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# LORD KITCHENER AND HIS WORK IN PALESTINE

By

Dr. SAMUEL DAICHES



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## PREFATORY NOTE

THE following pages represent a lecture delivered by me before the Jews' College Union Society on February 7, 1915, and repeated, by invitation, before the Society of Biblical Archaeology on March 10.

I trust that this little book may contribute to a larger understanding of the character and capacity of one of the most prominent personalities of our time.

SAMUEL DAICHES.

JEW'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

*August, 1915.*

## LORD KITCHENER AND HIS WORK IN PALESTINE

**I**N the present great world-struggle there is one man who, among all the great and strong men who are determining now the future of the world, stands out, by common consent, as one of the greatest and strongest, and that man is Lord Kitchener. In a sense he is the greatest and strongest. No man has ever attempted what he has achieved. Lord Kitchener has created an army of many hundreds of thousands in a few months. We can scarcely realize the magnitude of this work. It is as if it were the work of Eastern magic. Kitchener's army will remain in history one of the great monuments of the possibility of human achievement. Just as the Pyramids bear witness to the master-will of the ancient Egyptians, so the present legions of Britain



will bear witness to the master-will of the man whose name these legions bear. And Lord Kitchener has not only created a huge army, he also knows how to make the best use of it. He has a large share in the direction of the operations in the various fields of battle, not only in Europe but also in the other parts of the world. There is no exaggeration in saying that Lord Kitchener is the greatest individual factor in this war. He is not merely War-Secretary, he is the Secretary of the War. In fact his present office has almost lost its significance in proportion to the importance of its present holder. It is not the War-Secretary who is in the minds of the people in this country and in the minds of the people all over the world, but—Lord Kitchener. I do not know of a similar case in British public life, in which the man so completely overshadowed his position.

And Lord Kitchener is not only a great war-organizer and a great general, he is also a great orator. Not that he has got the external rhetorical gifts. He does not claim them. They would not fit in in his per-

sonality. But he is nevertheless a master of the word, written and spoken. The few speeches Lord Kitchener has delivered in the House of Lords during the last few months have gained for him the reputation of a great stylist. His speeches are masterpieces of brevity, lucidity and comprehensiveness. Few speeches have ever been read in England, in the whole British Empire, with such eagerness and such admiration as the speeches of Lord Kitchener.

We thus see in Lord Kitchener a man of tremendous capacities. A creator of armies, an organizer of campaigns, an observer of endless field operations, a perspicuous statesman, and a great stylist. Truly, one of the world's master-minds.

One of the questions which has been asked frequently during the last few months is : Where has this master-mind been developed ? Where did Lord Kitchener show first the great capacities which grew as the years rolled by and as the opportunities came ? Many people thought of the years Lord Kitchener spent in Egypt preparing for and accomplishing the great work there and in the Soudan,

which is best designated by the word Khartoum. Kitchener avenged Gordon, broke up Mahdism, won the Soudan for Britain and prepared the way for the British Protectorate over Egypt. Kitchener has done wonders in Egypt. In the land in which he disguised himself as a dervish, in garment and speech, he was later the first official of His Britannic Majesty. Others thought of Kitchener's great deeds in South Africa. Others again thought of the time Kitchener spent in India reorganizing the Indian Army. These were no doubt great and important periods in Kitchener's life. But when Kitchener's great work began to be felt in Egypt he was over forty years old. When he won the battle of Omdurman and conquered Khartoum he was in his forty-ninth year. There is an earlier period in Kitchener's life, of which the public has not thought sufficiently, the importance of which for the future development of Lord Kitchener cannot be overestimated. That period provided Kitchener with work in which he could and did develop and show his great capacities, work which

strengthened his powers of vision and which opened for him new sources of quiet and strong inspiration. That was the period of his work in Palestine. And with that period we are concerned in these pages. No recorded period in the life of Kitchener gives us such an insight into the mentality of Kitchener and into his ways of work, reveals to us the mind, heart and character of Kitchener, as well as the four years which he spent in Palestine and in Palestinian work. His indomitable energy, his unequalled thoroughness, his hunger for work, his mastery of detail, his preparedness, his economy in men and material, his making sure of success, his sense of duty, his ability to inspire others with zeal for work, and his clear and crisp style: all these characteristics of Kitchener of to-day we find in Kitchener nearly forty years ago, when he was doing his Palestine exploration work.

Kitchener's Palestine exploration work falls in the years 1874 to 1878. In May, 1865, the Palestine Exploration Fund was established, "for the purpose of investigating the Archaeology, Geography, Geology, and

Natural History of the Holy Land." It was felt for a long time by many English scholars that our knowledge of the geography and topography of Palestine was inadequate, that our information with regard to the places mentioned in the Bible was insufficient. As early as 1804 a Palestine Exploration Society was founded in London. But its achievements were not great, and in 1834 this Society was formally dissolved. In 1840 another association with the same name and similar objects was established. But it soon merged into the Syro-Egyptian Society, which, in its turn, afterwards became the Society of Biblical Archaeology, a society that has for its object the furthering of research in Biblical and kindred subjects, and that is still doing good work, especially by publishing its monthly *Proceedings*. With the establishing of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1865 the work of exploring Palestine began in earnest, and this work has been carried on since then with great zeal and success. The activity of the Fund in Palestine has been practically unceasing. First Jerusalem was



explored and mapped out,<sup>1</sup> then Western Palestine, afterwards Eastern Palestine, then neighbouring lands, as the district south of the Dead Sea and the Peninsula of Sinai. When the investigation of the surface of Palestine was completed, the investigation of subterranean Palestine, the work of excavation, began. The excavations at Jerusalem by Sir Charles Warren had already been made in 1867-70. The success of the recent excavations in Gezer under the able guidance of Professor Stewart Macalister will be known to many. The work of the Palestine Exploration Fund is being continued, and, though necessarily suspended for the present, will be taken up again as soon as the political circumstances permit. In May of this year the Palestine Exploration Fund will be half a century old, and it is to be hoped that the importance of the work it has done during the past fifty years will be recognized by the public in the form of increased financial

<sup>1</sup> The survey of Jerusalem carried out by Captain (later Sir Charles) Wilson in 1864 can be regarded as the introduction to the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

support so that it may be able the better to continue its great work.<sup>1</sup>

Soon after its establishment the Palestine Exploration Fund resolved upon making a thorough survey of Palestine, beginning with Western Palestine. Towards the end of 1871 the Palestine Exploration Fund sent out a survey party to Palestine under the command of Captain Stewart, of the Royal Engineers. In November, 1871, Captain Stewart arrived in Jaffa. In December Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake joined the party. Captain Stewart began work on the plain near Ramleh, but he soon fell ill, and, on medical advice, returned to England. Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake took temporary charge of the party. The Palestine Exploration Fund then sent out Lieutenant Conder, of the Royal Engineers, to take command of the Survey. In July, 1872, Conder arrived in Palestine. With the arrival of Conder the real work of the Survey began. At first the south

<sup>1</sup> The fiftieth annual meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held on June 22. An interesting report of the proceedings is published in the *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1915 (pp. 113-131).

country was surveyed and explored. Then the party went northwards as far as the plain of Esdraelon. The work was done with great thoroughness. To appreciate it fully one must read the reports in the *Quarterly Statements of the Palestine Exploration Fund*. Every town, village, house, vineyard, ruin, rock, tomb, cave was noted, every hill, valley, ravine was marked, every name was put down, and thus Biblical topography was being enriched day by day. In the third year of the survey Mr. Drake became seriously ill, and in June, 1874, he died. The Palestine Exploration Fund looked round for a successor to Mr. Drake, who was to be second in command of the Survey Party. They found him in a young lieutenant of the Royal Engineers. That young lieutenant was Horatio Herbert Kitchener. Young Kitchener accepted the post offered to him, and in November, 1874, he joined the Survey Party in Palestine.

One might be allowed to ask what induced Lieutenant Kitchener, who was at the time engaged in his work—field telegraphy—at Chatham and Aldershot, and who had already

seen for a short time active service in the French Army, which he had joined as a private when he was barely twenty years old, to enter upon exploration work in Palestine. Kitchener knew the scientific character of the work that was awaiting him in Palestine. No doubt Kitchener had scholarly inclinations and he must have been glad to get a chance of doing more serious work, of doing what we may call extraordinary work. He already then showed great industry. Horace G. Groser, in his *Story of the Life of Lord Kitchener* (1914), writing of that period of Kitchener's life, tells us (p. 28): "The 'day's work'—in his case field telegraphy—was not enough for Kitchener. The margin of time for recreation was used largely by him for the mastering of those 'kindred subjects' with which his sporting or pleasure-loving associates would not take the trouble to make themselves conversant." Kitchener must therefore have been eager to undertake work which would give him ample scope to make use of his knowledge as an engineer, as a surveyor, and which would also enrich

his knowledge of lands and peoples. But there was, it seems to me, another, a far deeper, reason for Kitchener's decision to join in the survey work in Palestine. That reason was, I think, a love for the Bible and the land of the Bible, which he no doubt inherited from his mother and her father, and which must also have been implanted in him by his teachers in his childhood and boyhood.

