

SUDAN STUDIES

for
South Sudan and *Sudan*

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The Sudan Studies Society of the UK was founded in 1986 to encourage and promote Sudanese studies in the United Kingdom and abroad, at all levels and in all disciplines. SSSUK is a registered charity (no. 328272).

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EDITORIAL

The editor was sorry to learn of the deaths in 2013 of John Scott and Barbara Rees. John was instrumental in persuading the family to agree to the publication of the article about 'Ned' Mayall in issue 45 (January 2012), whilst Barbara wrote about her father and the demarcation of Sudan's western border in issue 42 (July 2010). I sent condolences to both families.

Oil continues to be the major source of disagreement between Sudan and South Sudan. This is a most complicated issue with worldwide implications. Oil is at present a major source of income to both countries, but in the case of South Sudan it is almost, apart from foreign aid, the country's only source of income. In this issue **Peter Kemp, Editorial Director for the Energy Intelligence Group**, gives us an insight into the complexities of this subject.

Our second article relates to the Sudan Defence Force involvement in securing the present boundary between Egypt, Sudan and Libya in 1934, in the face of a determined effort by Italy to extend its influence in the eastern Sahara. The discovery by the article's author, **Andras Zboray FRGS (www.fjexpeditions.com)**, of a tatty piece of paper in a cairn on the summit of Jebel Uweinat led him to an obscure report in the British National Archives about the activities of the Sudan Defence Force in that area in 1934. In this article are to be found, what must be described as archival photographs, relating to this expedition. Andras, a Hungarian, has lived in Egypt and knows the eastern Sahara intimately and is an acknowledged expert on **Libyan Desert Rock Art**.

Our third article by **Ray Meynink, a retired land surveyor living in Kenya**, concerns a letter written by Ada Leslie to his grandmother in April 1884 describing her experience when present at Trinkitat at the time of the 2nd El Teb battle.

The fourth main contribution is from **Al Haj Salim Mustafa, Director, Library and Resource Centre, ALHOSN University, Abu Dhabi** who writes about the life of Sigmar Hillelson who served in the Sudan from 1911 to 1933. Sigmar was on the staff of Gordon Memorial College and became a noted authority on many aspects of Sudanese life. Sigmar was a Jew of German extraction. He was Assistant Civil Secretary from 1929 to 1933. After leaving the Sudan Civil Service he took charge during the Second World War of the BBC Arabic service.

We have asked for details of memorials in Britain and elsewhere relating to Sudanese activities. Another, sent by **Douglas Johnson**, is included in this issue. What about the rest of the Membership?

You will also find 3 book reviews: one by our Secretary **Jill Lusk**; another by **Professor Mustafa M Khogali** from Khartoum; and the third by **Nicki Kindersley**, a Postgraduate student working in Juba.

Special Request.

John Udal is most anxious to acquire a copy of *The Memoirs of Babiker Bedri*: Vol 2 Trans. by Yousef Bedri and Peter Hogg, London, Ithaca Press, 1980. John's address is 5 Soudan Road, London, SW11 4HH (Tel: 020 7627 1887).

SSSUK MATTERS

I am sure that you do not need reminding that Subscriptions were due on 1 January 2013. You know what you have to do if you have not yet paid!!

Under SSSUK Notices towards the end of this issue you will find a note about our AGM and Annual Symposium at SOAS on Saturday, 5th October 2013. Please make every effort to attend.

We need new and younger members for the Committee. Suggestions please.

OIL IN SUDAN AND SOUTH SUDAN

Peter Kemp

INTRODUCTION

Oil has been central to the ongoing struggle between Sudan and South Sudan since the inception of the new southern state in July 2011. At independence, South Sudan took charge of more than two thirds of Sudan's oil production, which is concentrated in the northern border area of the new state. The oil processing facilities, refineries and export pipelines are located in Sudan, leaving South Sudan dependent on good relations with its northern neighbour to ensure access to oil infrastructure.

When the south seceded, there was no agreement on the ownership and separation of the oil assets or their future management. Relations swiftly deteriorated. South Sudan accused Sudan of stealing southern crude oil from the pipelines running across the north and selling several southern export cargoes as its own. In January 2012, South Sudan unilaterally shut down its oil production to protest the alleged violations. Following a series of new agreements signed with Sudan in September 2012, southern production finally resumed in April 2013, albeit at a much lower rate. It would take until late June to refill pipelines and transport enough crude to the Red Sea oil terminal at Port Sudan for exports by South Sudan to restart.

Political tensions remained high, however. The two states continued to trade accusations of supporting activity by armed rebels in each other's territory. On June 9, Sudan gave 60-days' notice of its intention to close its pipelines to South Sudan's oil, prompting protests from the US. The African Union resumed urgent diplomatic efforts to reconcile the two states and to avert a new shutdown of South Sudan's oil production:



SOUTH SUDAN

Before shutting down its oil production in January 2012, South Sudan was producing around 320,000 barrels per day, ranking the new state as the third largest producer in sub-Saharan Africa after Nigeria and Angola. Its target on resuming production in April 2013 was to reach 200,000 b/d within a few weeks. This sharply reduced target partly reflected damage caused to oil fields in Unity State during fighting with Sudan in mid-2012, but also the difficulty of restoring full production at wells in the main oil fields in Upper Nile due to corrosion and other infrastructure problems caused by the forced closure.

The bigger, long-term challenge for South Sudan is how to maintain capacity at anything approaching past production rates without massive new investment. On current trends, South Sudan's capacity is forecast to drop below 100,000 b/d by 2020 unless there are significant new discoveries, or major investments in enhanced oil recovery (EOR) to increase recovery rates from mature producing fields.

Both of South Sudan's two crude streams – Dar Blend and Nile Blend -- are in decline, and without replacement discoveries, the country has only 1.7 billion barrels of recoverable oil remaining. Figures from the Ministry of Petroleum and Mining in Juba show Dar Blend from Upper Nile State accounts for 55% of reserves. Dar Blend will be the mainstay of future production as Nile Blend production in Unity State continues to fall, having peaked at 288,000 b/d back in 2004. On current projections, South Sudan's Nile Blend flows will have fallen below 50,000 b/d by 2015 and Dar Blend capacity will be down at around 160,000 b/d. Natural decline in some producing fields can reduce capacity by annual rates of 20% or more. EOR could increase recovery rates and reserves, but would also nearly double the production cost. This would significantly reduce financial margins, giving little incentive for fresh investment.

Any new investment to lift recovery rates would depend on the willingness to participate of two Asian national oil companies, China National Petroleum Corp. (CNPC) and Malaysia's Petronas, which are

the operators and main stakeholders in the Dar fields in Upper Nile. China is far and away South Sudan's main crude customer, with China Oil and Unipet alone lifting two-thirds of the government's entitlement crude in the seven months to January 2012. But the readiness of CNPC, its junior partner Sinopec, Petronas or India's Oil and Natural Gas Corp. (ONGC) to commit to major new upstream investment is uncertain.

The big volume sales since independence went mainly to Chinese state-controlled oil buyers but also to European trading giants Vitol and Arcadia. Switzerland-based oil trader Trafigura struck a prefinancing deal with Juba in March 2013, offering cash advances in exchange for future oil cargoes. But there is no transparency in these matters, fuelling suspicions about the possible diversion of oil revenues. According to ministry data, another 9.1% of sales went to Petronile, a joint venture between South Sudan's new state oil company Nilepet and various unidentified technical and financial investors.

The ministry marketed 33.59 million barrels from July 2011 to mid-January 2012, or roughly half of production for the period since independence, grossing \$3.37 billion for the new state. In early June 2013, South Sudan's oil minister Stephen Dhieu Dau was reported as saying that 7 million barrels had been produced since the April restart, which was estimated to be worth more than \$665 million.

Exploration and Investment

South Sudan is pushing an ambitious \$10 billion oil agenda to seal its separation from the north. Its plans centre on proposed \$3 billion-\$4 billion crude export pipelines to the Indian Ocean at Lamu in Kenya, or to the Red Sea at Djibouti via Ethiopia, plus local refineries in Unity and Upper Nile states that would sever the north's firm grip on oil processing, products and pipelines. However, given the spare capacity in the two existing pipelines that cross Sudan, the south's hopes of funding and building a separate pipeline that bypasses the north are only likely to gain traction if and when more oil is discovered.

With the main Dar Blend and Nile Blend producing blocks already thoroughly explored, Block B is the main area currently licensed for exploration -- to a group led by France's Total. US supermajor Exxon Mobil is lined up to take a 30% stake in the Block B licence if legal issues around Sudan's legacy interests in South Sudan can be settled. The vast block is considered the best hope for new discoveries as existing production declines.

However, Khartoum is contesting the seizure of state oil company Sudapet's 10% stake in the Block B licence and Juba's talk of possibly splitting the 118,000 square kilometre block into three has added further uncertainty. Block B has six basins but Total has not started any work on the ground due to the grave security situation, especially in the main Jonglei Basin which has been the scene of repeated clashes.

For exploration, the government is very keen to secure a large Western, preferably US oil major, as an upstream investment partner. South Sudan suspects China's CNPC, which operates most of its existing capacity, of being too close to Khartoum. Apart from Exxon, other leading oil companies including Royal Dutch Shell, Chevron and Marathon are all said to have eyed South Sudan's potential. The keenest interest is in the exploration prospects of Block B because it lies on the same geological trend as the oil-producing Melut and Muglad basins directly to the north. The potential 30% stake has stayed open in the licence since Marathon quit Sudan due to US sanctions in 2007.

Exxon would be a good catch for South Sudan if the negotiations are successful. The US supermajor is the operator of a 225,000 b/d export pipeline in West Africa that runs from landlocked Chad across neighbouring Cameroon to the Gulf of Guinea, and is familiar with the logistical challenges now facing South Sudan. South Sudan is geologically similar to Chad, and Exxon's upstream expertise would also be valuable.

South Sudan's credibility as an oil investment destination is riding on the outcome of the laboured discussions with Total, Exxon and other suitors, but it is sending mixed signals about its ultimate intentions. While

reserving a right to review pre-independence oil agreements, Juba has pledged to honour them. Yet it is also talking of carving Block B into three separate areas, Ba, Bb and Bc, reviving an idea that was tried before independence by the semiautonomous government, which in 2005 gave rights to a 67,500 sq km section known as Ba to UK-listed explorer White Nile Petroleum. Khartoum duly complained about the unilateral deal and Juba later conceded, forcing White Nile out in December 2008.

Another unresolved issue is Sudan's legacy interests left in the south. The main oil pact signed with Sudan in Addis Ababa on Sep. 27, 2012 prepared the ground for the eventual restart of production, but it left unresolved the legal status of the Block B license, in which Khartoum is strongly defending its residual rights, including the 10% held by state oil firm Sudapet.

Crucially for Exxon or any other party aspiring to join Total, the two Sudans continue *"to disagree and reserve their positions with regard to the consequences of secession ... on Sudapet's participating interest in Epsa [exploration and production-sharing] agreements with contract areas located in the south,"* according to the September accord.

Unless and until these issues are resolved, the status of Sudapet's interest is a potential liability for investors. Khartoum does not accept that Nilepet, the state oil company of South Sudan, can assume all -- or even part -- of Sudapet's stakes in any southern oil-producing groups. This covers Sudapet's 5% interest in Nile Blend producer GNPOC, 8% in Dar Blend producer Petrodar and 8% in WNPOC, which operates the Thar Jath field on Block 5A. Block B is the main southern exploration license but if Sudapet maintains and secures its 10% stake in the acreage, only 20% would be open for Exxon, as Kuwait's Kufpec already has 27.5% and Nilepet has 10%.

Total has held on to its 32.5% operating stake in Block B through thick and thin, fuelling some heady expectations about the area's alleged riches. Having declared *force majeure* in 1985 due to the civil war, the French major revised and renewed its Epsa (Exploration and Production

Sharing Agreement) for the block for another 25 years in late 2004, signing the new contract just days before the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement bound both sides to respect all existing contracts.

Transparency campaigners have also raised concerns about an exploration contract signed in the final months before independence for Block E, located in the northwest of the new state, with a company called Star Petroleum, based in Spain.

Competing for attention with exploration is Juba's wish list of pipelines, refineries and railroads to free South Sudan from reliance on Sudan's oil infrastructure and to reorient its economic relations towards East Africa. Despite the questions about funding and feasibility, Juba has received over 50 pipeline proposals, but is considering only four of them as potential fast-track projects either to Djibouti via Ethiopia or to Kenya, or maybe to both, priced at \$3 billion-\$4 billion each. The contenders for the construction contract include Japan's Toyota Tsusho, India's Welspun, South Korea's Hono Anton and an unidentified US firm. US company, Ventech, is in the running for a refinery in Upper Nile state and a Russian company has been linked to a refinery proposed in Unity.

Transitional Finance

Another issue is how the Addis Ababa oil pact, which also committed South Sudan to pay \$3.08 billion to Sudan as a *"transitional financial arrangement"* at a rate of \$15 per barrel of southern oil shipped, will work in practice.

While South Sudan reckons that its self-imposed oil shutdown forced Sudan to back down from its demand for transit fees of \$35 per barrel, the 15-month standoff cost the south an estimated \$7 billion in lost oil revenue, which is almost its only source of income apart from foreign aid. Juba will now be paying Sudan roughly \$10/bbl (per barrel of oil) in transport, terminal and processing fees.

But Juba also agreed to transfer to Khartoum an additional \$3 billion in transitional assistance from oil earnings over the next three and a half

years. As a result, Khartoum could be receiving \$20-\$25 from every barrel of oil sold by South Sudan until 2016-17. In the event that production volumes are lower than expected, the per barrel transfer could be even higher if Juba nonetheless honours its financial commitment. Oil-backed loans secured from China and others during the lengthy oil production shutdown will further erode South Sudan's near-term financial receipts.

A further cause for concern is that the fees agreed for transportation, processing and transit for the next 3.5 years only apply to South Sudan's government entitlement volumes, leaving Sudan to negotiate or impose terms on the operating companies for their equity share of oil production.

The actual entitlement volumes are not stated, but in 2010 Sudan's state entitlement was 58% and the operators took 42%. Sudan can invoice separately for the \$15/bbl transit fee once southern volumes are lifted from Port Sudan. If Juba should default, Sudan has the right to sell southern crude itself, which is what occurred in late 2011 when Khartoum seized several southern oil cargoes at Port Sudan, triggering South Sudan's unilateral shutdown in January 2012.

