30 Oct. 2019).

Woods, Philip, *John Loader Maffey* (6 Jan. 2011), available at the *Dictionary of National Biography*, (<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/34830>) (15 Feb. 2019).