Kitchener was born on June 24, 1850, at Gunsborough House, near Tralee, in county Kerry, Ireland. But both his parents were English. His father was Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Horatio Kitchener. On retiring from the Army in India he came to England and married Miss Frances Chevallier, who was a daughter of the Rev. John Chevallier, Doctor of Divinity, of Aspall, in Suffolk. As the daughter of a theologian Miss Chevallier was no doubt interested in the Bible, and it is only natural that she should later inculcate this interest in and love for the Bible in her children. To the mother or to her father must also be due the fact that all his early education Kitchener received

from clergymen. Kitchener never attended a public school. His chief private tutor was a Mr. Allen Freeman, who afterwards took Holy Orders. At Kilflynn, a place to which the Kitcheners removed a short time after their son's birth, there was a Protestant school, presided over by a clergyman, the Rev. William Raymond. Young Kitchener was a worshipper at Kilflynn Church and an attendant at the Sunday School class which was held there.

At the age of thirteen young Kitchener was sent to a French school, at a place called Château au Grand Clos, near Villeneuve, overlooking the lake of Geneva. That school was conducted by an English clergyman, the Rev. J. Bennett. Young Kitchener remained at that school for some time. When he was fourteen years old his mother died. The death of his mother seems to have affected him very greatly. After some further travel Kitchener returned to England and was sent to a "crammer," who prepared him for the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, which he entered at the beginning of 1868. And even that "crammer" was

a clergyman, the Rev. George Frost, of 28, Kensington Square. Thus we see practically the whole of the early education of Kitchener supervised and guided by clergymen. That his mother and grandfather influenced his character and his outlook on life is also shown, it seems to me, by the following fact. When Kitchener was raised to the peerage in 1898 he took as his title Lord Kitchener of Khartoum and Aspall, thus coupling with the name of the place which then signified the greatest glory in his career the name of the place of the Chevalliers. He did not associate with his title his birthplace or any of the estates his father had in Ireland. It was only Aspall that was to be connected for ever with his name and the name signifying his greatness. Kitchener no doubt wanted to show by this how much he owed to his mother and to his grandfather, the Rev. Dr. John Chevallier. And it is no doubt in the influence exercised on him by his mother, grandfather, and teachers, and in the love for the Bible which they transmitted to him, that we must seek for the main reason of the decision of Kitchener to

go out to Palestine and to join the Survey Party of the Palestine Exploration Fund. To explore the land of the Bible, to help to enrich the knowledge of the topography of the Bible, to learn to know the Holy Land, to survey it and to go over every corner of it, and perhaps also to see what its future possibilities might be, was a temptation which Kitchener could not resist. And he went.

On November 19 Kitchener joined the camp of the party in Palestine. He at once threw himself with all his zeal into the work. At first he suffered severely from fever. But he soon got used to the climate, and he worked incessantly. For more than half a year the survey work was done in the south, in Philistia. Though the work was done very well by Lieutenant Conder and the other members of the party, it seems to have gained in thoroughness and rapidity since the arrival of Kitchener, who was second in command. In the reports sent to England by Conder the name of Kitchener figures prominently. Kitchener surveys, finds and copies inscriptions, takes photo-



graphs of important places and scenes, gives his opinion on archaeological matters, and enters whole-heartedly into the whole work. One feels that Kitchener is becoming the most energetic member of the party. He seems to have spent a great part of his leisure in learning Arabic and Turkish, and no doubt also in adding to his knowledge of Hebrew and of Biblical Archaeology. But he soon proved himself the strongest man of the party in quite a different sense. Once he saved Conder from drowning in the Mediterranean near Ascalon. The second time he saved the whole party from annihilation. It happened in this way.

In June, 1875, the party went to the north to begin the survey of Galilee. On July 10 they arrived at Safed, and on the same day they were attacked by a Mohammedan chief and a crowd of his followers. It was only due to the resourcefulness of Lieutenant Kitchener that the results of the attack were not fatal. We will hear more about the details later on. Conder and Kitchener were wounded. Conder was laid up as a result of his injuries, and the next report was



sent to England by Kitchener. The Survey was suspended. The party returned to England, after the trial of the evil-doers had taken place at Acre, and during 1876 Kitchener was working, in the company of Conder, on the materials which they brought home, at the Royal Albert Hall. The map of Western Palestine was being prepared by Conder and Kitchener. But the map could not be finished. The greater part of Galilee and a small piece in the south had to be surveyed yet, about 1,200 square miles. Other parts had to be revised. In the meantime the photographs taken by Kitchener in Palestine, fifty in number, were published. Twelve selected photographs, of great Biblical interest, were published in one volume, accompanied by descriptions from the pen of Kitchener. It was called *Lieutenant Kitchener's Guinea Book of Biblical Photographs*.

Now, the Survey had to be completed, and it was decided to send out the expedition again. But the experience at Safed was not forgotten yet, and Conder was not well enough and did not feel inclined to run again similar

risks, and he decided to remain in England and to continue the work of the preparation of the Map and the Memoirs of the country already surveyed. To Kitchener dangers were no obstacle, and he resolved to go out again. He was given the command of the Survey, and in January, 1877, he left England for Palestine. In February his staff joined him at Haifa, and on February 27 work was commenced. The work was done thoroughly and rapidly. Every report sent home by Kitchener recorded new work successfully accomplished. Everything went smoothly. In Safed, the place of the attack, Kitchener was now received with great honours. By the beginning of July the survey of Galilee was completed, a thousand square miles having been added to the map. After four weeks' rest in the Lebanon, which Kitchener used for work—a rest to Kitchener is only a change of work—he went with a reduced party to the south country and surveyed 340 square miles in the desert round Beersheba. The survey of the whole of Western Palestine was thus completed. Then the revision was done. From October 10

to November 22 Kitchener and his party revised 1,700 square miles. When this was done they returned to England. In January, 1878, Kitchener was back in England, and after a short leave he joined Conder at the South Kensington Museum and set himself at arranging and writing the Memoirs for the sheets of the Map executed by himself. On May 1 Conder left the service of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Kitchener continued his work at the South Kensington Museum, and on September 10 Kitchener formally handed over to the Committee the whole of the Maps and Memoirs complete. Thus Kitchener's Palestine exploration work was completed after he had devoted to it exactly four years. Kitchener always completes the work he undertakes.

As a result of the work of Conder and Kitchener we have the large Map of Western Palestine in twenty-six sheets, three volumes of Memoirs on the topography, orography, hydrography and archaeology, and one volume of Arabic and English name lists. A volume of "Special Papers" (Volume V of the series) contains contributions from

Conder and Kitchener. Kitchener's contribution is a very interesting and very learned essay on the Synagogues in Galilee. He fixes the date of those synagogues between 150 and 300 of the common era. Characteristic of the style of Kitchener in this essay is his designation of Rabbi Jehuda the Holy as "the most celebrated of the rabbinical sovereigns." We will hear later more about the synagogues in Galilee.

The full title of the Map is "Map of Western Palestine in twenty-six sheets from Surveys conducted for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund by Lieutenants C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener, 1872-1877." Scale: 1 inch to a mile. It was published in 1880. How thorough the work of the Map was can be judged from the signs on the Map. There are signs for : vineyard, orchard, garden, wood, scrub, palms, fir trees, marsh, sand, perennial stream, dry water-course, well, pool, aqueduct, spring, cistern, bridge, tomb, sarcophagus, cave, mosque, church, ruin, wine-press, watch-tower, Roman mile-stones, etc. Kitchener also prepared a reduced map.

The Memoirs are also very thorough and

very exhaustive. Each memoir is subdivided into three sections, A, B, and C. Section A contains the geographical and topographical description of the sheets of the Map. There are subheadings: orography, hydrography, topography, roads, and cultivation. Section B is devoted to the archaeology of the sheets, giving a detailed account of the ancient remains in alphabetical order, with places, sketches, and drawings of detail. Section C is ethnographical and contains notes on the population. The first volume (on Galilee) was, with the exception of one sheet (it deals with six sheets), written entirely by Kitchener. Each of the three volumes (quarto) contains over 400 pages. The fourth volume, containing the name lists, has also more than 400 pages. It gives about 9,000 Arabic names, a large number of which was collected by Kitchener.

Our present maps of Palestine and our present topographical, archaeological and ethnographical knowledge of Palestine we therefore owe to Lieutenant Conder as well as to Lord Kitchener.

I may mention, by the way, that five

years later Kitchener rapidly surveyed (in about two months) the Sinai Peninsula and the country south of the Dead Sea, and that he ascended Mount Sinai and Mount Hor. I cannot give here a description of that work of Kitchener. I should only like to say this: there is probably no man living who knows the frontier lands of Egypt and Palestine better than Lord Kitchener. This is more than interesting just now.