SUDAN: GOING FOR GROWTH

Sudan's oil sector has had to adjust to the loss of most of its oil production and reserves to South Sudan, but the government continues to make bullish claims about the potential for future growth. Oil Minister Awad Ahmed el-Jaz says that Sudan could more than double its crude oil production in the next two years to 300,000 barrels per day.

Khartoum ceded close to 80% of its production to South Sudan, retaining capacity of around 120,000 b/d and it is not clear what underpins the minister's exuberant numbers. *"We have our blocks and we are working hard to raise production,"* he said in October 2012, while cautioning that the 2013 target of 180,000 b/d would most likely not be achieved.



Such caution is probably prudent. Past forecasts by El-Jaz have proved over-optimistic. In 2002, he predicted that Sudan would be pumping 500,000 b/d within a couple of years, rising to 600,000 b/d in 2005. It took until November 2010 for Sudan to produce a record 500,000 b/d which was not sustainable, lasting for a few weeks only.

Sudan's current strategy centres on raising \$10 billion in transitional financial support, mainly from wealthy Gulf Arab states, while trying to kick-start oil exploration in areas previously ignored or already relinquished by CNPC, Petronas or ONGC.

State oil company Sudapet, hitherto a junior partner to the Asian operators, aims to become an operator in its own right. The national oil company will test unconventional oil plays, target natural gas potential and look to EOR. But eking out Sudan's remaining oil reserves will require huge investment in EOR, just as it will in South Sudan.

Investors remain cautious, however. Ruled by an Islamist regime still subject to US sanctions and a leader, President Omar al-Bashir, who has been indicted -- but never tried -- for war crimes by the International Criminal Court, Sudan remains a pariah state for potential Western partners. Relations with Qatar and Saudi Arabia appear warmer, but the moneyed Gulf states remain wary of investing in the country.

Nor are the incumbent Asian state oil giants showing any sign of wanting to expand their presence. In a blow to hopes of monetizing gas, CNPC and Petronas have pulled out of Red Sea exploration blocks that were regarded as the most gas-prone. A 2012 licensing round for exploration licences attracted only little-known newcomers.

The one exception with an international profile, France's Africa-focused explorer Maurel & Prom, declined to confirm or deny its participation in the licensing round. The known winners included two Australian companies, International Petroleum and Statesman Resources, Brazil's Petra Energia, Hong Kong-based Polytec Group, Express Petroleum -- which is owned by Nigeria's Dantata family -- and several local companies.

Sudapet is taking a 10%-20% interest in the licenses, which are spread around the war-torn Darfur region, the northern desert area bordering Egypt and Libya, and on- and offshore areas on the country's Red Sea coast.

When South Sudan became independent, what remained of Sudan's oil production was split roughly equally between 60,000 b/d of Nile Blend crude, produced from Blocks 2 and 4 and operated by CNPC-led GNPOC, and 60,000 b/d of much heavier crude produced from Block 6, which is operated by a joint venture of Sudapet and CNPC.

Some 250,000 b/d of Dar Blend capacity from Blocks 3 and 7 in Upper Nile was ceded to South Sudan and is now run out of Juba by Dar Petroleum, the successor to Khartoum-based Petrodar. GNPOC forecasts show a steady decline in Nile Blend on both sides of the border to 95,000 b/d by 2015, of which Sudan's share would be roughly 40,000 b/d, or a decline by one-third since 2011.

How to Grow?

Where is the proposed growth going to come from? Block 6 has potential, but its heavy, acidic crude stream is not export quality and has always been refined at Khartoum. Base capacity of 40,000 b/d has risen to 60,000 b/d in the past couple of years, but it has proved hard to sustain that volume.

In April 2011, then Sudapet President and CEO Salah Wahbi said that “*with a big effort*” the block could produce 100,000 b/d, “*the potential is there.*” Indeed, the 720 km, 24-inch pipeline from Fula to Khartoum is capable of handling 200,000 b/d if basins in the wider region, which borders conflict-ridden Darfur, should one day prove productive.

Some 4,000 b/d of new production has come on stream over the past few months from Block 17, which is close to the Fula crude production on Block 6. Block 17 is operated by the same Sudapet/CNPC joint venture as on Block 6 and is understood to have further potential. In June 2013, Sudapet data showed total national production of around 124,000 b/d.

One current Sudapet plan focuses on three small discoveries in a relinquished northern part of Block 7, judged too small by CNPC to be worth developing. But Sudapet's prospective partner, Calgary-based Emperor Oil, says it could start production from one well during 2013, trucking out the production.

Sudapet reckons unexplored sedimentary basins straddling its borders with Egypt, Chad and Libya -- Misaha, Abyad and Murdi, respectively - - also have potential. However, several explorers, including South Africa's PetroSA, have handed back licenses in the remote, northwestern region in recent years. Unconventional plays such as the Ruman High fractured basement reservoirs in the Melut Basin, the subject of a joint Sudapet/Petrovietnam technical study, are also being talked up.

Sudan is desperate for new investment to revive oil exploration as its core output declines. But prospects for big new finds in previously unfavoured areas appear limited, while US sanctions and Sudan's toxic politics are further deterrents for investors.

THE OCCUPATION OF KARKUR MURR BY THE SUDAN DEFENCE FORCE, JEBEL UWEINAT, 1934.

András Zboray

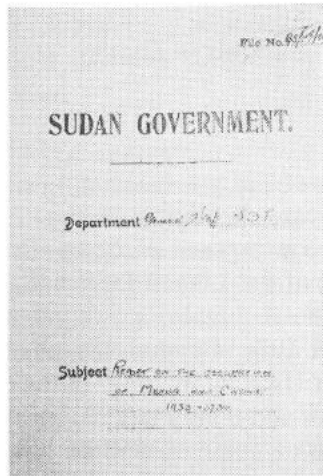
INTRODUCTION

I have become acquainted with this fascinating story over a decade ago, during one of our surveying expeditions to the very remote mountain of Uweinat, located at the convergence of the borders of Sudan, Egypt and Libya, in the very heart of the Libyan Desert (Eastern Sahara). Making the difficult climb of the mountain, we found on the summit a cairn erected by Major (later Brig. General) Ralph A. Bagnold and party during the first ascent of Uweinat in 1932. In the cairn there was a small glass jar with a few dates and a very tattered piece of paper. Back home it was possible to place together enough of the fragments to read the beginning, indicating that it was left there by a party of the No.1. Motor Machine Gun Battery of the Sudan Defence Force.

Subsequently, in the Public Records Office (now National Archives) in Kew, I have uncovered an obscure War Office report on the No. 1 MMG of the Sudan Defence Force setting up a post at Jebel Uwenat in 1934, commanded by Bimbashi (Captain) F.G.B. Arkwright. During the four months Capt. Arkwright was stationed there, he discovered a number of prehistoric rock art sites (acknowledged and partially published by the Hungarian explorer Almásy, of the *'English Patient'* fame).

I spent the next three years chasing the trail of Captain F.G.B. Arkwright, hoping that more documents or perhaps even photographs of this operation may have survived. It did not take long to find out that continuing his military career and attaining a rank of Lt. Colonel, Arkwright was sadly killed in action near El Alamein on the 1st of July, 1942, as commanding officer of the 4th County of London Yeomanry. He was awarded the MC for gallantry on active service prior to his death and the DSO posthumously. His gravesite remains unknown; he is listed on the El Alamein War Memorial.





After a number of false starts I have finally managed to find a possible link to the family, but was by no means certain when I sent off a letter to the provided address. A couple of weeks later an unexpected package arrived from Philip Arkwright, who was indeed the son of F.G.B. Arkwright as I suspected. Inside there were pages from an old photo album which fully documented the 1934 SDF operation. The photos included some never-before seen photos of Almásy and his party in Karkur Talh in 1934, as well as the only surviving photo in Libya of the noted Italian geologist, Umberto Monterin. I am forever indebted to Philip & Anthony Arkwright for sharing these wonderful family treasures with all of us, and permitting their publication.

The following is the narrative of the 1934 events at Jebel Uweinat based on files in the National Archives, illustrated by the historic Arkwright photographs.

BACKGROUND¹

The central parts of the Libyan Desert (presently referred to as Eastern Sahara) remained one of the last blank spots on the map of the globe, even after both Poles had been conquered. This vast area, equalling in size the Indian sub-continent and covering all of Egypt west of the Nile, the eastern half of Libya, and Northern Sudan west of the Nile, is the aridest large region of the planet. It only opened up to exploration in the nineteen twenties, when the appearance of motorized transport permitted the making of fully self-reliant desert journeys far beyond the endurance of the camel. By the early nineteen thirties much of the interior became known and mapped, revealed by a small band of explorers including Ralph Bagnold, Patrick Clayton and the Hungarian László Almásy.

Concurrent to these early exploration journeys, Italy was in the process of colonising Cyrenaica, the eastern part of present day Libya. By 1930 Kufra Oasis, some seven hundred kilometres to the south of the Mediterranean Sea remained the last unoccupied stronghold of the Senoussi sect who led a bloody and bitter insurgency against the Italians along the northern coast. Finally, in February 1931 the Italians captured Kufra, taking effective control of all Cyrenaica. However, the extent of that control towards the south remained undefined. The colonial powers of the time drew borders on the blank area using a ruler, and the border between Egypt and Libya was defined as the 25th East longitude. Similarly, the border between Libya and French Central Africa (incorporating present day Chad) was a diagonal line running from a point west of the Tibesti mountains towards the south east to the boundary of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. However the boundary between the A-E Sudan and Libya remained undefined. The initial Italian view was that the border ran south as an extension of the Egyptian frontier till meeting the line defined by the Italo-French treaty. The British view was that the frontier of Sudan and Egypt, defined as the 22nd Northern latitude continued west till meeting this line. This created a large triangle of disputed territory, centred on the wells of Sarra, the only feature

¹ Based on TNA London, FO 141/599/1-3

worth marking on the map of this flat featureless desert about the area of Scotland.

By early 1933 the Italians had established a permanent small military post at Ain Dua, the principal well at the south eastern corner of Uweinat, to substantiate their claim, and also occupied Sarra well, constructing airfields in both places. While the explorers of both sides had met and dined peacefully at Uweinat "*each comfortably feeling within their own rights*" (Bagnold, 1935), by the second half of 1933 the Italian diplomatic rhetoric heated up, claiming not only Jebel Uweinat and the Sarra triangle, but all country West of Longitude 27 and South to include Merga Oasis. Diplomatic negotiations were held in Rome in December, 1933, but these soon broke down. In order to substantiate the British claim in further negotiations, the Foreign Office on the 21st December requested the Sudan Government that Merga Oasis should be occupied as soon as possible, unless already held by the Italians. At the same time the Royal Air Force in Egypt was requested to make a reconnaissance and if possible occupy the Karkur Murr wells on the south eastern side of Jebel Uweinat.

THE RAF OPERATION²

While a ground based operation was being planned and prepared, to be executed by the Sudan Defence Force, RAF No. 45 Bomber Squadron based in Helwan, Egypt, was given orders to reconnoitre both Uweinat and Merga oasis, and if possible to land and occupy Karkur Murr until relieved by the SDF. In the period 11-15 January 1934, assisted by No. 216 Bomber Transport Squadron based in Heliopolis, a series of dumps were prepared south of Kharga Oasis in preparation for the flight to Uweinat.

On the 16th January, two Fairey IIIF aircraft piloted by Flying Officer A.H. Marsack and Sargent Cheese-Wright left from the last prepared dump some 70 miles to the North East of Uweinat for a reconnaissance

² Based on TNA London, FO 141/599/4

of Karkur Murr which they located after some difficulty on account of the very similar appearance of the southern wadis. Initially, a landing was made at the mouth of a wadi to the west of Karkur Murr, where no water was found. A subsequent aerial reconnaissance revealed another larger wadi further east with denser vegetation. Numerous car tracks, an Italian car and a canvas topped van were observed in the wadi. The two Fairey aircraft returned to the landing place and dump from where they departed. The next morning a Fairey IIIF and a Vickers Victoria of 216 Sqn flew to Karkur Murr, and after observing that the Italian party had left, made a successful landing at the mouth of Karkur Murr, and the lower springs were located a short distance upstream of the landing ground. The same day the other Fairey and the remaining three Victorias arrived with supplies, and a camp was set up at the western edge of the valley. No. 216 Sqn returned to Heliopolis, leaving No. 45 Sqn in occupation of Karkur Murr.

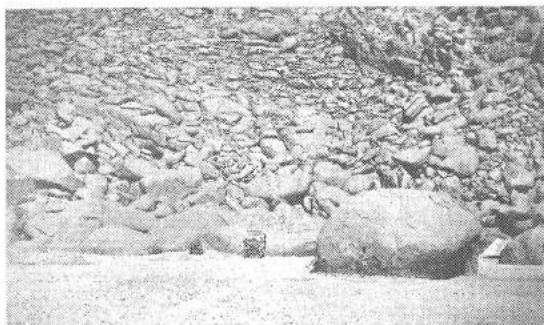
The RAF Camp was soon visited by a party of Italian officers, who invited the British party to visit the Ain Dua camp on several occasions. All these visits were very cordial and in good spirit, the Italians extending the same generous hospitality to the RAF party as to Bagnold and companions two years earlier. The question of boundaries and territories were politely left unmentioned on all occasions.



R.A.F. camp in Karkur Murr (FO 141/599/4)

THE SDF OPERATION³

On the 23rd December, 1933 the Commanding Officer of the Western Arab Corps in El Fasher was warned of the possibility that No. 2. Motor Machine Gun Battery would have to be sent to Merga Oasis. The next week it was decided that No. 1 Motor Machine Gun Battery would take over responsibility for Karkur Murr from the RAF by the 12th February 1934.

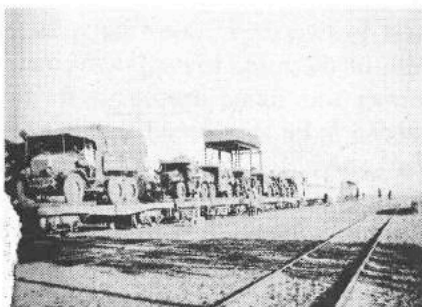
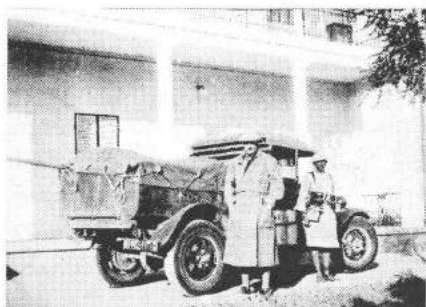


Italian camp at Ain Dua (FO 141/599/4)

³ Based on TNA London, WO 32/3535

On the 5th January No.2 Motor Machine Gun Battery under the command of Bimbashi (the equivalent of Captain) Guy L. Prendergast (*companion of Bagnold on all major expeditions, later to become O.C. L.R.D.G.*), with a wireless set and four Thornycroft lorries left El Fasher towards Merga. The following day an RAF flight made a reconnaissance of Bir Natrun and Merga oases, and reported no living thing seen. However, No. 2 M.M.G. Battery experienced constant troubles with the Thornycroft lorries becoming stuck in the soft sand, and was forced to turn back towards Wadi Halfa.

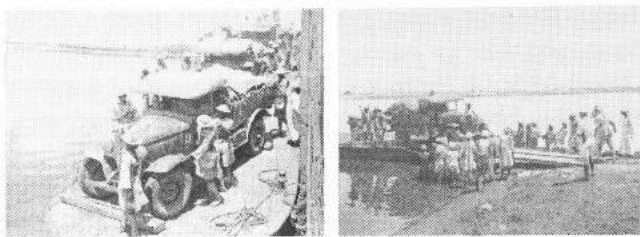
On the 13th January, No. 1 M.M.G. Battery under the command of Bimbashi F.G.B. Arkwright left Khartoum by train to Wadi Halfa (on the Nile near the border with Egypt), with revised orders to attempt to reach Merga via Laqiya Oasis, in light of the difficulties experienced by No. 2 M.M.G. Battery. Wadi Halfa was reached the next day.



- 1) F.G.B. Arkwright in Khartoum prior to departure
- 2) No.1. M.M.G. Battery loaded on the Sudan Railways train to Wadi Halfa

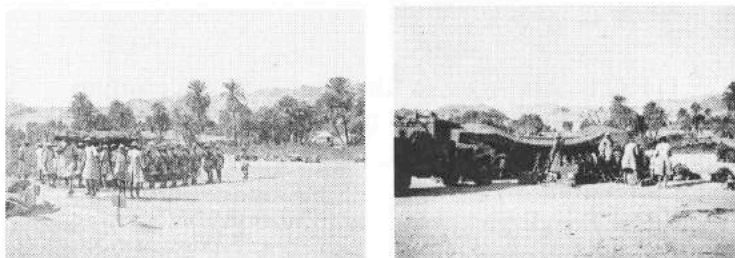
In the meantime Prendergast was able to re-organise his transport with reduced loads and personnel, sending the unusable Thornycrofts back to El Fasher. By the 15th January No.2 M.M.G. Battery reached Bir Natrun, and on the 17th was on the outskirts of Merga. Nevertheless

No.1. M.M.G. Battery was still tasked with opening up an alternate supply route to Merga via Laqiya before progressing with its main task of occupying Uweinat.

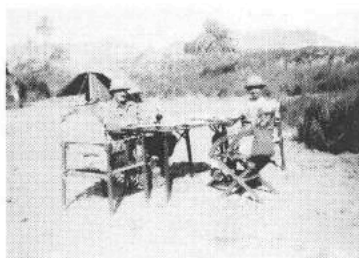


No. 1. M.M.G. Battery crossing the Nile at Wadi Halfa (16th or 17th January)

No. 1 M.M.G. Battery left the west bank of the Nile at Wadi Halfa on the 17th January, and reached Selima Oasis some 80 miles to the south west in two days. Over the next ten days a reconnaissance was made both of the route towards Uweinat, and the route to Laqiya Oasis. The former was found unsuitable for the Thornycroft lorries, two of which needed to be abandoned and salvaged the next day. The route to Merga via Laqiya was found to be impractical, as no descent could be found down the escarpment into Laqiya Oasis. Following this unsuccessful attempt, a number of days were spent at the Selima advance base to perform maintenance of the vehicles.



No. 1. M.M.G. Battery at Selima Oasis



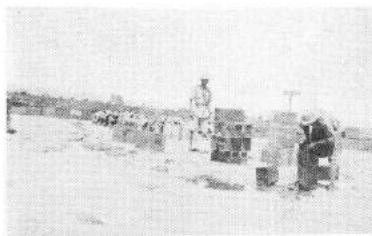
F.G.B. Arkwright (left) at Selima Oasis

On the 29th January Mr. Sweeting of the Sudan Survey joined the Battery with a maintenance convoy from Wadi Halfa, tasked with navigating the column to Jebel Uweinat.



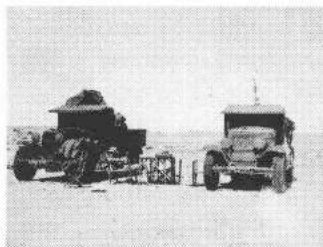
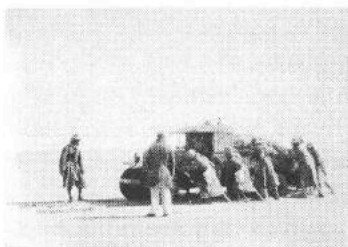
Navigating Officer Sweeting

On the 30th January Arkwright and Sweeting set out with a number of Battery cars and a Thornycroft lorry to set up an advance petrol dump half way to Uweinat. The Thornycroft became stuck in soft sand several times, and ultimately was abandoned, to be picked up on the return journey. JENA dump was eventually established at approximately 21.51 North 27.20 East along the eastern edge of a line of barchan dunes, with a store of 1,260 gallons of petrol, and the Battery returned to Selima on the 1st February.



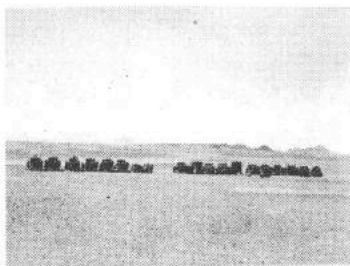
JENA dump

After further repairs and overhaul of the vehicles, No. 1 M.M.G. Battery finally left Selima for its objective, Uweinat, on the 6th February. Having successfully navigated the gap in the dunes West of JENA, the Battery crossed the flat sand sheet. Going was difficult, the cars stuck continuously in patches of soft sand.

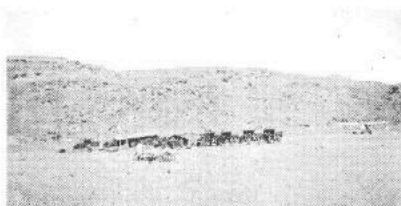
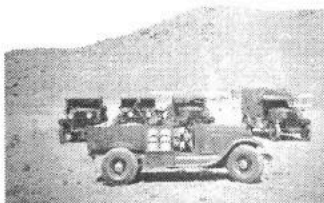


Across the sand sheet towards Uweinat

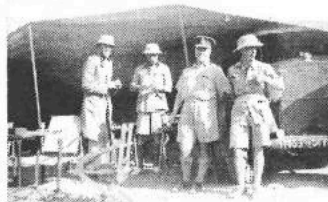
Despite the difficulties, the Battery reached Jebel Uweinat on the 9th February, and made camp next to the R.A.F. landing ground at the entrance of Karkur Murr.



No. 1. M.M.G. Battery in sight of Uweinat



Arriving at Karkur Murr (note parked R.A.F. aircraft in the background)



Sweeting, Bimbashi Arkwright, Flying Officer Marsack & unidentified officer

On the 14th February No. 45 Squadron left Karkur Murr for Helwan, leaving No.1 M.M.G. Battery in occupation. At this point the SDF Operations Diary ends, and it is only the Arkwright photographs that document the remainder of the operation. Clearly one activity to keep

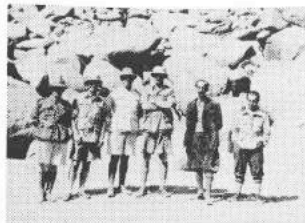
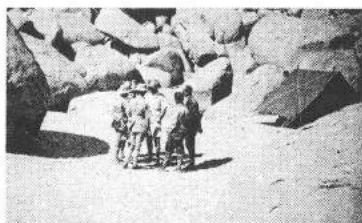
the men busy was to develop the camp, clearing areas of rocks and building paths, and eventually several rectangular stone structures were built up. The evolution of the campsite may be well followed in Arkwright's photographs.

The water supply was organised from the upper spring in Karkur Murr, Ain Murr, as the water from the lower springs next to the camp (Ain Brins, the well of the 'prince', named after Prince Kemal el Din who made camp here in 1925) is brackish and of a limited quantity. The water from Ain Murr is excellent and reliable. However, the spring, located under a large rock, may only be reached after an arduous trek of about an hour scrambling over large boulders in the steep section of the valley.



Inscription of No.1 M.M.G. Battery on the rock at Ain Murr

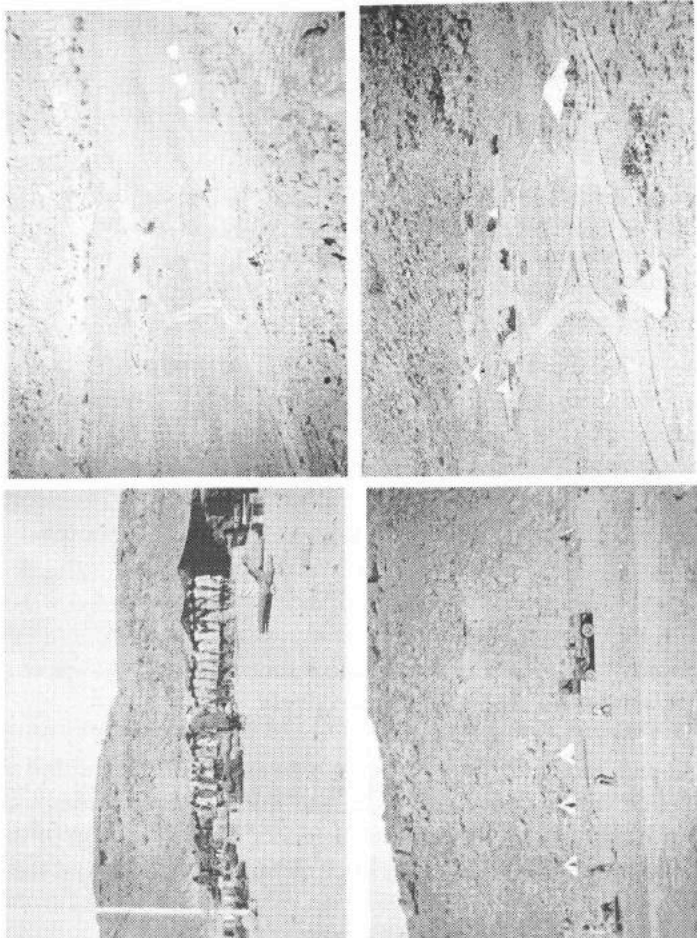
Arkwright and the other officers had been visited by the Italian party, and had been invited in return to visit the Italian camp at Ain Dua and other valleys at the western side of the mountain. On one such visit they met Major Ottavio Rolle, the commander of the Italian forces and administration in Kufra, as well as Umberto Monterin, a noted geologist from the University of Torino, and Renato Tedeschi, geographer from the University of Rome, who conducted a survey at Uweinat. Arkwright's photo is the only surviving one showing Monterin in Libya.



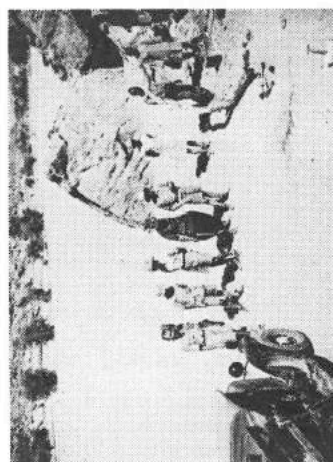
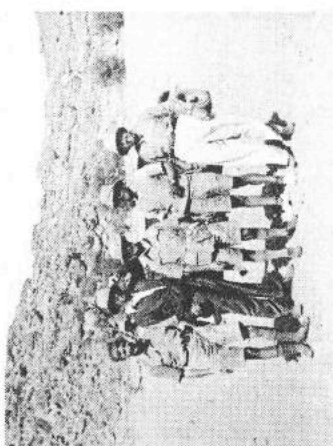
Meeting Rolle and Monterin at Ain Dua. 2nd Photo left to right:
Lt. Terabini, Sgt. O'Neill, Major Ottavio Rolle, Arkwright, Umberto
Monterin, Renato Tedeschi

In March 1934 the Hungarian Almásy led a group of Egyptian and expatriate notables to the Gilf Kebir and Jebel Uweinat under the auspices of the Royal Egyptian Automobile Club. During a short stay at Karkur Talh, Almásy met with Arkwright, who apparently visited the camp of the Almásy party accompanied by Italian officers. Almásy records (1936) that he made several long treks into wadis beyond Karkur Mur on the south side of the mountain accompanied by Arkwright, where they found a large slab with numerous engravings. Arkwright also showed Almásy a rock shelter with paintings that he discovered at Jebel Kissu. Almásy copied and reproduced this site (not too accurately), giving Arkwright full credit for the discovery.

Arkwright and another officer also made an ascent of the summit of Jebel Uweinat with a number of Sudanese soldiers, as attested by their note left in Bagnold's cairn. Fortunately other records remain of this ascent, including four photographs documenting the climb and the party on the summit.