This is, in brief, the story of Kitchener's work in Palestine. But in order to understand the better the nature of the work done and to get a clear insight into Kitchener's method of work as well as into his whole character and mentality, we must read his reports and letters which he sent to the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund when commanding the Survey Party in Palestine. Every line of these reports and letters is full of interest and deserves to be read. I should like to throw out the suggestion that all these reports and letters of Kitchener, as well as his scientific notes and articles which appeared in the volumes of the *Quarterly Statement*

*of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, should be collected and published in one volume. I have no doubt that the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund will gladly give the permission for such a publication.

Now, it is impossible to reproduce here all the reports and letters just mentioned. Extracts from these reports and letters must suffice for our purpose.

The first report Kitchener wrote immediately after the attack in Safed. Conder left his report unfinished, having taken ill. Kitchener therefore dispatched Conder's report to London, accompanied by a short report written by himself. This short report is contained in the following letter which Kitchener wrote on Mount Carmel on July 15, 1875 (published in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1875, pp. 195-6):—

“ Being placed in command of the expedition, owing to the temporary illness of Lieutenant Conder, I write by his wish to inform the Committee that the survey is at present entirely suspended in consequence of two causes—the first being a murderous



and unprovoked attack on the party by Moslem inhabitants of Safed (particulars enclosed); the second the gradual spread of cholera over the north of Palestine. Lieutenant Conder and myself consider, under these circumstances, that we cannot take the responsibility of conducting the party again into the field till a very severe punishment has been awarded to the inhabitants of Safed, and until the steady advance of the cholera is checked. I feel certain that neither of these obstacles will be removed under two or three months.

“Dr. Varton, who is at present in attendance on Lieutenant Conder, with Dr. Chaplin, and other medical men, predict an unusually unhealthy autumn, which will be followed by the two or three months of winter, during which work is impossible.

“The non-commissioned officers, though ready to go through any amount of work or danger, are much discouraged at the prospect of an indefinite delay without employment, which, in my opinion, is more trying in this climate than work. The south country is also closed, as the Arabs have

refused to lay down their arms, and are, I believe, still engaged with the Government.

“Under these circumstances, Lieutenant Conder and myself both consider it our duty to recommend the Committee to break up the expedition for a time, and to recall the non-commissioned officers, empowering Lieutenant Conder and myself to remain as long as the legal proceedings require our presence. In case of any delay or difficulty in obtaining justice, we feel we have a right to expect that the Committee will give us their strongest support. Lieutenant Conder has considered it his duty to report the facts of the case to the Deputy Adjutant-General, Royal Engineers. He has telegraphed to Constantinople, and placed himself in communication with the Consul-General at Beyrout.

“Lieutenant Conder is at present in bed, recovering from an attack of fever, brought on by the severe nature of the wounds on the head he received in the fight at Safed. Five of our servants are ill in their beds, besides one in hospital at Safed, and I myself am still suffering from the bruises I received

during the engagement. The non-commissioned officers were only slightly bruised.

“H. H. KITCHENER, *Lieut. R.E.*”

The attack on the party at Safed, which took place on Saturday, July 10, is fully described in the letter which Lieutenant Conder sent from Haifa on July 14, 1875, to the Consul-General of Beyrout and a copy of which Lieutenant Kitchener sent to the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund in London. Describing the attack on himself Lieutenant Conder writes:—

“I must inevitably have been murdered but for the cool and prompt assistance of Lieutenant Kitchener, who managed to get to me and engaged one of the club men, covering my retreat. A blow descending on the top of his head he parried with a cane, which was broken by the force of the blow. A second wounded his arm. His escape is unaccountable. Having retired a few paces from the thick of the fray I saw that the Moslems were gradually surrounding us, stealing behind trees and through vineyards, and I well understood that in

such a case, unless the soldiers arrived at once, we must all die. Many of the servants had indeed already given up hope, though no one fled. I gave the order to leave the tents and fly round the hill. *Lieutenant Kitchener was the last to obey this order, being engaged in front.*<sup>1</sup> He retreated to his tent, and whilst running he was fired at and heard the bullet whistle by his head. He was also followed for some short distance by a man with a huge scimitar, who subsequently wounded with it more than one of our people. Gaining the cover of some trees we stopped on a bare hill-side to consult, and ventured back to the brow to reconnoitre. At this moment the soldiers arrived with an officer, and the English Consular-Agent, Herr Marcus Cigal. I am informed that all the offensive weapons were immediately concealed, the stoning and blasphemous language ceased at once, and not an individual of the crowd remained. I confine this report to the actual experience of myself and Lieutenant Kitchener. The evidence of the rest of the party was

<sup>1</sup> The italics are mine.

taken by Herr Marcus [Cigal]" (*Q. S.*, 1875, p. 198). Then the more serious injuries are described. Lieutenant Conder's injuries consisted of two raw wounds on the head and violent swelling from a blow on the neck. Lieutenant Kitchener had a bruise covering all his left thigh, and another on his arm. The report adds: "Both still very painful." By the way it may be mentioned that the report states that the groom, who was dangerously wounded, "remains very ill with wounds and fever in the Jewish Hospital, Safed." We are glad to know that the Jewish Hospital at Safed was of some use to the surveying party in Palestine. At the end of this letter Lieutenant Kitchener writes (*op. c.*, p. 199):

"This report was left unfinished by Lieutenant Conder when he was taken ill. It will, I think, inform the Committee of all the necessary particulars of the conflict. We retired next day to Mejdel Karum, and on Monday arrived here.

"H. H. KITCHENER, *Lieut. R.E.*"

The Committee of the Palestine Explora-

tion Fund, of course, acted in accordance with the recommendations of Lieutenants Conder and Kitchener and suspended the survey. The trial took place in September at Acre. Lieutenants Conder and Kitchener attended and gave evidence. The result was satisfactory, punishment having been meted out to the evil-doers.

The next report was sent by Lieutenant Kitchener from the Palestine Survey Camp, Haifa, on March 6, 1877. He was then back in Palestine in command of the Survey. The whole report (published in *Q. S.*, 1877, pp. 70-72) is very interesting. I will only give here a short passage from it which shows the inimitable thoroughness with which Kitchener was doing his work. There was a doubt about a name Kalamon, which was omitted upon the map of Carmel (of this survey). Kitchener writes with regard to this :—

“ I have also made a strict inquiry after the name of ‘ Kulmon ’ or ‘ Kalamon,’ mentioned in *Quarterly Statement*, January, 1876, p. 20, as to be found on the maps of Robinson, Ritter, and Jacotin, but not on those

of M. Guerin and Vandervelde, and which also occurs on Murray's map. The German colony here have purchased nearly all the land north of Tireh, and by the kind permission of Mr. Sennaker, I have been allowed to carefully examine their title-deeds; though they have land all round Khurbet Kefr es Samir, no such name occurs. I have also ridden to Tireh with the sole object of finding this name. I asked every one I met on the road there and back, about twenty people, first for all the names of the country round, and, as a last resource, if they had ever heard of 'Kulmon,' 'Kalamon,' or anything like it. At Khurbet Kefr es Samir I found an old man who inhabited a cave close by, and put the same questions. At Tireh I saw the sheikh and about two dozen men; none had ever heard of such a name. Since then the superior of the convent of Mount Carmel, who knows the district most thoroughly, has assured me that no such name occurs. I can therefore only assume that the name does not exist, and that our map is therefore right in not putting it on. How other maps have

procured the name seems difficult to understand ; but, as in some other cases, it may have been supplied by some too enthusiastic traveller, who looked more for what ought to be in the country than what is."

Kitchener has always looked for "what is."

He signs this report—

"H. H. KITCHENER, *Lieut. R.E.*,

*"Commanding Survey of Palestine."*

Apart from his fuller reports Kitchener also sent short letters to the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund. They are all exceedingly interesting. I will give just a few extracts. He writes from Tiberias on March 30, 1877 (see *Q. S.*, 1877, p. 114):—

"We are getting on all right with the work, and I hope in another fortnight to have finished the shores of the Sea of Galilee, and be on the road to Safed again. My servants rather dread going back, so I shall have to keep a look-out on the rearguard as well as in front going up the hill. Eldridge has gone to a good deal of trouble to make things go well. . . . If the Fund could get a consul established at Haifa it would be



a very good thing. If I am well received at Safed and report satisfactorily, would the Committee give up their claim to the rest of the fine imposed? It would smooth matters. . . . The Druses are giving a good deal of trouble, cutting people's throats on the road to Damascus. Also there is a report of war between the Druses and Arabs in the Jebel Druse, and Mohammed Said Pasha is to be sent with a large force to put it down. This is merely an *on dit*, and not very reliable. In the south, near Hebron, the Arab tribes Tarabin and Tey-yaha have had a fight. The latter lost 101 men killed, the former only 12. This is reliable. Consul Moore has telegraphed and sent out people to stop all travellers from going that way. It is lucky I am doing the north after all."