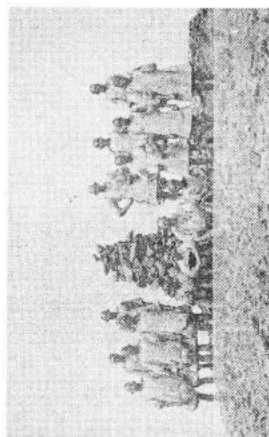
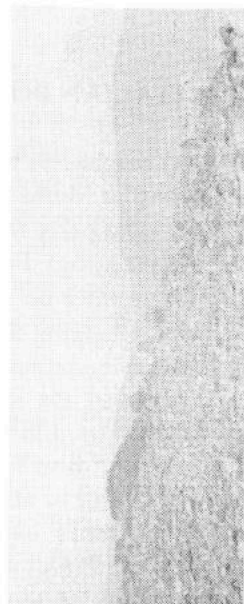
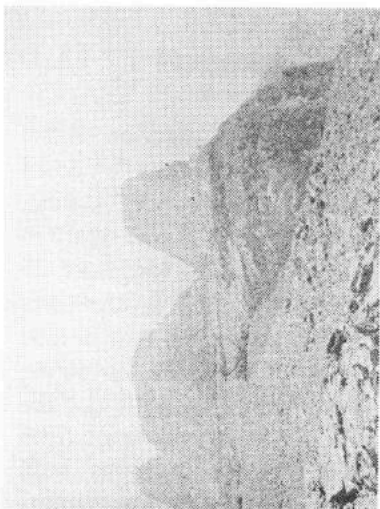


Evolution of the Karkur Murr camp



At the Almásky camp in Karkur Talh:

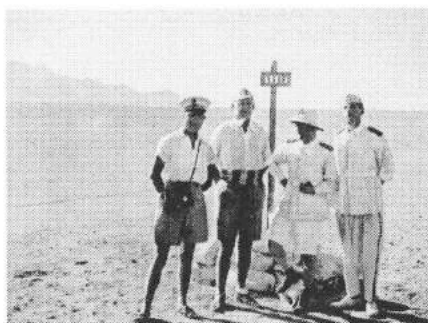
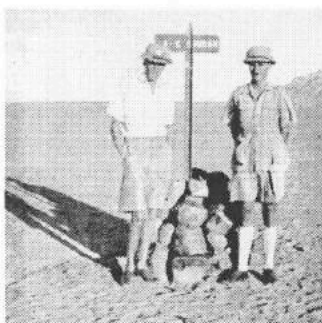
- 1) With Italian and British officers, Almásky on left
- 2) Almásky, Heinrich Heller, Sgt. O'Neill, Hans-Joachim von der Esch, Prince Abd el Moneim
- 3) Below, Almásky photographing the engravings behind the camp
- 4) Almásky with camera in centre, note Chanti bottle on table



Ascent of the Peak

THE ANGLO-ITALIAN BOUNDARY COMMISSION⁴

In July 1934, Arkwright left Uweinat for a well earned vacation on the Mediterranean coast at Mersa Matruh. He passed command to Bimbashi E.T. Wyatt (who led a party to the peak of Uweinat on the 12th August, as attested by the peak log). Following the signing of the Rome treaty in August fixing the frontier between Libya and Sudan along longitude 25 East (Britain acknowledging that it could enforce any claim on the Sarra triangle), a boundary commission was formed, led from the British side by Wyatt, and Colonel De Agostini from the Italian side. Sweeting returned to Uweinat to join the Commission, which marked out the border with a series of iron boundary posts spaced 1.5 kms apart from the foothills of Uweinat to abeam Jebel Kissu. Two photographs (both taken with De Agostini's camera) were published in "*L'illustrazione Italiana*" (Vol. LXI, 7 October 1934) showing both the British and Italian team members at a newly erected boundary post (positively identifying Sweeting on the Arkwright photographs).



- 1) Sweeting and Wyatt
- 2) The Italian party, De Agostini in right centre (with Jebel Kissu in background)

⁴ Based on TNA London, FO 141/599/4

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GREAT AUNT ADA WAS THERE!

Trinkitat, 1884

Ray Meynink

Ada Leslie wrote this letter from 30, Vernon Terrace, Brighton on April 12th 1884 after her return from India.



Ada E Leslie

My Dearest Pollie,

I have been longing to write to you since my return to England, but so many things have prevented me doing so before, we all caught bad colds while we were in Egypt, and coming home in March, as we did, the cold winds prevented our getting well as quickly as we might otherwise have done.

We left Bombay on February the 8th in the Troopship 'Jumna'. We had on board the 10th Hussars, the Battery of Artillery and drafts from other Regiments.

Our departure was rather touching. The men cheered for Home, the bands played Home Sweet Home, and nearly all the ladies wept, but only for a little while. We soon began to shake down and make ourselves at home. We were only coasting for the next twenty-four hours. The following day we reached a place called Vingorla, here we took the 89th Regiment on board.

There is no harbour or proper landing place there, but it was a very pretty sight to see the rough Indian boats crowded with soldiers looking with such eager eyes to the ship that was to take them home. They had their own band with them playing. The band of the 10th was playing on board to give them a good welcome. Poor things, some of them looked so ill. The Regiment had been out in India for fourteen years.

We were in quarantine from Bombay, so according to regulations had to be at sea sixteen days before reaching Aden, but we were having such a merry time on board, nobody seemed in a hurry to reach that Port what with Concerts, Sports, Entertainment's, music and Dancing, the time passed away so quickly. On the 14th we had great fun as all the ladies received Valentines – and of course all the Officers pretend perfect ignorance. Then there was great excitement caused by the Colonel and Officers of the 10th sending out cards of invitation for a Fancy Dress Ball to take place the night we reached Aden. This however never came off.

It was a few hours before we came in sight of port that we first got the news that the 'Jumna' was set to go to Suakin to disembark troops. A transport came out to meet us. We had to make all possible speed, go into port and take on tents and ammunition.

After a delay of two days at Aden we were sent on to Suakin, where we arrived four days later. It is a strange looking old town, being then

quite deserted by the inhabitants since Baker Pasha's defeat. A great many Marines had already arrived, also the Admiral's ship the 'Sphinx'. As soon as possible after our arrival the 10th landed. Then came days and days of waiting.

At last came a telegram from London saying that we were to embark both the Regiments and go on to Trinkitat. This was a journey of a few hours only. On our arrival they both landed at once, but the 89th still remained on board for nearly a week – until one night they too had orders to disembark at 6 a.m. the following morning. Later on in the day we saw them take a Fort, ten miles away, (through glasses).

By this time there were 16 Troopships and Transports there. The 'Orontes' lying next to us had been fitted up as a Hospital Ship. Then came the Engagement at El-Teb, I ought to add that the day before this the weaker mortals, (women, children and invalids) had all been transferred to the 'Serapis' as it had been decided to send us all home, the 'Jumna' being wanted for the wounded. This was a great disappointment to the wives of Officers and men as naturally they wished to remain. However we were the Victims of War, and under Military discipline, as we were more than once reminded, when the spirit of rebellion got abroad.

Before we left Trinkitat we heard that Major Slade and other equally well known on board, had been killed. Of course this news by no means cheered those who were leaving dear ones behind. The 'Serapis' was very much crowded before us 'Jumna' people were transferred to her. All the ladies cabins being filled, from the 'Jumna' there were 28 ladies and 26 children and 180 soldiers, wives and children. The only available cabins were below watermark in a place they called Pandemonium, (Hell).

To give us these, 30 Officers going home on leave, turned out and slept in the men's quarters. But oh the heat down there was fearful. I know perfectly well we should be ill before we got to England. And I also

know that Colonel Morton would rather pay any money than we should be uncomfortable.

So at Suez we left the 'Serapis' for P&O SS 'Icatia' (?) and went through the Canal to Port Said. Here we changed to 'Niyai' (?) for Marseilles, arriving there a week later. We came overland by way of Paris and Calais.

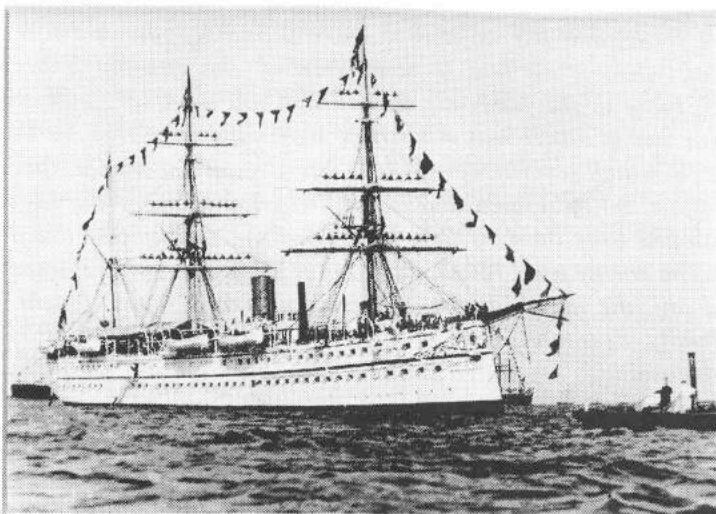
Believe me, Your loving cousin, A E Leslie.

So reads one of the letters written by Ada E Leslie to my great grand mother, Mary Ann (aka Pollie) Galsworthy, as Miss Ada Leslie travelled the world in her employment as a domestic nurse, governess and ladies companion. Ada was Godmother to my grandmother, Ada Read (née Galsworthy). In the Victorian era employment for ladies was limited, and tended towards genteel occupations such as governesses and paid companions, Ada Leslie's life was somewhat more exciting and interesting than most of those employed in a similar situation as she describes in the 52 known letters written to Pollie over the next 11 years.

Her first letter to Pollie, written in November 1883, was sent from her parent's home in south west London, telling of the exciting news that she is going to India - and so her travels begin. The census of 1881² shows she was born in Stoke Newington, Middlesex and was employed as a domestic nurse. Ada spent a month travelling to India to work for Colonel Morton, an Indian Army Staff Officer, on a two year engagement. She was to live with Mrs Morton, who was pregnant³, presumably to nurse her and the new baby. Just before Ada landed, Mrs Morton gave birth to twins; but sadly all three died from dysentery. The Colonel then asked Ada to take his two older daughters back to England. The displayed letter ends Ada's saga in India and her brief adventure off the coast of Africa. Her further adventures around Europe, when she was employed by the Prussian Royal Family, are thoroughly described in her letters, faithfully transcribed and now published on the Internet by my cousins, Francis Barnard and his sister Jane⁴, but that is another story.

During her employment with the Prussian Royal Family, Ada was being courted by Reginald Castle⁵. He had joined the Indian Civil Service in May 1884, eventually joining the Burma Police, where he served for just over 30 years. Reginald and Ada ultimately married in 1894 and went to live in Prome, in what we used to call Burma. Ada's final known letter to Pollie tells of her marriage. Mr Castle was by then, at least, an Assistant District Superintendent of Police, 1st Class in charge of an area the size of Yorkshire. Ada and Reginald had a daughter, Josephine, who remained unmarried. Ada died in 1911, having led a very interesting and exciting life during her 50 years on this earth⁶. Reginald retired in October 1914 as District Superintendent of Police, 2nd Grade. He outlived Ada by 35 years, dying in 1945.

Ada arrived at Trinkitat on the troopship *Jumna*, one of five troopships, all built in 1866, by the British Navy for the Indian Government, and subsequently used by generations of soldiers on their journeys to and from the Indian sub-continent. These five steamships, *Crocodile*, *Euphrates*, *Jumna*, *Malabar* and *Serapis*, specially designed for trooping, could accommodate a full battalion of infantry with its married families, or about 1,200 persons. Their dimensions were planned so that they could pass through the Suez Canal, which was then being built. The *Euphrates*'s livery was white with a blue riband round the hull and yellow funnel. The others were similar but had differently coloured ribands for differentiation: *Jumna* red, *Crocodile* yellow, *Malabar* black, and *Serapis* green. The Indian Government was paying for their upkeep so a golden "Star of India" was shown on either bow⁷. By all accounts, they were fine looking barque rigged screw ships, creating a maximum speed of 14 knots under steam, with heavy masts and yards. All five were built to a design of 360ft overall length by about 49ft breadth, *Malabar* being slightly smaller than the others.



HMS Serapis

When a naval officer, Henry Fleet, joined *Serapis* as a Second Lieutenant in March 1881, he felt troopships of the Euphrates class were becoming out of date, '*the only people comfortably accommodated were the naval officers and crew*'. He served on *Serapis* until mid 1885, and was thus present at Trinkitat during the battle. In his memoirs, Henry writes,

'Baker's catastrophe occurred in February, 1884. The 'Serapis' was then on her way home from Bombay with the York and Lancaster Regiment (late 65th) on board, and off Trinkitat we were stopped by a cruiser and sent in. We found a small army there, among others the Black Watch, the 60th Rifles, Marines and Naval Brigade, for cavalry, the well-known 10th Hussars: so the 65th was a welcome addition with its seasoned soldiers.' Lieutenant Fleet goes on to say,

'Two days after, on the 27th of February, 1884, the whole force, under General Sir Gerald Graham, moved out and fought the battle of El-Teb. Several of us got permission to accompany the force, which marched in

a square formation, but we had to leave it and remain in a fort three miles out, whence we had a good view of the ensuing battle. The 'Sphinx', lying in the harbour, opened the ball with shrapnel, but the range got too great. It was a stirring sight, and a charge by the 10th Hussars (in which several were killed) afforded an uncommon spectacle. In this affair the tribesmen laid down and tried to spear the horses as they galloped over them, if they succeeded the rider stood but a poor chance. The enemy used round shot, and it was very curious to see them rebound off the hard desert like cricket balls. They fought most determinedly. Eventually they were driven off with a loss of 1,500 killed. Our own casualties amounted to about 120.'

Another frequent traveller to and from India, travelling on this class of troopship, this time a soldier, Edward May⁹, writes;

'In those days little in the way of comfort was extended to officers' wives, especially those of juniors, and the accommodation for officers was by no means luxurious. The place where the subalterns lived, down below, was called "Pandemonium"; I shared a small cabin with two other Captains in a part called the "Horse-boxes" in the centre of the ship, where you could not see except by artificial light, for there was no porthole or access to the open air, and what air you breathed had been breathed before by someone else.'

No wonder Ada was worried about the comfort of her two small charges on the next stage of their voyage. Edward had travelled out to India on the *Crocodile*, some years before, but returned home in February 1885, almost one year after Ada's journey to Trinkitat, on the same troopship, the *Jumna*, and reminisced about the battle that Ada witnessed,

'On a voyage not quite a year before the very ship we were in had been called upon to stop at Suakin and land the 10th Hussars and other troops who were being conveyed home. These troops went into the fight soon after leaving the ship and almost in sight of her executed a memorable charge at the battle of El-Teb on February 29th. In that charge "Monty" Slade, the brother of Jack and "Keggy" Slade of my regiment and old friends of mine, was killed.'

Ada then tells us *Jumna* became a hospital ship and all the weaker mortals from the *Jumna* were transferred to the *Serapis* for a very crowded journey to Suez, where Ada arranges to transfer her two charges to a more pleasant onward journey on a Peninsular & Oriental Steam Navigation vessel, SS *Icatia* to Port Said, then on SS *Niyaia*¹⁰ for Marseilles. Presumably Lieutenant Fleet would have been aboard the *Serapis* for the short journey made by Ada and her charges. Colonel Rogers¹¹ confirms the transfer to *Serapis*. He says,

'The day after the battle of El-Teb the families had been transferred to the 'Serapis' and departed for England; no doubt to the relief of their menfolk, for wives and warfare are not a satisfactory mixture.'

Many of the items in Ada's letter are validated by Colonel Rogers who comments that,

'The 10th Hussars were the first British troops to disembark at Suakin. On 6th February 1884 the regiment embarked at Bombay on board the troopship 'Jumna', commanded by Captain Uvedale Singleton, RN. The "Tenth" at any rate liked the 'Jumna', for it is recorded that there was considerable enthusiasm in the regiment at finding itself embarking in the same ship which had brought it out to India eleven years before. M-I Battery, Royal Artillery, was also embarked at Bombay, and then the 'Jumna' sailed down the coast to Vingorla to take on board the 2nd Battalion, The Royal Irish Fusiliers. The ship then left for Aden. Approaching Aden she was intercepted by the dispatch vessel 'Amberwitch' and directed to call at the port for orders. The ship entered the harbour and the troops learned that they were to take on board camp equipment and to disembark at Suakin, a prospect of active service which was received with delight. Owing to quarantine regulations no one was allowed ashore or on board the ship. The troops, therefore, had to do all the loading and coaling. The coaling was done exclusively by the 10th Hussars, and it may well have been the only occasion in history when a troopship has been coaled by soldier passengers.'

We need to know a little more about the people and events that led to Ada and the young Morton's diverting to Trinkitat. In 1881 Mohammad Ahmed appeared on the scene claiming to be the Mahdi, the direct successor of the Prophet Mohammad, and led many successful campaigns against Egyptian forces until his death in June 1885. We are concerned with the disastrous defeat of General Baker's forces at El-Teb, near Trinkitat, on the 4th February 1884. The Mahdist forces were led by Osman Digna, of the Hadendoa tribe of the Beja people, reputed to have been born in Suakin, and the Mahdi's most able General. Hardly more than a quarter of Baker's original force fled back to Trinkitat, embarking under the protection of the guns of the British ships lying offshore. Most of the weapons were left behind after the battle: 3000 rifles, two machine guns and four field guns fell into Beja hands. Within a few days, all the small garrisons in the nearby towns were overrun and had fallen into their hands, and Suakin was threatened. Control of these Red Sea towns was critical as they represented an alternative route across to Berber, on the Nile and thence to Khartoum. The distance from Suakin to Berber was 250 miles across the desert, whilst it was at least 1000 miles from Cairo to Berber along the Nile.

Colonel Valentine Baker, younger brother of Sir Samuel Baker, had earlier commanded the 10th Hussars before he had been cashiered from the British Army and imprisoned for an indiscretion with a young lady in a railway carriage. He had recently accepted command of the Egyptian Gendarmerie, as the post of commander of the Egyptian Army had been given elsewhere. In Suakin, Baker Pasha had managed to assemble about 3000 quasi soldiers from the Egyptian gendarmerie of an utterly nondescript character. The force was shipped to Trinkitat to attempt the relief of Tokar. His men were perfectly useless; in the 1st battle at El-Teb, they fell on their knees and begged for mercy from Osman Digna's men. It was hardly a battle, it was butchery. Mr John Macdonald, the special correspondent of the *London Daily News* was present at the 1st battle and sent fully dated telegrams describing the defeat, back to London. An early dispatch, which he sent from Baker Pasha's Advance Camp stated, '*Advance Camp, four miles south of Trinkitat. Sunday - On the 2nd February three battalions occupied this*

*post, constructing a strong fort with outworks in three hours*¹² This fort, subsequently called Fort Baker, was a strong earth-work crowning the crest of the ridge where the sea-shore flats ended and the mimosa bush-covered plain began. It had a deep trench all around, and a thick parapet, which would have made it easily defensible by a company of sound troops, against hordes of ill-armed warriors. It was probably not more than two-and-three quarter miles (5 km) from Trinkitat, as the crow flies, but much of the route was vile, leading through sea-ooze and mud; one can easily comprehend why anybody who crossed from Trinkitat to Fort Baker might estimate the distance at from two to ten miles (4-15 km). This must have been the fort Ada saw the 89th capture¹³. Her concept of distance (10 miles to 4 miles) is a little high, even through glasses, and given the flat and featureless terrain inland. What Macdonald says, of course, refers to travel on foot.

On the 12th February 1884 a debate in the House of Commons revealed a strong feeling for immediate intervention, which was supported by both the Queen and the public, and it was decided to send Sir Gerald Graham VC at once to Suakin with an army of British regulars. The joys of the telegraph! A signal is sent to Admiral Hewitt, who is commanding at Suakin, to mount a limited campaign. The troops gather at Trinkitat and Suakin. General Graham travels from Cairo, with part of the garrison there; Ada, the troopships *Jumna* and *Serapis* from India, and other troops and sailors from Aden and Malta. Ada fails to describe Trinkitat in her letter, other than to comment that there were 16 troopships and transports there. Bennet Burleigh, War Correspondent of the *London Daily Telegraph*, sailed there post haste when the details of Baker Pasha's defeat reached London, and arrived at about the same time as Ada, also passing through Suakin en route. He faithfully dates and describes his experiences during the second battle at El-Teb, and the subsequent desert campaign¹⁴. He describes the roadstead:

'The harbour is termed on the Admiralty charts "Tring-hatah," and is large enough to accommodate thirty or forty big steamers. It is completely land-locked, and there is good anchorage and deep water close inshore. There being no fresh water near, and the route to the

interior difficult, the port is very little used even by the Arabs, and neither house nor hut marks the place. The nearest wells are at El-Teb, eight miles inland. It was on Trinkitat's coral sand that General Baker and his force disembarked.'

Less than three weeks after Baker Pasha's retreat, Ada found General Graham and his force disembarking on the same shore. There were practical difficulties of landing troops, horses and stores over the coral reefs here. The Royal Engineers had to erect suitable piers to facilitate landing as well as constructing tanks to hold the water that had to be condensed from the Red Sea that was critical for the large number of men and animals landing. At least the men had the sea to bathe in. It seems there were tropical rain downpours every night whilst the disembarkation took place and the signallers had not been able to utilise the heliograph from absence of sun¹⁵. On the evening before the 2nd battle, the whole force was assembled at Fort Baker, the 65th having waded the lagoon immediately on their arrival. Towards morning heavy rain fell, drenching the men, but the fires which had been kept up all night were heaped higher, and clothes dried as well as possible before the start, which was made at 8 o'clock¹⁶. (It is surprising that Ada did not remark on the rain while she was there). Once ashore, there was a long causeway across the tidal harbour and salt lakes to the firm ground further inland. It is said that this causeway was built by prison labour before 1884 to enable cotton grown in the area to be shipped out. This is shown on a map compiled by Henry Gunston, a railway enthusiast, in his book about the Tokar – Trinkitat light railway¹⁷. This is the best map, apart from Admiralty charts, I have so far found. Henry writes, '*an 18in gauge line which ran for some 7ml to water wells at El-Teb, built in 1896 under Egyptian military supervision, but later abandoned*', so has no bearing on our story; but it is interesting that I have found no mention of this causeway, on which the railway was built, in any of the contemporary reports of the two engagements at El-Teb. It is probable that this causeway was destroyed by so much traffic, as Bennet Burleigh continues,

*'My next telegram was as follows: Trinkitat, Feb. 28. Three new jetties have been built by the Engineers to facilitate the landing of stores. Yesterday and to-day a stream of mules and camels flowed, without intermission, from Trinkitat to Fort Baker, carrying water and ammunition. The animals floundered through the muddy marsh separating us from the high ground of the fort. The interval of morass resembles Essex Flats. Here the soldiers, divested of their shoes and stockings, helped the tired animals along. Last night's orders direct the expedition to start for Fort Baker this afternoon and bivouac there, advancing upon El-Teb on Friday. The road from Trinkitat to Fort Baker was a difficult one at the best of times, but what little bottom there was in it had long been trodden out by the countless hoofs of horses, mules, and camels going over it.'*¹⁸

On her voyage from Bombay, Ada had got to know Major Slade, perhaps she had received a Valentine from him. What a pity the Fancy Dress Ball never came off when they reached Aden. Major Montagu Maule Slade¹⁹ was from a military family, his father, a General, had died, but "Monty" had two living brothers, who both eventually became Generals. His elder brother became Major-General Sir John Ramsay (Jack) Slade, but his younger sibling, Frederick George Slade, retired a Lieutenant-General in the Royal Artillery. Captain "Keggy" Slade²⁰ of the Egyptian army was on General Graham's Staff as assistant intelligence officer, so was also involved in the battle. *'The works at the village were taken by a company of the Gordon Highlanders, led by Captain Slade of the Egyptian Army.'*²¹ Colonel Haggard says that "Keggy" Slade is now so well known in the British army that his nickname alone is quite sufficient if mentioned in a club or a mess. Major "Monty" was also referred to in fiction. G A Henty²², the Victorian novelist and journalist mentions the battle at El-Teb and Major Slade's death in chapter 7 of his book - *"The Dash for Khartoum, A Tale of the Nile Expedition"*, one of his 80 historical stories for boys. Henty's novel is based on historical fact, but from reading Ada's letter it is clear that some of his facts are not entirely correct, which does not detract from Henty's yarn. Mr Cameron, the special correspondent of the *Standard*, reporting on Major Slade's death says,

*'Major Slade, 10th Hussars, as fine a soldier and of as fine a family of soldiers as ever breathed, fell mortally wounded. His horse was found hamstrung to the bone, its gallant rider close beside it pierced with seven spear wounds.'*²³ Mr Cameron also commented on the Sudanese forces in the battle, comparing the disciplined²⁴ British Force of some 4,000 men under General Graham and some 10,000 Arabs, led by Osman Digna. *'It is impossible not to express one's admiration for the dauntless pluck and unconquerable bravery displayed by these poor ignorant Sudanese with their shield and spears. All the correspondents of the London papers express their wonder at their courage.'*

The 10th Hussars, all on the *Jumna* with Ada, under Colonel Wood were originally instructed to land at Suakin to protect the port, which was of vital importance, whilst the 89th were to form part of the infantry brigade commanded by Sir Redvers Buller to relieve Tokar. Later the 10th Hussars joined the 19th Hussars and other cavalry at Trinkitat, as General Graham felt that an attack was the best form of defence²⁵. As they were in transit, the 10th were mounted on the horses of the Egyptian Gendarmerie, slightly smaller and not so well trained as the chargers they were used to²⁶. Baker Pasha had been given reluctant permission to join the British force as Intelligence Officer, so was pleased to see his old unit in action during the battle²⁷, where he was severely wounded in the face. Michael Asher writes,

*'It brought a lump to Baker's throat to see his old regiment, the 10th Hussars, among the cavalry contingent. They had been diverted on their way home from India. They were only three hundred strong, and at Suakin had taken over the mounts of Baker's gendarmerie. Later, Baker sent their CO, Lieut. Colonel Edward Wood, a proprietorial note saying that he hoped to see them in action.'*²⁸

'Transport ships clustered in the still seas around Trinkitat on the morning of 26 February – 'Hecla', 'Dryad', 'Briton', and Billy Hewett's flagship, 'Euryalus', 'Orontes', 'Teddington', 'Jumna', the fast gunboat 'Sphinx'. The condenser-ships 'Tor' and 'Teb al-Bahr' were also in evidence, producing twelve thousand gallons of drinking water per day.

*British Tommies stripped to their shirt-sleeves to help the bluejackets unload the endless stream of stores. The Black Watch and the Royal Irish Fusiliers accompanied patrols of the 19th Hussars and a camel-mounted artillery battery, in securing the country as far as Fort Baker. The fort was refurbished with barbed-wire entanglements and protected by a Krupp gun.*²⁹

On the day before the battle, Ada and all the “lesser mortals” were transferred to the *Serapis*, ‘On the night of 28 February, Graham’s force bivouacked at Fort Baker. At 20:00 hours that night the men were roused by the sound of tramping feet and rose to witness the arrival of the 1st Battalion, the York & Lancaster Regiment (65th). They had been in Aden on their way back to Blighty after a thirteen-year tour in India, and had been diverted to Trinkitat on ‘*Serapis*’ to join the fray. They were still dressed in their tropical khaki drill and wore the out-dated white pouch equipment of the Indian army, with their bedrolls slung across their shoulders. The rest of the force cheered as they marched in.