On April 11, Kitchener writes from Safed (see *Q. S.*, *l.c.*):—

"You will be glad to hear that we have made a most successful entry into Safed. The Governor, Kadi, and H.B.M. Consular Agent, with twenty-two followers, came out about an hour and a half on the road to meet

me. We rode into the town in quite a triumphal procession. I at once went to the Serail and was saluted by the guard. After coffee with the Governor, I pitched camp, and then the Governor came and called. After him the British Agent, and then the Kadi, with all the members of the Mejlis. Nothing could be more civil and obliging than everybody was. To-day I had the Governor, the British Consul, and our old enemy, Ali Agha Alan, the cause of the row ; the latter expressed deep sorrow for what he had done, as well he may, as I hear he and the Mogrebbins are all but ruined."

In this letter we see already the conqueror Kitchener.

The next two letters are from Meiron, both very interesting. In the second letter, dated April 25, 1877, he writes (*Q. S.*, 1877, p. 115):—"We have been getting on very well, and I have found two new synagogues and four dolmens." He appreciates the good work of Mr. Eldridge, H.B.M. Consul-General at Beyrout. He pleads again for an English Consul at Haifa or Akka. He writes: "I

wish you could get the matter of the consuls in North Palestine looked into by the Foreign Office, as it is really wanted. An Englishman at Haifa or Akka, and an advance to some of the consular agents, such as at Safed, who have neither seals of office nor any status in the country, though French, Austrians, and others have, is much wanted."

The second report (see *Q. S.*, 1877, pp., 116-120), written at the camp at Tiberias on March 30, 1877, is learned and interesting. It shows a fine combination of the sound archaeologist and the keen soldier. Kitchener had also an eye for the beauties of the country. I shall quote one passage from this report:—

"The country is now very lovely, carpeted with flowers and green with the growing crops. The people complain of being short-handed, owing to the large numbers that have been taken away for military service. The second ban and some of the third ban of redifs have been called out, and the people fear lest the Muharfez or Landwehr may be required. Old men and women have to

take their places in the fields, and when the harvest time comes it will be very difficult to gather in the crops." He concludes the report with the following sentence: "The influence of an Englishman at this port (Haifa) would be of the greatest benefit to all the Christians of the district, which contains a thriving English mission and schools at Nazareth, many English subjects among the Jews of Tiberias and Safed, besides a considerable amount of English shipping trade from Akka."

Once he has set his mind on a certain object he does not stop working for it until it has been achieved.

The third report (see *op. c.*, pp. 120-125) begins with a short description of the scenery of the Sea of Galilee, which again shows Kitchener's love for nature. He writes:—

"The scenery of the lake is hardly what would be expected of a basin 685 feet below the sea level. The hills on the eastern side have an almost perfectly level outline, scarcely broken by any valley of importance, and decidedly monotonous in appearance; still the bright sunshine throws a rosy haze

over the country, and the contrast with the bright blue water is very beautiful. The best views of the lake are from a distance on the many heights from which it is visible, as thus seen in the evening it is particularly lovely. Deep blue shadows seem to increase the size of the hills, and there is always a rosy flush in the sky and over snow-clad Hermon." Then Lieutenant Kitchener enters upon archaeological discussions and also makes fine strategical observations. Of a place called Kerak he says: "The place must have been of great importance, as it closes the passage of the valley, and also that of the Jordan at its northern extremity, where it is now crossed by a ferry. It also must have required a large garrison owing to the great size of the plateau." Nothing escapes his eye. Later he refers to Josephus' description of the advance of Vespasian to the attack of Tiberias, and tries to identify the camp of the Roman army. The following passage is also interesting: "The next place of interest is the hot springs, with their baths, much frequented by the Jews of Tiberias. The three principal springs

had a temperature of 132, 143, and 144 degrees respectively, commencing with the southern one. Above the Hammam, or baths, is the tomb of Rabbi Mair Ramban,<sup>1</sup> the celebrated Maimonides. Two schools are now built over his tomb, one for the Ashkenazim and the other for the Sephardim Jews." Then follow again archaeological observations. There is not a line which is not interesting, not a word which could be omitted, the past and the present claiming equally strongly the attention of this keenest of observers. He writes about the site of Capernaum and quotes Josephus. Then he writes about his visit to the ruined synagogue at Nebar-tein. He mentions the remains of the synagogue with apparent delight. A squeeze and photographs were taken of "the fine lintel with Hebrew inscription." He goes on to say: "On the pedestal of a column

<sup>1</sup> This must be a printer's error, as in his *Memoirs*, p. 414, he writes of this tomb correctly as that of "Rabbi Mūsha Ben Maimūn (the great Maimonides)." He remarks there: "An ordinary modern whitewashed masonry tomb with a few niches for lamps in front."

there is an engraved hare. The occurrence of animals figured in these synagogues seems to be common. At Umm el Amud there are two lions; at Irbid there were probably the same. The stone is now in Kal'at Ibn Ma'an. At Nebartein a hare; at Kefr Bir'im, on two synagogues, lambs. At Sefsaf the remains of a synagogue were found by us; the lintel bears two sheep's heads. At el Jish, in a ruined synagogue discovered by us, an eagle resembling the top of a Roman standard, which seems to show that though the Jews objected to the Roman standards in the Holy City, they were put up in the country synagogues without trouble. I hope in my next month's report to give a fuller description of these very interesting buildings." We have already seen above (p. 25) that Kitchener made a thorough study of the synagogue ruins in Palestine.

Towards the conclusion of the report he describes the site of ancient Giscala, near Meiron, and the discovery of a synagogue at Sefsaf. He closes this report by saying: "On the 28th I received a telegram to the effect that war had been declared between

Turkey and Russia. I hope this sad news will not interfere with the successful completion of the survey of Galilee." And we will see that it did not interfere. The report is signed:—

"H. H. KITCHENER, *Lieut. R.E.*,  
"Commanding Palestine Survey."

In a letter of July 11 (see *Q. S.*, 1877, p. 162) Kitchener writes from Haifa: "I have finished the north under my original estimate and without Armstrong, and there has been no accident, as you will have been informed by telegram. We are now off for the Lebanon for three weeks' rest, which we sadly want. . . ." In his next letter, dated July 24, he writes from Aleih, a place on Mount Lebanon: "We arrived here safely on the 21st, after a hot march from Haifa. I have now started office work in a room close to our camp, and I think we shall have a month or more hard work; everything has to be made in duplicate, and all observations, descriptions, etc., have to be copied out." That is the way in which Lord Kitchener used to take a rest. He



concludes this letter by pointing out "the good relations existing between us and the Government." Turkey was then in the midst of the war with Russia, and trouble was easily made. His next letter, written a week later, he closes with the words: "Don't be nervous about us, we are safer here than you are in London."

The next letter is also very interesting. He writes that he is sending Sergeant Malings to England with all the original work, and that he is going to the south of Palestine to complete his work there. One of his horses had an accident and he is upset by this. At the close of the letter he again warns against panic. "Don't get a panic like the Damascus Christians. I shall take every precaution for the safety of the party." He is not only the scientific head of the party, he is also the protector of the party. And an efficient protector he was. The extract of his letter of August 22 from the camp at Aleih is worth quoting in full. He writes (see *Q. S.*, 1877, p. 163). "We have been working from 6 to 6 to get done, Sundays included, so that the sergeant may take

everything, at the same time leave all behind in duplicate. Directly I receive the receipt for the work I will send you the duplicates. I have been delayed here doing this, otherwise I should be at Jerusalem now; however, it is all for the best, as I could not have moved one of my horses. . . . The sergeant starts on the 23rd and I on the 24th. Eight or nine days will take me to Jerusalem, and then for the Desert." On September 7 he writes from Jerusalem and reports that it was very hot and that he got a slight sunstroke on the plain by the seashore. One sentence is very interesting. From Tyre he went to Acre and Nazareth. At Acre he "saw the Pasha and settled some little things." Then he writes: "At Nazareth I presented the gun to Abdallah Agha, who wishes to express his thanks to the Committee, and to say that he is entirely at their service for anything that may be wanted. The gun was very suitable." The rest of the letter is also very interesting, as it shows how well Kitchener understood to get on with the Arabs. As to the Arabs and the war Kitchener says:

“The Arabs show no great patriotism for their co-religionists at war; they hate the Turk, and do not much care which way the war goes.” Have not these words a great significance to-day, after the lapse of thirty-eight years? At the end of the letter he mentions “the recent discoveries at Jerusalem.”