³⁰

Early on the 29th (how many other battles have been fought on this day in a leap year?), the British “square” formed and began marching towards El-Teb, where the previous conflict had taken place, supported by the 10th and 19th Hussars. As the troops neared the wells, they found they were “scrunching” through the relics of the previous fight, as Burleigh, who marched with the “square” comments, ‘*their bodies studded the route to Teb, lying about in hundreds, polluting the air. Swarms of lazy carrion birds flew off on our approach.*’³¹

The dervishes opened fire with their Remingtons, but the enemy were still out of range. This new lot of ‘Turks’³² looked at a distance very little different from the others they had sent packing. Like them, they would not stand up to the sheer ferocity of a Beja charge. Closer up, though, the tribesmen noticed that the troops in the front rank of the square wore green-coloured skirts instead of trousers, grey tunics instead of white, and bucket-like white helmets instead of tarbooshes. They also moved in a jaunty, loose-limbed fashion, almost as if they were enjoying

themselves, carrying their rifles at the shoulder with bayonets fixed, marching to the strange skirling wail of pipes. These were the men of the 1st Battalion, the Gordon Highlanders - the Beja's first ever sight of British infantry.³³ This would confirm the rumour that had been reported earlier to Osman Digna by a spy watching the kilted troops disembarking. The spy reported, *'After the previous massacre, the 'Turks' were now sending their women into battle!'*

The force advancing from Trinkitat encountered the enemy in a position on the rising ground overlooking the wells of El-Teb. The subsequent action, in which the enemy suffered a crushing defeat, could be seen by the married families from the deck of the *Jumna*. This must have been a harrowing experience for the wives of the 10th Hussars, though Admiral Sir William Hewitt, who visited the Regiment after the battle, sent a signal from his flagship to the *Jumna* giving the names of all those whom he had seen uninjured.³⁴

The last signal which concerns us is one sent by Admiral Hewett to the Admiralty from Suakin on the 1st March 1884, *"Serapis' left this morning for Suez with all women and children. Everything has been arranged for conveying the wounded across the lagoon, and boats to take them on board the 'Orontes'".*³⁵ Now Ada went on to further adventures.x

[Trinkitat is some 100 km (62 miles) south of Suakin, Ed]

NOTES

¹ The 89th were also called, using the newly introduced territorial name, the 2nd Royal Battalion Irish Fusiliers.

² During the 1881 census Ada was living at 154 Denmark Hill, Lambeth, and working for a ship owner called John Riley. Possibly his ships gave her the idea of travelling! The census shows her as: Ada E. Leslie: Unmarried: age 21: Female: Born: Stoke Newington, Middlesex, England: Relationship (to John Riley): Servant: Occupation: Nurse Domestic.

³ By deduction, from information on the web site.

⁴ *Letters of a Victorian lady, Ada E Leslie, 1883 to 1894.* www.barnardf.demon.co.uk/

⁵ Where did they meet? Ada had left India in January 1884, whilst Reginald joined the Indian Civil Service in May that year.

⁶ Ada Elizabeth Leslie (1861 – 1911) - married Reginald A E Castle (1864 – 1945) – issue - Josephine A Castle (b 1895).

- ⁷ ROGERS, H C B, 1963. *Troopships and their History*, Seely, Service and Co.
- ⁸ FLEET, H L, 1922. *My Life and a Few Yarns*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd.
- ⁹ MAY, E S, 1925, *Changes & Chances of a Soldier's Life*, P Allan & Co.
- ¹⁰ The names of these steamers are not clear in Ada's letter, and we have not been able, yet, to find out more about these vessels.
- ¹¹ ROGERS, 1963.
- ¹² BENNET, B, 1884, *Desert Warfare, Being The Chronicle Of The Eastern Soudan Campaign*, Chapman and Hall, London.
- ¹³ ASHER, M, 2005, *Khartoum, The Ultimate Imperial Adventure*: Viking. - Michael Asher, who lives nearby in Nairobi confirmed that this is probably correct when I showed him Ada's letter.
- ¹⁴ BENNET, 1884.
- ¹⁵ SPIERS, E M, 2004, *The Victorian Soldier in Africa*, Manchester University Press.
- ¹⁶ Extract from the newspaper account by Mr Cameron, the special correspondent of the *Standard*.
- ¹⁷ GUNSTON, H, 2001, *Narrow Gauge by the Sudanese Red Sea Coast, The Tokar – Trinkitat Light Railway and Other Small Railways*, Plateway Press, England – being, by profession, a land surveyor, I feel maps are very important.
- ¹⁸ BENNET, 1884.
- ¹⁹ www.thepeerage.com/p2804.htm#i28035
- ²⁰ HAGGARD, A C P, 1899, *Under Crescent and Star*, William Blackwood and Sons.
- ²¹ Extract from the newspaper account by Mr Cameron.
- ²² George Alfred Henty (1832 - 1902).
- ²³ Extract from the newspaper account by Mr Cameron.
- ²⁴ Baker Pasha's troops failed to maintain their "square", whilst General Graham had reasoned before the 2nd battle that a "square" formation MUST be maintained. See Bennet Burleigh: *Desert Warfare and Vetch: Graham's Diaries*.
- ²⁵ VETCH, R H, 1901, *Life, letters, and Diaries of Lieutenant-General Sir Gerald Graham, VC, GCB, RE* William Blackwood and Sons.
- ²⁶ PIMBLETT, W M, 1885, *Story of the Soudan War, from the Rise of the Revolt, July 1881, to the Fall of Khartoum and Death of Gordon, January 1885*, Remington and Co, London.
- ²⁷ BENNET, 1884.
- ²⁸ ASHER, 2005.
- ²⁹ ASHER, 2005.
- ³⁰ ASHER, 2005.
- ³¹ BENNET, 1884 - Burleigh gained prominence by 'scooping' his rivals in fighting and reporting on the second battle of El-Teb.
- ³² Up to now all the men that Osman Digna's men had fought had been soldiers from the Egyptian Army wearing tarbooshes.
- ³³ ASHER, 2005.
- ³⁴ ROGERS, 1963.
- ³⁶ *The Times*, Monday, March 3, 1884.

A JEW AMONG CHRISTIANS: LIFE AND WRITINGS OF SIGMAR HILLELSON IN COLONIAL SUDAN 1911-1933

Alhaj Salim Mustafa

INTRODUCTION

The presence of Jews in ancient Sudan is not well covered in the historical records available. However, the fact that Jews were at Elephantine on the border between Nubia and Egypt, (Omer n.d. A), Abyssinia and Yemen may possibly suggest that there must have been some Jewish infiltration into the Sudan at some time in its history.

Based on an article published in *Sudan Notes and Records* (Hillelson 1933), the authors of the *Historical Dictionary of the Sudan* claimed that the earliest known Jewish traveller to the Sudan since the advent of Islam was David Reubini (1490 - 1540) who wrote his account of his trip from the Red Sea to Sennar. (Lobban Jr 2002:142).

During the Turco-Egyptian period in the Sudan (1820-1885) many Ottoman Empire Jewish subjects came to Sudan for trading purposes and did their business in major trading centres such as Suakin, Shendi, Sennar and El Obeid, while others took administrative positions with the government of the day. Prominent among them was the acclaimed Emin Pasha, the Governor of Equatoria (1878-1889) (Lobban Jr 2002).

Under the Mahdist state (1885-1898) “*non -Muslim communities that settled in Sudan since the Turkkiya which included Copts, Syrian Christians, Armenians, and Jews, were forced to convert to Islam. Prominent of these converts were some leading families in Omdurman such as the Ashkenazi family of Mendel (Arabized Mandeel) and Moshe Ben Zion (Arabized Basiyoni)*” (Omer, n.d. B).

Following the fall of the Mahdist state and the re- occupation of the Sudan by the Anglo-Egyptian forces, it was found that only eight Jewish

families survived. Seven of these were Sephardic from Iraqi and Egyptian origin and one single Ashkenazi family of Mendel. (Omer n.d B; Malka 1997; Abugarja 2004)

Most Jews, both Ashkenazi and Sephardic, settled well in colonial Sudan and found success in commerce, banking, manufacturing, education, law, medicine and in government positions (Malka 1997). Anti-Semitism was relatively rare – the community never faced danger during World War II.

However, Sudanese independence in 1956 and the new republic's focus on the pan-Arab movement and the growing sentiments towards Israel created an inhospitable environment, and a mass exodus started after the Six Day War in June 1967. Sudanese Jews emigrated to Europe, USA and Israel whilst only a handful remained in the Sudan (Lobban Jr 2002:143). The Jewish synagogue in Khartoum (built 1926) was sold and turned into a Bank in murky and shadowy circumstances in the early 1990s.

The most authoritative history of the Jews in the Anglo- Egyptian Sudan remains Ele Malka's 1997 book titled, *Jacob's children in the land of the Mahdi* (Malka 1997). Malka was born and raised in the Sudan in 1910; his father was the Sudan chief rabbi from 1906 to 1949. Malka chronicles the Sephardic Jewish community's history from its beginning in 1885 (when there were only eight families) to the late 1960s, when the Jews left the Sudan for more hospitable countries.

A more elaborate work is the 2004 Abu Garja book titled, *The Jews in Sudan: Readings on the book of Eli Solomon Malka "Jacob's Children in the Land of the Mahdi"* (Arabic text) (Abu Garja 2004). Although in most parts this is a mere translation of Malka's book, nevertheless it attempts to identify the remnants of the Jewish families and individuals who remained in the Sudan at least until 1989.

This paper is not about the history of Jews in the Sudan. It is about a Jewish individual who played an important role in shaping Sudanese culture and education during the Condominium. The paper attempts to

profile the life and writings of Sigmar Hillelson, a British subject of German origin, who served in the Sudan as an educator and administrative officer. He was described as an Arabist, linguist, lecturer, tutor, intelligence officer, administrator, broadcaster and writer.

Hillelson was a member of the Sudan Civil service (SCS) (1911-1933). A review of the Sudan Political Service (SPS), composed mainly of Christian British men from public schools and Oxbridge is given here as a background to the working environment in which this Jewish, non-British by origin, man found himself. The Gordon Memorial College (GMC) in which he served from 1911 to 1926 will be described together with his relationship with British, non-British, Sudanese colleagues and students. The paper will also look into his life in the Sudan and after he left the country. A bibliography of his writings is also provided.

SOURCES

For Hillelson's professional career in the Sudan, the National Record Office (NRO) in Khartoum hosts most of the documents related to the Condominium, including Education Department files, Intelligence files and Civil Secretary's Office files. However, being away from this source and in the absence of an on-line catalogue of the holdings, the present author is unable to access the records available there. There are, at least, three sources that shed some light on the official side of the officers: the official record lists of the Sudan Political Service (*Sudan Political Service 1930*) and the updated edition known as the *Blue Book* which listed staff of the service to 1952. The Sudan Archive at Durham (SAD) has an official list of Government officials from 1914 to 1952.

Literature on the human side of British officials in the Sudan, including the memoirs and reminiscences written by many ex officers in the Service, some with whom Hillelson shared positions as colleagues at GMC, the Intelligence Department and the Civil Secretary's Office, are also useful, for example Atiyah (1946) and Davies (1956). For more secondary literature on this see, for example, Beshir (1969), Deng and Daly (1989) and Sharkey (2003).

For his life and work after he left the Sudan a look into the BBC archives, especially the Near Eastern Department, was made.

For his writings and the bibliography, a number of Library Open Access Catalogues (OPAC) were consulted and in particular the catalogues of the University of Khartoum, Durham University, London University and the Library of Congress. The Index to *Sudan Notes and Records* (El-Nasri 1980) was also consulted

Sudan Political Service

The SPS was distinct from the Sudan Civil Service (SCS). Whereas the first is limited to administration, the latter relates to professional or technical services e.g. the respective agricultural, education, forestry, legal, police or public works departmental staff (Kirk-Greene 1989, 10). This is evident from the SPS booklet published in 1930 as it listed only the Political Service personnel (Sudan Government 1930). However, for no known reason some time after 1914 the term Sudan Political Service disappeared. The service was officially known as SCS. K D D Henderson, a member of SPS suggested that it was probably a mistranslation of the Arabic word *Siyasi* which means both political and administrative functions (Henderson 1989: 19) Sometime after 1922 it was often referred to as the administrative service to distinguish its members from the departmental civil service. (Daly, 1986, 84).

Several attempts were made to 'profile' the SPS or to study the "*sociology of imperialism*" as put by Kirk-Greene (Kirk-Greene, 1982), for example Collins (1972); Mangan (1982); Collins and Deng (1984); and Deng and Daly (1989). It was generally concluded that almost all of the personnel of the SPS were products of the British public school system and Oxbridge graduates with athletic achievements such as 'blues' and other traits such as "*stamina, resourcefulness, confidence, team spirit and loyalty...*" (Daly, 1986, 85). The church was always strong in Sudan (Kirk-Greene 1990, 21). A staggering one third of all men who joined were the sons of clergymen (Kwarteng, 2011). It was also suggested that, "*The serious dedicated and near evangelistic*

atmosphere of the SPS was so often noticed by visitors to the Sudan". (Kirk- Greene, 1982, 25).

People with foreign accents were firmly refused employment. Wingate rejected one candidate because there was something Levantine about him "*and as you know that fact alone makes him undesirable*" (Kwarteng, K 2011: 238)

Up to 1939, 315 men joined the service of whom 224 attended what has been called 'Early leading schools', that is the most famous and well established English public schools (Daly, 1986: 85) Famous among these schools were Eton, Rugby, Winchester and Marlborough (Sudan Government 1930) Throughout the whole period of the service's existence not a single student was recruited from the English provincial universities or university colleges: there was an obvious bias towards Oxbridge (Daly 1986:85).

The SPS was almost a closed club for British subjects. When in 1906 an applicant for government employment, who had been born and raised in Brussels, listed his native language as French, Wingate commented "*that any parental or political connection with Belgium would not be desirable for a Sudan Official*" (Daly 1986, 87). However, this was not strictly followed in the Civil Service. Sigmar Hillelson, a Jew of German origin, was appointed in the Department of Education (1911) and John Mavrogordato, of Greek parentage, was appointed at a later period in the Legal Department and as a lecturer at Gordon Memorial College and indeed continued in the service after independence as Legal Counsel, Ministry of Justice 1958-1961. Prejudice against non- British officials was noted as early as 1900, as in the case of E.E Bernard, a Maltese Catholic who was appointed during that year as Financial Secretary. His difficult relationship with "*Wingate and many other officials and the criticism worded in personal terms he received, such as exacting and miserly, a Levantine, the Maltese cross are partly attributed to that fact*" (Daly 1984, 45). He was described as "*an outsider in the small world of Anglo-Egyptian officialdom*" (Daly 1986, 57). Even Slatin Pasha, a close

friend of Wingate, was not immune from this kind of chauvinism being an Austrian of Jewish ancestry.

SIGMAR HILLELSON: BIOGRAPHY

There is very little information in his papers which were presented to SAD by Mrs. I. Hillelson in 1961. In fact, they say nothing about his personal life in the Sudan. A draft catalogue of the papers gives a brief description as follows:

Collected poems and sayings of Shaykh Farah Tuktūk; notes and scripts relating to broadcasts made by the Arabic service of the B.B.C.; 61 photographs, mainly Rejaf Conference, 1928 and Mongalla (Sudan Archive Durham n.d).