The more detailed reports are full of learning and show a remarkable insight into present things. They also show a sympathetic understanding for religious sentiments. Speaking of a little Christian village near Meiron he says (in his report from the P.E.F. Camp, Taiyebah, written on May 30, 1877): “The people are simple and devout, looking up to their priests as their guides in every difficulty.” “Every village has its little chapel, and at Dibl they had a service every evening. After sunset a bell was beaten in the village, and all the male population went to chapel, where there was a short service in Arabic” (*op. c.*, p. 165). In the next paragraph he discusses the ruins of an early Christian church. He studies every detail minutely and concentrates his whole mind on every point he observes and

discusses. Later in the report he mentions Tell Harā, "identified by Major Wilson with Hazor." Kitchener says: "The name Harā seems to me to be more nearly allied to Harosheth of the Gentiles; perhaps this is the site of Sisera's head-quarters." Then he discusses the ruin of Kades and places round Kades. All at once he again turns his eyes to the present and says: "The sheikh of the village (of Shakrā, near Kades) was extremely rude, and threw stones against the inscription when I attempted to copy it. I therefore left without doing so, and reported the matter to the governor, who immediately put the sheikh in prison. The next time I went to the village there was no opposition to my copying the inscription. I therefore had the sheikh set at liberty" (*op. c.*, p. 169). The sentence immediately following this interesting statement showing Kitchener's diplomatic resourcefulness is this: "At the village of Kunin there is a lintel seventeen feet long, with an inscription." In the middle of his archaeological discussions he tells the story of the rude sheikh and of the way he handled

him. The story told (the importance of which is clear), he does not waste a further word on the incident and goes on with his archaeological narrative. Kitchener shows throughout great knowledge of the history of the Crusades and the work of the Crusaders.

The next report is from the camp at Nakurah, dated June 30, 1877 (*Q. S.*, 1877, pp. 171-176). A reference to the present state of the country closes a learned report. The next report is from the camp at Aleih, dated August 14, 1877 (*op. c.*, pp. 176-178). At the opening of the report Kitchener admires the view over the whole of the Akka plain. He then records with regret the death of a baggage camel. He then speaks of the country round the camp and says: "The cultivation occurs in patches near the villages, and large tracts of country lie waste which were probably once covered with vineyards." Then there are again archaeological observations. Then again a few words about the present. "In the south-eastern portion of our work from this camp a large number of Druses are settled in one of their villages, el Bukeiah; there are also some Jewish families

who till the ground. They state that their land has been handed down from generation to generation for a great number of years. I believe these are the only Jews who own and till land in this country. It is curious that they should thus appear close by where we find so many ruins of their ancient synagogues."

Towards the close of the report he writes (p. 178) :—

" On the 10th July the survey of the north was finished, containing 1,000 square miles of country ; 2,773 names have been collected, and 476 ruins have been visited and described, some with special plans. All the villages have also been described with regard to the number and religion of inhabitants, the remains of ancient buildings, and the nature of the country round, etc., etc."

He then mentions some more work done, and closes the report by stating that he hopes early in September to be at work in the south. He signs :—

" H. H. KITCHENER, *Lieut. R.E.*,  
" *Commanding Palestine Survey.*"

On October 2, 11 and 15, he writes from Jerusalem, on November 4 from Nablus, and on November 10 from Beit Ur el Tahtā (see *Q. S.*, 1878, pp. 8 ff.). The letters are very interesting, and one feels tempted to quote every word. But it would take up too much space. In the letter of October 2 Kitchener joyfully writes: "I am sure you will be glad to hear that the map is an accomplished fact, and six years' work has been finished. We wound up at Beersheba on the 28th of September, much quicker than I expected, though the work in the south was 340 square miles instead of 200. The fact is we had to work hard. . . ." A very important fact. He is glad of his discovery of Ziklag, of which a little later. In the next two letters he writes about Jacob's Well. He also mentions the question of the genuineness of the Moabite pottery. His letter of November 4 shows that Kitchener did not like errors, even if they came from the printer. He writes: "I have just received the October *Quarterly*, and wish to notice a mistake in punctuation which makes my description of Malia nonsense." He then corrects it. He also ex-

presses his gratification "at the way the Committee mentioned his work at the General Meeting." <sup>1</sup> In his letter of November 10 he

<sup>1</sup> At the annual meeting of the General Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, held on Tuesday, July 17, 1877, a report of the Executive Committee was read, in which the following references were made to the work of Lieutenant Kitchener :—

"At the beginning of the year the Committee thought themselves justified in sending out Lieutenant Kitchener with a party of three non-commissioned officers to complete the survey of Western Palestine. There remained, as was estimated, about 1,200 square miles in northern Palestine, and 200 in the south. Lieutenant Kitchener's letters have reported steady and uninterrupted progress. In his last letter he estimated that the work would be finished in the north by the end of July. By a telegram which reached the chairman on Saturday last (July 14), the Committee receive the gratifying intelligence that the whole of the northern portion, which appears to consist of 1,000 square miles, or 200 less than was estimated, has been now completed.

"There remain, therefore, only the 200 square miles in the south, and the examination of certain points in the country to clear up the difficulties mentioned above.

"The Committee take this opportunity of expressing their high sense of Lieutenant Kitchener's ability and zeal. He has conducted the work for six months without any accidents during a period of suspicion and excitement. His reports, which are in the hands of the General Committee, are careful and intelligent, and his monthly accounts show due regard to economy.



announces a discovery. He writes: "We are getting on very well with the revision. I have discovered Ai, I think—Khurbet Haiy; I do not think any one has found it before, but am not sure. It is one mile east of Michmash. I think all the sites proposed hitherto for Ai have been west of Michmash." Then follow his reports, which are again exceedingly interesting. In his report of September 7, from Jerusalem (*Q. S.*, 1878, pp. 10-11), Kitchener writes about a visit which he paid to the sheikh of the Beni Sakr. His description of his visit to this Arab tribe, and of "their large troops of camels" "grazing over the plain of Esdrae-

He has hitherto managed to conduct the Survey for a monthly sum less than that which the Committee gave him as a maximum. It is hoped that he will return to England in the autumn, bringing his work with him, after which the Committee recommend that no time will be lost in arranging and working up the detail, with a view to the early publication of the map and its accompanying memoirs.

"This map, when produced, will, the Committee may fairly promise, fully justify the work and expenditure of the last five years, and will form by far the most important contribution ever yet made to the knowledge of the lands of the Bible" (*Q. S.*, 1877, p. 193).

lon" is very vivid. His report of October 2, from the camp at Jerusalem, he begins with the good tidings of the completion of the work. "I am glad to be able to report that the work of this month has finished the map of Palestine from Dan to Beersheba." He then describes his work in the desert between Gaza and Beersheba. His diplomatic skill and his great energy again stood him in good stead. About the discovery of Ziklag he writes: "Our principal discovery was the ruins of Ziklag, which still bears the name of Khurbet Zuheilakah." Later he identifies the Wādy Bashkhah, near Khurbet Zuheilakah, with "the brook Besor, mentioned in 1 Sam. xxx., where the 200 faint and weary stayed from following David in his pursuit of the Amalekites." The Arabs who live there Kitchener calls "the modern representatives of the Amalekites." He adds: "It is evident that this portion of the country is in a very similar state to what it was in the time of David, when this wādy probably formed the boundary of the kingdom of Gath." Of another fine ruin, Khurbeth Zebālah, five miles east

of Khurbet Zuheilikah, he writes that it appears to him "as likely to represent Baalah or Balah of the list in Josh. xv."

His identifications of modern names of places with Biblical names are very careful. He reports that on September 26 they moved camp to Bīr es Seba, and adds: "From this camp we finished the map commenced almost exactly six years ago" (*op. c.*, p. 13). The last portion of the report is very interesting. Kitchener writes:—

"Our journey back was rapid, owing to all our bread having gone mouldy and our provisions run short. Our first day took us to Dura on the road. At the wells near El Burg some fellahin were watering their flocks of goats. Seeing a mounted party arriving from the Bedouin country they raised a shout of 'Bedouins!'. Away went the goats at a gallop up the hills. This we were used to, and rode on trying to reassure them by shouting 'Soldiers!', when about fifteen men ran together behind some stone walls, and after gesticulating frantically, opened fire upon us. The balls whistled by and threw up the dust under our horses' feet, so we

pulled up, and after some difficulty succeeded in making them understand who we were. After all, we ran more danger from our friends than from the much-dreaded Arabs. . . . Next day, Saturday, we marched into Jerusalem, our horses rather done up by their hard work. Our tents and camels did not arrive till after dark. We shall now have about a fortnight's work preparing everything in duplicate. I will then send home the last portion of the map and take up the work of revision.

“The amount surveyed was 340 square miles, making a total since we have been out of 1,340 square miles.

“One hundred and four ruins have been examined and mapped in this latter portion of the Survey” (*op. c.*, p. 14).

The report that follows is from Nablus, and is dated November 1, 1877 (*l.c.*). It is the last report sent by Kitchener from Palestine. It is short and has some interesting points. I will therefore quote it in full:—

“The early portion of the month of October was taken up in preparing the last 340 square miles of the map to go home; this was

done at Jerusalem; some revision of the country round was also completed. Arrangements were also made with His Grace the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, granting me full permission to repair Jacob's Well. On the 17th I marched north to Zerin, revising on the road. My camps were Khān Lebban, Jeb'a, Zerin. From Zerin I sent an expedition to Tiberias to inquire after the name Sinn en Nabrā, which I had heard still existed on the shores of the Sea of Galilee. The name was found to be well known, and applies to the ruins west of the road at Kerak. A description of this site was given in my report on the Sea of Galilee. On the 23rd the revision of the country round Zerin was complete, and camp was moved to Nablus, where I intended to repair Jacob's Well. Unfortunately, owing to the bad government here, that design has been frustrated; when the matter is settled I will forward a special report on what has occurred. A special plan has been made of Samaria, and another of the church there; also one of the town of Nablus. The revision of the country is almost completed.