There is one line about his career path in the Sudan between 1911 and 1933: With the Department of Education (1911-1925) as tutor at GMC, and then in the Civil Secretary's Office (1926-1933) (Sudan Archive Durham n.d). The Sudan Government staff lists tell us that he was transferred to the Intelligence Department where he served as Assistant Director of Intelligence under R. Davies (1926-1929) following the dismissal of C.A. Willis as Intelligence chief after the events of 1924.

It was unusual to see such an academically-oriented man appointed to the position of an intelligence officer, a position that was a:

"...severely practical and political one involving delicate contact with all sorts of people [religious notables, tribal leaders and urban intelligentsia or Effendia] and demanding tact, suppleness and all round capacity for accommodation and compromise." (Atiyah, 1946, 156).

It is possible that the appointment was made mainly on the merit of his Arabic skills (both oral and written) to explain to the public government policy and to monitor and curb the rising tide of dissent which started to appear in the local press following the 1924 White Flag nationalist movement.

Hillelson was finally transferred to the Civil Secretary's Office as Assistant Civil Secretary (1929-1933) serving under Harold MacMichael who was described as a remarkable, but not exactly a lovable, man (Henderson 1987, 19). He was second only to Angus Gillan who was to become Civil Secretary in 1935 after the departure of MacMichael.

Sigmar Hillelson retired from Sudan service on the 9th of August 1933 (Sudan Government 1933).

It is of interest to note that his name never appeared as a member of the SPS in the 1930 *List* nor in the so called '*Blue Book*', an updated edition reprinted in 1956, being a summary record of nearly 400 officers who served in the SPS between 1899 and 1952, despite the fact that he occupied such prominent political positions in the Intelligence Department and the Native Administration.

His birth, family background and education appeared in *The Balliol College Register 1832-1914*. According to this source he was born in Berlin on August 12 1883, the fifth child of Felix Hillelson. He was educated at Gymnasium zum Grauen Kloster, Berlin; was at Balliol College, Oxford 1904-8 (C.B., A.D.L.); 2nd Class Mods. 1906; 2nd Class Lit. Hum. 1908; and studied Oriental Languages at University College, London at Ouseley School in Persian, 1909 and Arabic, 1910 (Balliol College University of Oxford n.d).

He was a founding Editorial member of *Sudan Notes and Records* (1918) and was on the editorial committee until 1938, five years after he left the Sudan. In recognition of his valuable service in the field of Education the King of Egypt "... gives and grants [him] the royal licence and authority to bear the insignia of the fourth class of the order of the Nile...." (The London Daily Gazette 1925).

After service in the Sudan, he joined the Foreign Office, and then the staff of the BBC. In the end in 1937 he became the Director of the BBC's Near Eastern service and held this post throughout the Second World War (1940-1945). Being a fluent Arabic speaker with good

experience with Arabs, the Foreign Office was very interested to engage him to monitor the Berlin Arabic service and he took over the BBC's own Arabic programme (Briggs 1995, 373).

The Arabic Service of the BBC was used extensively and successfully to win the hearts and minds of Muslims and Arabs and as a counter to the Berlin Arabic Radio and its mouthpiece, the Iraqi Younes Bahri who gained a lot of sympathy in the Arab world for the German cause by his inflammatory broadcasting against the allies.

Sigmar's appointment did not go without controversy. In June 1942 Captain Alan Graham, MP for Wirral (1935-1945), asked Mr Brendan Bracken MP, the then Minister of Information whether, in view of the need to prevent further exacerbation of anti-Semitic feelings among Arabs, and in view of the complaints already received from Muslims both in the Near East and in this country, he would reconsider the advisability of the retention as the official in charge of the Near East Department of the British Broadcasting Corporation of Mr. Hillelson, a Jew of German origin? (The Hansard 1942).

The Minister refused the suggestion and in his reply he explained that: *"Mr. Hillelson was born in Germany.... [and] became a British subject in 1908. He was a distinguished member of the Sudan Civil Service from 1911 to 1933. [And that] high tributes have been paid to his work in Sudan by a succession of Governors General, and, indeed, by all who worked with him..... I cannot believe that the House will accept for one moment my hon. and gallant Friend's suggestion that a man who has been a faithful public servant for 31 years should be removed from his appointment on the ground that he is a Jew of German origin."* (The Hansard 1942).

Captain Alan Graham commented he had no objection in the slightest to the character or attainments of this distinguished public servant.

After 1945 his name surfaced from time to time as a member of the Royal Asiatic Society and a frequent reviewer of books in its journal (See bibliography). Sigmar Hillelson died in 1960.

There is no evidence to suggest that his British colleagues at GMC, the Intelligence Department or the Civil Secretary's Office were treating him differently on the basis of his origin or religion as was done in the case of E.E Bernard, a Maltese Catholic or Slatin, the Austrian. In fact, one of his superiors at the Intelligence Department refers to him as a friend (Davies 1957, 185). Evans-Pritchard, the acclaimed anthropologist and professor, stayed with him in Khartoum before travelling to the Rejaf language conference in 1928 and acknowledged the hospitality given to him by Hillelson and his wife (Evans-Pritchard, 1940). Being a founding editorial member of *SNR*, Hillelson probably persuaded Evans-Pritchard to publish a number of articles in the journal. (For Evans-Pritchard's contributions to *SNR* see El-Nasri, Abdel Rahman, 1980).

There is no evidence also that he was treated differently by his fellow British tutors at the GMC. This was in contrast to the treatment received by another non-British outsider, but an Anglophile, Oxford educated, Christian teacher at the College. The account given by Edward Atiyah, a Levantine, in his memoirs tells us about the aloofness of the British tutors and about the fence which divided them from their non-British colleagues at the College. He gives many instances of how he was excluded from official and social association with his British colleagues at the college and in formal gatherings (Atiyah 1946:137).

Sigmar maintained a cordial relationship with a number of Sudanese colleagues and students at the college as well as friendships with some prominent Sudanese notables. For example, he acknowledges the help he received in writing his book *Sudan Arabic Texts* from many Sudanese and former pupils, Sheikhs Babiker Badri and Abdulla Omer al-Bana, Abd-al-Rahman Eff. Ali Taha and Sheikh Eff. Mustafa and Sheikh Ahmed Osman Al-Qadi of the *Hadarat al-Sudan* (Hillelson 1935, v).

Hillelson wrote a forward to *Alarabia fi Al-Sudan* a book by one of his Sudanese colleagues at the College and in fact it was he who recommended it to the Department of Education for publication. The author was full of praise to him for,

“...his generous soul that loves knowledge and its fascination with research.... [And] that he feels a sense of gratitude that he could not express in words” (Al-Dareer, Abdalla 1922, 194).

It was his friendship with Sheikh Babiker Badri, the Girls' Education pioneer in the Sudan, that probably influenced his writings and understanding of Sudanese culture and way of life. In his acclaimed memoir Sheikh Babiker mentions his frequent visits to Hillelson to teach [his Excellency] Arabic and explain the Sudanese colloquial (Badri 1959, 250). Hillelson also encouraged Badri to write *Kitab Al-Mutalla'a Al-Wattanyia* - an easy reading textbook for primary schools.

Sheikh Babiker Badri had also helped him to understand some peculiar customs and traditions in the Sudan regarding women and probably saved him from blushes and embarrassment. He relates that when Hillelson published an Arabic poem in *Hadart Al-Sudan* in 1930 as a farewell to Mr. Udal, the Director of Education on his retirement, there was a mention of the ladies of Rufa'a (*Banat Rufa'a*), that they would be sad and miserable at Udal's departure. The people of Rufa'a were very upset thinking that there must have been something fishy between Udal and the ladies, so they decided to travel to Khartoum to confront him and write a formal complaint to the Governor-General to clear the honour of their ladies. Babiker Badri himself, being a rational man was also upset and although he said he trusted Hillelson and was sure of his integrity and innocence, nevertheless went to see him and explain to him what it meant for ordinary people to speak publicly about their ladies (Badri 1959: 30)

The 'affair' ended happily. Hillelson apologized to Sheikh Babiker and to the people of Rufa'a, regretting the misunderstanding.

WRITINGS

Hillelson wrote 5 books and more than 20 articles and reviews related to the Sudan (see bibliography) His interest in Sudanese studies had two purposes: academic and functional:

An academic interest in being a linguist and Arabist. In this regard his contributions, though not really following strict academic standards, remain valuable and probably the only source of information about some aspects of Sudan folklore and history.

As an official of the Sudan Government with a working knowledge and acquaintance with the native language, writing was part of his job to help British officials in the provinces and at the central government in Khartoum to communicate with the indigenous population.

Hillelson used multiple and varied sources in his writing, both written and oral. He listed his written sources for the "*Sudan Arabic texts with translation and glossary*" and other published articles related to the history of Sudan. He also mentioned a network of informers both at GMC and elsewhere for writing the articles on riddles, proverbs, nursery rhymes, anecdotes and the daily life of the Sudanese. He translated and published in 1923 some extracts of the early Sudanese biographical Dictionary, the *Tabaqat Wad Dayf Alla*.

In general, his writings can be classified in the following categories:

- Ethnology and Folklore including proverbs, riddles, folktales, nursery rhymes, anecdotes and tribal customs and traditions
- Language
- Anthropology
- Poetry
- History
- Biographies

MAIN PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO SUDAN

BOOKS

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- (1923) 'Tabaqat Wad Dayf Alla: Studies in the lives of the scholars & saints', Vol 6, 191.
- (1925) 'Notes on the Dago with special reference to the Dago settlement in western Kordofan', Vol 8, 59.
- (1929) 'Songs of the Baggara', Vol 12, 73.
- (1930) 'Nubian origins', Vol 13, 137.
- (1933) 'David Reubeni, an early visitor to Sennar', Vol 13, 117.
- R. D. and S. H. (1930) 'Two texts from Kordofan', Vol 13.

There are also 20 Shorter Notes and comments relating to Sudan in *Sudan Notes and Records*, notably Volumes 1; 5; 7; 8; 9; 10; 11; 12; 14; 18; 19; 21; 30; and 31.



Other articles on Sudan

Hillelson, S. (1937) 'Aspects of Muhammadanism in the eastern Sudan', *J. Royal Asiatic Society*, 657-677

Sigmar Hillelson also wrote about other aspects of the Middle East and about his work with the BBC during World War II, largely in the *J. Royal Asiatic Society*. Readers interested in his contributions outside the Sudan should contact the author:

e-mail: a.smustafa@alhosnu.ae

CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to highlight the contribution made by one of the earliest scholars to study some aspects of Sudan's culture and tradition. It is undoubtedly a valuable, scholarly achievement in a virgin area of study during the Condominium. The publishing was greatly helped by the fact that he was a tutor in the only post-secondary school in the country at that time, and probably his work in the Intelligence Department helped him to collect information from the intelligence reports emanating from provinces and unavailable otherwise. The outstanding *Sudan Notes and Records*, founded in 1918 on the initiative of H.A. MacMichael and in which Hillelson was a founding editorial member (1918-1938), was also a contributing factor as most of his writings appeared in that journal.

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SUDANESE MEMORIALS

Douglas Johnson

Bonn Square, Oxford: A.B. Thruston

There has been a long association between Sudan and the United Kingdom, and reminders of that association appear in unlikely places. In Oxford's Bonn Square, at the intersection of New Inn Hall and Queen streets is an unusual pre-Boer War military memorial, its main inscription much corroded and almost illegible. It was erected by the officers and men of the Oxfordshire Light Infantry '*in memory of their comrades who died between 15th of August 1897 and the 4th of November 1898*'. The memorial is unusual because the Oxfordshire Light Infantry saw no overseas action during those dates, and the comrades so commemorated must have fallen while detached from the regiment. The first entry in the list of memorialized names reads '*Killed by Mutineers in Uganda, Brevet Major A.B. Thruston*'.

Arthur Blyford Thruston (1865-1897) came from a family of '*peaceful squires in Norfolk and Suffolk*' and served with the Oxfordshire Light Infantry in Ireland, Gibraltar, Egypt and India. He was one of a number of British officers who served off and on in the Egyptian army, and because of his knowledge of Arabic and familiarity with Sudanese troops also saw service with the Uganda Rifles, who had been raised from the remnants of Emin Pasha's Equatorial garrison in the 1890s. His service record is summarized in Keown-Boyd's *Soldiers of the Nile*, and his experiences in Egypt, Sudan and Uganda were related in the posthumously published *African Incidents* (John Murray, 1900). He served first in Suakin and Tokar with the 13th and 10th Sudanese battalions in 1890-3, before going to Uganda in 1893-5, where he was responsible for recruiting another large party of Emin's former soldiers. He returned to Sudan in time to take part in the Dongola campaign, and of his experiences then he later wrote, '*I soon began to suspect that the stories of Dervish grinding cruelty and blood-thirstiness were merely a convenient exaggeration. Subsequently, on seeing the Dongola*

provinces, my suspicions were strengthened.' Of the Khalifa Abdallahi he claimed, 'in political morality he is a contemporary of our James II.; and he is probably much more estimable than that bigoted tyrant.'

Thruston returned to Uganda to take command of the Uganda Rifles in 1897. Not long after his arrival Sudanese troops under Major J.R. Macdonald mutinied. Thruston went to the fort at Lubwa's to try to parlay with the mutineers, but there he was taken prisoner, and after a brief engagement between the mutineers and a pursuing government force, he was shot by his captors on 19 October 1897.



BOOK REVIEW

The Sudanese Press after Separation – Contested Identities of Journalism. Media in Cooperation and Transition (MICT) gGmbH, Berlin, Germany, 2012. Available on line at: www.mict-international.org

This is a report peppered with interesting information, much of it historical and most of it meticulously documented with footnotes citing many leading writers on Sudan. It would be nice, though, to see so many quotations from the newspapers themselves. The problem lies in the interpretation. Most of the booklet attempts to treat the Sudanese printed press in virtual isolation from its political context. This would be challenging enough in a democracy: in one of the world's most brutal dictatorships, it is impossible.

This is the contradiction at the heart of the publication: on the one hand, the mainly non-Sudanese authors seek to emphasise the continuity and attempted independence of a press which dates back to 1899 and has been challenging the government since 1919. Since MICT works on media capacity-building in Sudan, this is perhaps not so surprising; goodwill easily turns into wishful thinking. On the other hand, the only chapter by a Sudanese, Magdi el Gizouli, makes it amply clear that the overwhelming majority of the press is controlled by – or at best heavily influenced or leaned on by – the ruling National Congress Party. Magdi, a prolific writer and a fellow of the Rift Valley Institute, gives chapter and verse summaries of the ownership of newspapers and the career path of editors which reflect what every Sudanese knows: that the National Intelligence and Security Service, through which the NCP rules, understands only too well the importance of controlling the media and that it largely succeeds. Those it cannot control, such as the Sudan Communist Party's *Al Meidan*, are repeatedly banned or censored and their journalists harassed (as regular reports from local and international human rights organisations have testified for 24 years). A couple of papers survive through self-censorship.



'By debating political and literary ideals among the growing class of educated Northern men in urban centres, the press became the main platform for emerging nationalism,' notes the main contributor, Roman Deckert, of the colonial period. He points to the inevitable elitism of the press in a largely illiterate country and its role in reinforcing the domination of the Arab-Islamic ideology (which the NCP has exploited so skilfully to hold on to power). The writer shows that he understands something of NCP control but then backtracks, as if he doesn't quite want to believe it.

A little less insight is in evidence with Deckert's apparent acceptance of the regime's propaganda line that everything changed for the better with the sidelining of Hassan el Turabi in 1999-2000, when the NCP manipulated personal quarrels to drop its National Islamic Front name and dodge Western counter-terrorist pressure without losing face or, indeed, power. A chapter headed, *'The third military regime 1989-1999: Complete monopoly, again'* is followed seamlessly by, *'The fourth multiparty phase 1999-2011: The freedom of self censorship'*. No explanation is given of how such an earthquake could have been possible. I have never yet met a Sudanese who described the political system as 'multiparty'.

Even more starry-eyed is Anke Fiedler – surprisingly, since she had written a thesis on East Germany: the NIF (now the NCP) has drawn much from Marxist-Leninist tactics and organisation. She poses the question of whether political newspapers are *'Fig leaves of government monopoly or real alternatives to the state-run media'*. Her research is based on interviews with 15 senior journalists and she had perhaps not read Magdi's chapter outlining the history of these people and their papers. For example, of *Al Ray al Shaab* and *Alwan* she writes, *'which Sudanese authorities suspect are affiliated to Hassan Al Turabi's Islamist Popular Congress party'*. Now in this context, the authorities do not 'suspect' anything at all: every detail of every paper and journalist has been carefully filed. The NIF did not set up Sudan's first computerised data base for nothing. They know. In any case, *Alwan* existed as the NIF paper long before the party seized power in 1989.

Fiedler's most quoted interviewee is Abdel Mahmoud al Karanki, more familiar as Koronky, the spelling used in legal and other documents on the Internet. Koronky was memorably Press Officer at Sudan's London Embassy in 1994-2002, acting as Ambassador in 1998-2000, perhaps not the simple 'pro-government career path' that Fiedler describes. She describes how he went on to become Editor-in-Chief of *Al Raed*, the (then) 'mouthpiece of the ruling' NCP, then editorial advisor at *Alwan*. Yet when he boasts, *'I've been to most of the major American newspapers, Chicago Tribune, Chicago Sun-Times, even CNN and BBC in addition to the Egyptian newspaper Ahram. I always pay a visit to the media outlets and examine their work in each city I travel to'*, she concludes that, *'It is a fair assumption that Sudanese journalists are well aware of media systems other than their own...'*. This is a generalisation too far and shows a remarkable lack of awareness of the NCP's monitoring ability. *'A journalist's capital is honesty, trust, professionalism and making impartial judgments'*, declares Koronky. Yet in another chapter, Magdi describes Koronky as a columnist for *Al Intibaha*, while Deckert calls the paper owned by President Omer Hassan Ahmed el Beshir's uncle, El Tayeb Mustafa, *'the venomous mouthpiece of the Islamist Just Peace Forum'*. It seems to epitomise the contradictions of the whole report.

Gill Lusk

BOOK REVIEW

Large, D and Patey, L (Eds), **Sudan Looks East: China, India and the politics of Asian alternatives**, James Currey, 2012.

This book aims to “*explore the Sudan’s dynamic relations with China, India and its other partners, notably Malaysia*”. The Introduction, 8 chapters and the Conclusion are all well written, in the form of surveys which contain well related information and ideas and all serve the aims of the book. The intention is first to give a brief history of the Sudan’s relations with each of the countries concerned.

The ‘*looks East*’ is not new but has roots in the history of Sudan. Shortly after independence there was talk of the need to make friendship with countries of the east in addition to the old ‘motherly’ relationship with Great Britain and other Western countries. The first practical step was taken in 1959 when Sudan, against the wishes of the USA, recognised the Communist regime in mainland China and opened an embassy there. The Chinese re-acted quickly with aid particularly for construction, notably they built Friendship Hall in Khartoum and the National Assembly building. Both buildings were designed to be ‘*monuments*,’ to ‘*everlasting friendship between Sudan and China*. China also built the Khartoum-Port Sudan road via Wad Medani including the bridge crossing the Blue Nile. A visiting Canadian professor commented to the reviewer on seeing the sign telling the passer-by that the bridge had been a present from China, ‘*a new coloniser for the Sudan!!*’. The reviewer replied – ‘*not so far; we have to wait and see*’. From 1959 onwards China has continued to stress its policy of non-interference in local affairs and respect for the sovereignty of the country. Furthermore, China has been a strong defender of the Sudan against hostility from the USA in the UN and other international fields.

Relations with India stretch back for generations. In the early 19th century there was trade with India via Suakin with the import of cheap Indian cotton fabrics and perfumes and especially sandalwood. Some Indian officials and traders came to the Sudan in the wake of the British

army after 1900. Some settled in the capital and other major towns such as Suakin, Port Sudan and Kassala and many never returned home especially those who were Moslems who mixed with Sudanese to become a part of the Sudanese community. As an example, the reviewer's wife had some Indian blood through 'Mirza', the big shop in the centre of Khartoum. Many non-Moslems retained their identity and continued to take part in the import/export trade.

The relationship with Malaysia is new and stems from engagement in the oil industry. Malaysia came to have an important image as far as Sudan was concerned as an example of an 'underdeveloped' country that has been able to develop on its own resources. Its leader, though very strongly against western domination, was nevertheless a friend of both Mrs Thatcher and President Reagan. It was tensions with the middle class that led to his downfall. Sudan has had similar problems which have led to periods of instability and similar downfalls in its rulers often based on interpretations of Islamic culture.

The book is very good for the most part and would make a very useful reference for many of those engaged in Sudanese studies and affairs. However, the reviewer takes exception to many of the comments in Chapter 3, on the '*local relations of oil development in the southern Sudan*' which are very disappointing. The whole account is biased and contains numerous incorrect and grossly exaggerated statements, and produces as facts material that has not been verified. One complaint is that the oil companies made no proper attempt to liaise with the local communities and did not involve them in any of the decisions. This is not a problem of the South Sudan only. It has applied to both countries and is the inevitable result of top/down development policies which have been carried out in the 20th century under both colonial administration and since independence. There is a dilemma here for many developing countries where there is a national necessity in conflict with local disquiet, which can lead to unanticipated consequences. The author of this chapter also discusses the question of land compensation and hails the Chevron oil company for its approach and denigrates that of the Asian oil companies. Much of the material here is simply wrong, or

grossly exaggerated, and is based on company propaganda. It should be mentioned that people have a sentimental attachment to their lands and feel that its value is much greater than the compensation offered. It should be noted that this problem has occurred recently elsewhere in Sudan over the Merowe Dam. Many of the comments about rate of oil extraction are simply untrue because Sudan does not have the pipeline capacity to suddenly increase oil production even if it wanted to. The reviewer has the feeling that the author would like South Sudan to become a closed state analogous to the 'Closed Districts' of the 1920s to 1940s.

A last comment on the book would be that it fails to answer the question about relations in the future. As a Sudanese, I would venture the following. All these eastern countries will be anxious to keep the Sudan market open to them even if it is small internationally. In the case of China one would expect that it will continue with its economic support of the Sudan, not least for its oil but also as a market for China's exports. Chinese products are available throughout the country and at very low prices and their textiles are popular with all classes of Sudan society even if some of its products are of poor quality. Whilst western countries, most notably the USA, have had a hostile approach to the activities of the Sudan central government in the South and in Darfur, Sudan will welcome the continuation of the diplomatic support that China gives.

Indian activity is on a smaller scale, but its exports to Sudan include cars, medical drugs and mechanical equipment. Although trade between India and Sudan has a long history, it is only recently that there has been a marked expansion of activity and this seems likely to continue.

Malaysian interest in the Sudan is new and is based on Islamic ideas and activities as well as on oil development. The image of Malaysia to the Sudan is very important as it is a source of inspiration. Malaysian involvement with Sudan is very much on the increase.

All three of these countries are developing cultural ties with the Sudan. Many of their universities are open to Sudanese students at both the undergraduate and postgraduate level, and they all give scholarships to Sudanese students.

Mustafa M Khogali



BOOK REVIEW

LeRiche, M and Arnold, **South Sudan: from Revolution to Independence**, Hurst & Company, London, 2012.

LeRiche and Arnold's modern political history is a timely and accessible contribution to the small literature specifically focusing on contemporary South Sudan. The book focuses on a recent political history and modern survey of the state and government of the new country, in what the authors term a 'sweeping analysis' (p. 2).

The book is written from the point of view of current events a year after independence, focusing on '*the transformation of Southern Sudan into South Sudan*' (p. 20). While being potentially a dangerously teleological starting point, the book is structured mostly around the question: why did the second civil war bring independence? The structure reflects the authors' wrangle with the sheer scale of what the book covers. The first half focuses on a historical overview, mostly from the second civil war onwards, leading up to a chapter on the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005 and the Interim Period under the CPA until 2011. The second half uses this historical basis to deal with CPA and post-independence contemporary internal politics, economics and international relations, which is where the strengths of the book lie. These discussions are clear and concise despite the immense amount of ground covered.

However, the challenge of summarizing, for the most part, the last thirty years of civil wars, internal insurrections, political divisions and popular aspirations has forced the authors towards shorthand when dealing with the mass of 'Southerners' in the book. LeRiche and Arnold debate the post-independence questions of nationality and nationalism, and the problems of becoming 'South Sudanese', in their final chapters. However, this discussion would be better established with a more detailed background of who these 'South Sudanese' are. The authors emphasise the 'diversity' of South Sudanese people in their introduction (p. 4-5), but the lack of a clear discussion of what this means in practice

- for example, the history of everyday interactions or estrangements from central, often militarized, governments - gives little background for references to 'tribal divisions', inter-ethnic conflicts and political divides later in the book. The term 'Southerners' is used as a communal descriptive throughout, with quotations and discussion focused on political and military elites; the authors could have challenged this collectivity throughout the book by incorporating direct interview material from non-elite members of Southern society. This would have helped the discussions of the difficult formulation of Southern nationalism, as well as the authors' examination of the popular demise of Garang's idea of 'New Sudan'.

A second, later challenge in the book is the authors' apparent sympathy with the SPLM, and the position of the SPLA in contemporary politics. The authors frequently use the language of the currently dominant SPLM narrative of Southern national history, such as the 'years of darkness' and 'struggle' of the second civil war; this becomes problematic when applied to discussions of contemporary politics. Many South Sudanese might take issue with LeRiche and Arnold's assertion that the SPLA '*has not been used as a direct tool of the political party*' (p. 224); with the dominance of the SPLM within the national government, it is arguably difficult to differentiate between the ambitions of the party and the state. Maybe more difficult is the assertion that the SPLA '*provides perhaps the clearest institution capable of furthering a shared identity for the South*', particularly in light of recent conflicts in Jonglei State (p. 228); and, following recent human rights reports, it may be a little conservative to merely state that the SPLM has a '*domineering leadership*' (p. 214). However, these points do not detract from the clear summary of contemporary politics in the last chapters.

This is an ambitious book, and a solid and enjoyable synopsis of recent military history and contemporary politics. The missing link for readers is the absence of a bibliography or short guide to further reading, for example on pre-1983 histories and works on 'ethnicity', particularly when there are still so few accessible academic books on South Sudan.

LeRiche and Arnold's work is an excellent place to start when studying the post-1983 growth of the SPLA and SPLM, and the CPA and post-CPA political situation in the South.

Nicki Kindersley



SSSUK

NOTICES



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**Sudan Studies Society of the U.K.
27th Annual General Meeting and Symposium**

**will be held
(in association with the Africa/Asia Centre of the School of Oriental
and African Studies and the Royal African Society)**

on

Saturday, 5th October 2013

in

**The Khalili Lecture Theatre,
Registration from 09.30: Meeting will end by 16.30**

**School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
(off Russell Square)**

Members are strongly encouraged to attend. The two new nations of Sudan and South Sudan have had only two years with their new status and we expect some interesting discussion at the meeting. Further suggestions and offers for speakers are very welcome. Please contact Gill Lusk: secretary@sssuk.org

Interested non-members are welcome to attend.

Please see enclosed flyer for booking form and other details.

Further final details will be on our website: <http://www.sssuk.org>



SSSUK COMMITTEE: FOR 2012/2013

As the Annual General Meeting is due to take place on Saturday, October 6th 2013, it seems appropriate to inform members of the make-up of the current committee:

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Notes for Contributors

SSSUK welcomes notes and articles intended for publication, which will be assessed by the Editorial Board. The normal maximum length of an article is 5,000 words including footnotes; longer articles may be accepted for publication in two or more parts. Notes and articles should be typed and double spaced and should normally be submitted as paper copy and as word processed files (in PC format) on diskette or preferably as an e-mail attachment, if at all possible. SSSUK retains the right to edit articles for reasons of space and consistency of style and spelling. *Sudan Studies* aims to follow the editorial style of *African Affairs*, the Journal of the Royal African Society.

Manuscripts are not normally returned to authors, but original material such as photographs will be returned.

It is helpful to have, very briefly (2 to 3 lines), any relevant details about the author – any post held, or time recently spent in the Sudan

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