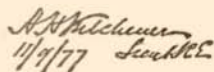
“The weather has been very bad—heavy storms of wind and rain; two days have been lost by wet weather.

“The country is, in my opinion, now in a more dangerous state than it has been any time this year. I attribute it to the elation felt by Mohammedans at having been able to beat so large a Christian power as Russia.

“H. H. KITCHENER, *Lieut. R.E.*”

This short report shows again Kitchener's unmatched thoroughness in looking after details and his understanding for things going on around him.

The April number of the *Q. S.* (pp. 60–61) contains a short note by Kitchener on the “Stone of Bethphage.” The note is a little masterpiece in precision and clearness. There is a plan of the discovery, to which there is attached a facsimile of Kitchener's signature. His handwriting is beautifully clear and strong (as seen in this reproduction).



H. H. Kitchener  
11/7/77 Lieut. R.E.

The next letter from Lieutenant Kitchener, which comes from Jerusalem and is dated

November 23, 1877 (*Q. S.*, 1878, pp. 62-67), is again very interesting. First he writes about his efforts to have Jacob's Well repaired and how he was subjected to many indignities by the officials. Then he reports that "while at Nablus the revision went on steadily." On Mount Ebal he searched for a church. The people were not obliging (Kitchener calls them "an extremely bad lot"), and Kitchener had to make three expeditions to the top of the mountain before he could gain any reliable information. The next paragraph is worth quoting in full, as it shows in the few sentences Kitchener's sense for history, especially Biblical history, his deep interest in archaeology and (as I have pointed out before) his understanding for what was going on around him. With Kitchener one feels that while reading the past he was drawing lessons for the present and the future. And how useful the lessons have been to him and to all his countrymen (in the widest sense of the word) we know now.

In that paragraph Kitchener writes: "On the 2nd I rode out to Teiasir to search for the tombs of the kings of Israel. As I was

passing the village of Tubās I made some search after an inscription which had been reported, but after careful inquiry and search among the tombs, I could not hear of any inscription answering to my description. On visiting the mosque, however, they told me of a valuable stone that was built into the wall. Getting my fingers into a crevice under the stone, I could feel that it was inscribed. I therefore urged them to pull it out to adorn the mosque, and after a little persuasion in the shape of backsheesh they set to work and soon rooted out the stone. It proved to be an Arabic inscription, very much defaced, telling of the building and dedication of the mosque. Tubās is a large village of about 1,500 inhabitants, situated in a most fertile country. By paying £100 in gold to the Pasha of Nablus the people have escaped the conscription up to now, but I expect their term is nearly out, and unless they pay another heavy bribe they will soon be called upon to make up for the time they have been spared." After this short diversion about the people of Tubās and their attempts to escape conscription



Kitchener returns to the search for the tombs of the kings of Israel, and says: "At Teiasir I was unable to identify the tombs of the kings. There are large numbers of caves and tombs on the side of a valley, but nothing to distinguish any above the rest." The next paragraph is also very interesting. I will only quote the last portion of it. Kitchener says that he rode back along the remains of the Roman road. Then follow these observations: "At one place four Roman milestones were thrown together in a heap. The engineering of these Roman roads was excellent. Over a most difficult country such as this it excites admiration to see the way that difficulties were got over with the least possible expenditure of labour. *Should Palestine ever be reopened to civilization, these roads will form the basis of the principal lines of communication through the country*"<sup>1</sup> (p. 63). Kitchener had an eye for everything.

The paragraphs that follow are all very interesting. Let us listen to this passage: "I returned by the village of Awertah, which

<sup>1</sup> The italics are mine.

is very pleasantly situated amongst olive-groves, and well supplied with water. It is famous for the tomb of Eleazar (el 'Azeir), which is held in high veneration by the Mohammedans, Jews, and Samaritans. I had to search for the tomb of Phinehas ; but, though there are three other sacred places, the inhabitants knew nothing of Phinehas. The three others are Sheikh el Mansury, Neby el Mefuddil, and el 'Azeirāt, and in each there are Samaritan inscriptions. In Neby el Mefuddil the inscription is plastered up. The people are very obliging, and all the sacred places are kept in excellent repair. A Samaritan told me that Sh. el Mansury was the tomb of Phinehas according to their records, but it seems more probable from the positions on the ground that el 'Azeirāt, which corresponds with el 'Azeir, should be the site. The place is evidently very ancient ; there are many rock-cut tombs, wine-presses, cisterns, and a fine spring of water. The people told me that el 'Azeir was a very great Neby next to Mohammed, and that he had even lived before the Prophet of God" (p. 64).

Kitchener then writes about the difficulty of telegraphic communication at Nablus, about some inscriptions found, and about "a very beautifully carved sarcophagus in perfect preservation." The passage which follows I feel I cannot leave unquoted. Kitchener writes: "The following day I rode down the great valley that witnessed the flight and pursuit of the Philistines by Joshua on that day that was like no other" (p. 65). Note the short and wonderful paraphrase of the words used in Josh. x. 14 to characterize that great day in the early history of Israel. Kitchener then goes on: "After visiting Beit Nuba and Yalo I returned by Beit Sira, and met a bridal party. Our village had arranged to give a bride to a man of Bir Main in exchange for one of equal beauty and wealth for one of their sons. Both brides started at a given time from their villages, accompanied by all the women in their gayest attire, and escorted by mounted men galloping frantically about performing 'fantasia,' as they call it. The brides were veiled and so muffled up that they could hardly move. The women kept up a chant

the whole way. When the two processions came within sight of each other they halted, and the brides were dragged off their horses and took leave of their friends with a good deal of lamentation. They were then mounted again, and two men led the horses alone to the opposite party; the men changed horses midway, and brought back the new brides. They were at once received with great joy, and had to dismount again to receive the congratulations of their new friends. Both parties then returned with a good deal of shouting and firing off of old rusty guns. In the evening the shouting and noise in the village was kept up to a late hour." With what ease Kitchener's thoughts wander from the pursuit of the Philistines by Joshua to the procession of the two brides. Kitchener then rode to Jaffa and experienced very bad weather. From Jaffa he went to some places in the neighbourhood to carry out some necessary work. He then rode to a place called Amwas to see the church. Kitchener then writes: "I entered the mosque and measured it up. On coming out I found a throng of people, who said it was

a most sacred place, being the tomb of Sheikh Obeid. I apologised for going in with my shoes on. The people were extremely civil and obliging, and though I had a Turkish soldier with me, they expressed their longing that England would take the country and give them the benefits of a just government. Nothing I could say would induce them to believe that England had no intention of doing anything of the sort."

I shall make no comments on this incident. Kitchener goes on to say: "There had been a wedding that day, and as the bridegroom has to stand a certain amount of powder for fantasia on these occasions, the young men very sensibly determined to use it for firing at marks, instead of throwing it away uselessly. They made some very good practice. At a certain time they all formed in line in front of the mosque, with the old sheikh in front, and went through their devotions together. They were very fervent in their prayers that God would give victory to the Sultan and confound the Muscovites." He then visited the remains of a church and a crusading castle. "Pushing on for Deir

Aban," Kitchener then reports, "I soon caught Corporal Sutherland, who had been revising in another direction; his horse was evidently very ill, and as Corporal Sutherland had a very bad foot I had to lead it all the way, about six miles, to Deir Aban. We got in some time after dark; the horse was very bad on the road, and though everything was done he died in a quarter of an hour after getting into camp. It was sad he could not last another day, as that would have finished his work." A very characteristic observation of Kitchener's. He then reports that the revision of 1,700 square miles was completed on November 17. They experienced again some very bad weather. But "the work was carried on the same and no day was lost." The men sailed on November 23, and Kitchener sailed for Constantinople on the 26th. The letter ends with the following sentence: "The work done from the end of February to the end of November, nine months, has been 1,340 square miles of country triangulated and surveyed, every ruin examined, and special reports on all villages and water supply; the line of levels between the

Mediterranean and the Sea of Galilee completed, 1,700 square miles of country revised, 3,850 names collected and 816 ruins examined and described, twenty-seven special plans and nineteen photographs, besides notes on all archaeological and geological points of interest in the country gone over."

This letter is signed:—

"H. H. KITCHENER, *Lieut. R.E.*"

In a note which follows later (p. 74) Kitchener writes that from his camp at Lidd he visited a place called el Medyeh in order "to resolve, if possible, the much-disputed site of the graves of the Maccabees." On the top of a hill close by he found "one rock-cut tomb, which had been turned into a cistern." "There are many cisterns," he says, "and some other cuttings in the rock which might prove to be tombs if they were cleared out." He continues: "I have no doubt in my own mind that this was the site of the tombs of those celebrated heroes of later Jewish history." He then gives a fairly full description of the hill. The note is signed: H. H. K.

Then follows a note on the site of Ai (pp. 74-5). Kitchener endeavours to identify Ai with a Khurbet Haiy one mile east of Mukh-mās. The note is full of interesting remarks about the strategical position of Ai which Kitchener bases on the passages in the Bible. There is another note on some discoveries in Jerusalem (p. 78). In a note on Tarichaea (p. 79), Kitchener vindicates Josephus' account regarding the position of Tarichaea as against the account of Pliny. All these notes are signed: H. H. K.

In January, 1878, Kitchener returned to England and soon joined Lieutenant Conder at the South Kensington Museum, where he began, as we have seen, to arrange and write the Memoirs for the sheets of the Map executed by him. How the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund was impressed with the work of Lieutenant Kitchener we can also see from the report of the Executive Committee read at the meeting of the General Committee held on June 11, 1878 (see *Q. S.*, 1878, pp. 108 ff.). Paragraph 4 (p. 109) deserves to be quoted. It says: "It is due to this officer (Lieutenant Kitchener) to



state that his work, although it is in no respect inferior to that of his predecessor in command, was accomplished under the most urgent necessity for dispatch. For a large part of the eight months during which he was in the country he and his men worked without intermission in order to get the work completed while the country, then threatened with disturbances, was still tranquil. No serious hindrance was met with, nor was there any opposition from the natives, except at Nablus, where Lieutenant Kitchener was attacked and stoned in the streets, and where he was prevented from executing the proposed repairs of Jacob's Well. The Committee desire to express their sense not only of the energy and ability, but also of the tact shown by this officer in the conduct of his expedition, and of the careful economy with which he kept his expenses below the estimate." Higher praise is scarcely possible. And we know what these characteristics of Kitchener mean now for a great part of the world.

On September 10, 1878, Lieutenant Kitchener handed over to the Committee

the whole of the maps and memoirs complete, and also presented his final report. This short report (see *Q. S.*, 1878, pp. 174-5) is very interesting. I shall quote the opening paragraph :—

“ It is with great regret that I leave the service of the Palestine Exploration Fund after a period of four years' work. I beg to tender to you and to the other members of the Committee who are not present on this occasion my best thanks for the universally kind and indulgent way in which I have been treated, particularly during the time I was in command of the Survey of Palestine in that country. During that very critical period when Turkey was at war the confidence placed in me by the Committee enabled me to carry out the survey in my own way, when, had it been necessary to apply home for detailed directions, I should very probably not have succeeded in the enterprise.” This last sentence has a special significance to-day. He closes the report with these words: “ I shall at all times be ready to serve the Committee to the best of my ability, and beg again to thank them for their many kindnesses.”

In the meantime Lieutenant Kitchener had been appointed by the Foreign Office to the command of the survey of Cyprus, and on September 19 he left England for that island, of which he afterwards made a survey.

I must not forget to mention that while at his work at the South Kensington Museum Lieutenant Kitchener, who had become in the meantime a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, delivered a lecture before the Geographical Section of the British Association on the "Survey of Galilee" (see *Q. S.*, 1878, pp. 159-174). It is, as far as I know, the only scientific lecture Kitchener ever delivered. This lecture is a masterpiece of lucidity, brevity and wealth of material, geographical, historical and archaeological. Every sentence of this lecture deserves to be quoted. But as this cannot be done I will just give a few selected passages. He begins the lecture by introducing himself "as the representative of the Palestine Exploration Fund." He then gives a short résumé of the work of the Fund in Palestine from 1871 to 1878. He then describes his work and the work of his party in Galilee. The style is unique.

Not a word too much. Everything is dealt with. Allusions to history interchange with references to topics of his surroundings. The interest of the audience must have been kept up from the first to the last word. Speaking of the plain of Esdraelon he says: "Looking down on the broad plain of Esdraelon stretched out from our feet, it is impossible not to remember that this is the greatest battlefield of the world, from the days of Joshua and the defeat of the mighty host of Sisera, till, almost in our own days, Napoleon the Great fought the battle of Mount Tabor; and here also is the ancient Megiddo, where the last great battle of Armageddon is to be fought" (p. 163). We have already seen before how painstaking Kitchener was in every detail of his work. The way he established the accuracy, or rather the correctness of the omission, of the name "Kalamon," was a special example of Kitchener's thoroughness. In his lecture he touches upon the nomenclature. And what he has to say on this subject is very interesting. "The nomenclature was written down in Arabic by a well-educated scribe kept for

that purpose. Each surveyor had a guide with him, who gave the names of the different places. The surveyor wrote them down as near as he could to the sound, and on returning to camp he repeated them in front of the guide and the scribe. The guide then pronounced the names correctly, and the scribe wrote it down from him. I afterwards transliterated the Arabic in accordance with Robinson's method, and the proper spelling was thus obtained and written on the map. Every possible check on the veracity of the natives was employed by asking numbers of people independently the names. Dishonest guides were dismissed, and as these people are peculiarly susceptible of sarcasm, the offenders were not happy when they were laughed out of camp for not knowing their own country as well as we knew it. One of the great values of the map is the number of unknown names it has made public; thus on this part of the survey 2,770 names were collected, only about 450 of which are to be found on the best existing map of the country. Another is the accuracy of these names, taken down from the natives in a manner

never attempted before, and the result has been to throw a vast light on the ancient nomenclature of the country and the origin of the races that inhabit it" (p. 164).

Many things Kitchener has been doing since those days have been done "in a manner never attempted before." Speaking of the lake of Tiberias he says: "The scenery of the lake is decidedly monotonous, but there is a great charm in that dry and thirsty land in having a vast expanse of fresh water spread out before the eyes, and at night the effect of the moon in Eastern brightness shining on the calm lake was exceedingly beautiful" (p. 165). Speaking of an interesting place now in ruins he says: "Now all is ruined, and only forms the resting-place of the eagle and the vulture; *but in the bright future that seems to be about to dawn on that land,*<sup>1</sup> what a delightfully cool retreat this would make for the owner of the fair plain stretched out 1,000 feet below" (p. 166).

Will the bright future soon be a bright present? Speaking of the village of Meiron

<sup>1</sup> The italics are mine.

he gives a very vivid description of the feast in the building that contains the tomb of R. Simeon ben Jochai. Kitchener witnessed the pilgrimage. "The Jews," he says, "arrived in thousands on foot, on donkeys, camels or mules; some came from great distances—it was said some even came from England; and yet it was a very bad year, owing to the disturbed state of the country." In the evening the ceremonies began. "The whole place was turned into a fair—feasting, dancing and singing went on all night; great torches were lighted over the tomb and lit up the motley crowd; into these torches or rather braziers the devotees cast embroidered scarves, silks and dresses." In continuing the description he says: "The women occupied the upper chambers of the building, and seemed more devout; some of them were engaged in prayer. They have a firm conviction that these pilgrimages ensure their having children."<sup>1</sup> Kitchener has an eye for everything. Later Kitchener describes how he moved camp to Dibl, a Christian village. From his description of

<sup>1</sup> Many rabbinical authorities are against these fêtes.

the state of things at the village we can see that he saved the village from grave disturbances through the tactful advice which he had given and which was followed. Speaking of the village he says: "A Christian village can be known from a distance by the greenness of its vineyards and fields, in striking contrast to the barren desolation surrounding most Moslem villages. The terrible fatalism of their religion destroys the country. 'If God wills that fruit trees or vineyards should grow they will grow', says the Moslem, as he sits and smokes" (p. 169). In the next passage Kitchener writes: "I must also bear testimony to the stringent orders sent from Constantinople to the Turkish governors and officials to protect these Christians, and to put down any attempt to drive them out of the country. There was more cause to fear this, as the ignorance of the people led them to believe the war was one of religion—Moslem against Christian, instead of Turk against Russian." These words are of interest now.

Later he mentions his camp near Kades. He then says: "On the plain below our



camp the Arab tents stood exactly as those of Heber the Kenite did on the eventful day when Jael, his wife, slew Sisera, the captain of Jabin's host" (p. 170). After giving a new theory about the depression of the Jordan valley he relates very briefly the work done from the beginning of July till the end of November. The conclusion of the lecture is exceedingly interesting. I shall quote it verbatim. Kitchener says: "I have now told you what has been done. Let me say a very few words on what it is proposed to do next. As soon as funds are available, an expedition will start to explore the sites of the most sacred scenes of the New Testament history: the northern shores of the Sea of Galilee, where undoubtedly Capernaum, our Lord's own city, Chorazin, and Bethsaida still exist. In addition to this the expedition will make a thorough survey of the unknown country forming the eastern shores of that sea on the same scale and with the same accuracy as the present Survey. If this great Association considers that what we have accomplished has added largely to the scientific knowledge of an ancient country,

let me hope they will show their satisfaction in the results we have obtained by helping us in the renewed efforts in the same direction.

“Let me add one more result we hope to obtain. We hope to rescue from the hands of that ruthless destroyer, the uneducated Arab, one of the most interesting ruins in Palestine, hallowed by the footprints of our Lord. I allude to the synagogue of Capernaum, which is rapidly disappearing owing to the stones being burnt for lime. Ought we not to preserve for ourselves and our children buildings so hallowed, so unique? Let us hope that if this expedition succeeds it may be the means of leaving some footprints in the sand of time—

‘Footprints, that perhaps another,  
Sailing o’er life’s solemn main,  
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,  
Seeing, may take heart again.’”

With these beautiful lines from Longfellow’s “Psalm of Life” he concludes his lecture. Here we get again a glimpse into the recesses of the heart of Kitchener. Only a man with an understanding for the past, with a deep feeling for religion, and with the

right sentiment for things sacred can speak the words which form the conclusion of this lecture, which Kitchener delivered thirty-seven years ago before the British Association.

I cannot refrain from quoting here one or two passages from a letter which Major (as he was then) Kitchener sent to the Palestine Exploration Fund Committee on January 13, 1884, after his survey of the Sinai Peninsula and the Wādy el Arabah (see above, p. 27). He writes from Abbassiyeh (see *Q. S.*, 1884, pp. 136-7):—

“By going up from the south end of the Dead Sea to Bir-es-Siba I was able to put in a corner of the map and join on to our old work.”

Camels are rather important just now. It is interesting to hear what Kitchener has to say about the camels. He writes in this letter: “My report will show how the work was done, and if you measure the distances I had to go, I think you will find I got over as much ground as a camel would allow. They are bad beasts for surveying. I used to keep mine at a good trot for a bit until he got cross, which he showed by roaring, and then sud-

denly shutting up all four legs and coming with a thud on the ground, at the same moment springing up again and darting off in an opposite direction. Continued correction caused him to collapse again, and then roll, which was decidedly uncomfortable." Kitchener adds: "I don't think I have ever done such hard work as I had up that Wādy Arabah from Akabah to the Dead Sea." In the same letter he writes: "We passed a good many Arabs of the Terabin and Ma'azi tribes, and I was received amongst them as Abdullah Bey, an Egyptian official, thus reviving a name well known and much revered amongst them; they supposed me to be a relation of the great Sheikh Abdullah." Kitchener mastered Arabic like a native. Kitchener also mastered the unruly camel like a native. At the end of his report on his work in the Sinai Peninsula and the Wādy el Arabah (see *Q. S.*, 1884, pp. 202-221, also E. Hull, *Mount Seir, Sinai and Western Palestine*, Appendix),<sup>1</sup> he says that he had

<sup>1</sup> This report is an exceedingly interesting document. It is full of fine observations. I shall just quote here the following passage: "Camp was pitched in Wādy

some difficulty in getting "the camels under way." "Two of my Arabs had been lagging behind for some time, so one of the Arabs and myself went back and drove up the camels; the two Arabs were sulky and deserted; however, we got the camels all right." In spite of a blinding storm of sand he arrived safely with his party at Ismailia.

Kitchener's descriptions of the photographs he had taken in Palestine are also very interesting. In an article in *Q. S.*, 1878, pp. 134-141, Kitchener gives a list of

Abu Rusheibeh. The eastern hills here recede, leaving a sort of amphitheatre in front of Jebel Harūn, the Mount Hor of Scripture, which rises magnificently in the centre. There is a mountain of white limestone immediately south of Mount Hor, over which it towers and gains by the contrast of its dark red hue over the white. Looking thus at Mount Hor from the south it appears to rise in several pinnacles, the highest of which is surrounded by a glistening white dome covering the tomb of the patriarch Aaron. The scenery is exceptionally fine, and I do not consider former writers have exaggerated the grand appearance of Mount Hor; the brilliant colours of the rocks have been remarked by all travellers, but surpassed what I expected to find" (*Q. S.*, 1884, p. 211). Here we have again Kitchener as the fine observer of nature.

twenty photographs taken in Galilee and describes them. They are mostly photographs of crusading castles, synagogues and tombs. But we will just have a glance at his book of selected Biblical photographs referred to above (p. 22). The title of the book is: *Photographs of Biblical Sites*, by Lieutenant H. H. Kitchener, R.E., F.R.G.S.

In a short preface Kitchener says that his principal object in publishing this set of Photographic Views in Palestine "has been to secure a fresh view of many of the most interesting Biblical Sites, and, in as many cases as possible, to present entirely new scenery to the public." The series consists of twelve photographs, and is a selection from fifty photographs taken by Lieutenant Kitchener during his work in Palestine. Five scenes are from the Old Testament, and seven scenes from the New Testament. Kitchener gives a short description of each scene.

Describing the valley of Sorek (Judges xvi. 4) Kitchener says: "In the valley of Sorek also lived Delilah, the traitress to whom Samson owed the close of his career."

A short and expressive phrase. In his description of the valley of Michmash (1 Sam. xiv.) Kitchener writes: "At a later period this terrible gorge proved a considerable obstacle to Sennacherib in his advance on Jerusalem (Isa. x. 28)."

The description of Mount Moriah (the site of Solomon's Temple) is particularly beautiful. In a few words he shows how sacred this mount is to Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans. The following sentence shows us again of what depth of feeling Kitchener is capable. "On the extreme left of the picture a portion of the west Temple wall can be seen; this is the place where the Jews every Friday, at 3 p.m., come to go through their affecting service, bewailing the loss of their ancient glories." There is also a description of the Mosque El Aksah, which is supposed to occupy the site of Solomon's Palace. The last of the Old Testament views is that of Elisha's Fountain at Jericho. Describing the fountain Kitchener says: "It was the water of this spring that Elisha caused to become sweet, having been previously salt and undrinkable (2 Kings ii.

22).” The following sentence is also worth quoting: “It (the view) gives a good idea of the luxuriance of vegetation in parts of the Jordan valley, which are well watered, and of the capabilities of the district to produce every kind of semi-tropical fruit and vegetable if placed under cultivation.”

The descriptions of the scenes from the New Testament are likewise very beautiful.

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The extracts from the writings of Kitchener during the period of his Palestine work have, I believe, given us an insight into his method of work and into his mentality. Kitchener was twenty-four years old when he began his Palestine exploration work and twenty-eight years old when he completed it. The years between twenty-four and twenty-eight are important in the life of every man. They were especially important in the life of Kitchener. We have seen what Kitchener has done in those four years for Palestine. We have seen how



he brought Palestine nearer to us, how he helped to enrich our knowledge of that land. We have seen how he already then showed the great capacities which characterize him now. His industry, his firmness of purpose, his tact, his keen power of observation, his resourcefulness in emergencies, all this we find in young Kitchener of nearly forty years ago. But we see something more. We see all these great qualities of Kitchener grow visibly during the time of his work in Palestine. The work in Palestine offered him the opportunities for developing and strengthening his great powers of mind and heart. Treading on holy ground his religious nature deepened. Going through a land, every place and every spot of which is full of great historical associations, his historical sense grew. Seeing the remains of ancient greatness, still great in recalling things great, his soul longed for greatness, for greater greatness for his country, for his people, for Britain. Seeing around him people whose lack of civilization made them blind to their low state in life he felt what a great work it would be to raise them and millions who were

like them to the light of life. He learned their language, which helped him many years later to uplift to a higher standard of life a people that speaks the same tongue. He saw with his own eyes the old sources of inspiration, and he drew from them strength and courage for the gigantic tasks which awaited him in later years. As he walked on the hills and through the valleys of Judah and Israel he saw the great men of the Bible looking down upon him, and he heard again all the great messages they had to give. He stood in the plain in which Joshua was victorious with the help of God, and he knew that Nature itself helped the cause of the righteous. He looked on the plain of Esdraelon and he saw the vision of "the last great battle of Armageddon." Did he think then that Armageddon was so near? Did he think then that the great world-war was so near, and that battles might be fought in or near the plain of Armageddon? And did he think that he would be one of the great leaders of Armageddon? Who knows?

Kitchener saw something else in Palestine. He saw the land which once belonged to the

Jewish people, and he saw there the affecting longing of the Jewish people for their ancient glories. He saw in Palestine the continuity of Jewish life—from Joshua down to the rabbis he saw at Jerusalem and Tiberias. He saw that many of the greatest men of the Jewish people, in the first centuries after the destruction of the second Temple, in the Middle Ages, and in later times, had their last resting-place in the land they always claimed as theirs. Kitchener saw that a change was coming over Palestine. Did Kitchener think of it that after Armageddon the Jews (or a portion of them) might return to their ancient land? Who knows? We will not ask. We are gratified to know that the greatness of Kitchener showed itself first in his work in Palestine and that it grew during his sojourn in that land. We are gratified to know that his Palestine work was the first great work done by Kitchener, and that this was the beginning of a series of marvellous achievements, culminating in his present achievement, which is unique in human history. We are gratified to know that our land and our book had a share in

the shaping of one of the world's master-minds. We will always remember that the name of Lord Kitchener is bound up for ever with his work in Palestine.



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