The Monument to Men Murdered in the Sinai Desert (1883): Empire and Orientalism at St Paul's Cathedral

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Introduction[1]

In 1883, *The Royal Engineers Journal* published a poem in honour of a member of their corps, Captain William Gill:

> Alas! For the sorrowful tidings,
> Flash'd back from the far distant strand
> Alas! For the three gallant spirits,
> Gone home from that sun-stricken land.
>
> Daring scholar, and high-courag'd soldier,
> And sailor true hearted and brave,
> We mourn you the dauntless and noble,
> Ye faithful to death and the grave.
>
> Spurning danger 'mid traitor-Egyptians,
> Sheikh robbers and Bedouin bands,
> Single-handed these chivalrous brothers
> Press forward – their lives in their hands.
>
> […]
>
> Then welcome your conquering Wolseley,
> And crown him and feast as you will,
> But spare just one thought for such heroes
> As Charrington, Palmer and Gill.[2]

The elegiac poem pays tribute to the Royal Engineer and two men he died alongside, the 'daring scholar' Professor Edward Henry Palmer and the 'sailor true hearted and brave' Lieutenant Harold Charrington. It was published to coincide with a memorial service,

organized by the Admiralty and attended by nearly 500 mourners, that took place at St Paul's Cathedral on 6 April 1883.[3]

In the poem and cathedral service, specific details about the circumstances of their deaths were superseded by eulogies filled with praise and gratitude or instead couched in euphemistic phrases.[4] This was also the case on the memorial panel that was installed in the crypt of the cathedral in November 1883 (fig. 1). Commissioned on behalf of the Royal Engineers by the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Earl of Northbrook, and situated in the East Aisle of the Nelson Chamber, the brass panel was made by Hart, Son, Peard & Co., an art metal work firm based in Birmingham and Charing Cross, London. Measuring 165 x 103 x 5.5 cm, it is mounted on a red and black striated marble border and is coloured with red and green enamel infill along its decorative borders.[5] It is accompanied by a ledger inserted nearby into the floor of the chamber (fig. 2).[6]

The text on the memorial panel also reveals an important detail overlooked in the poem: 'That tragic fate was shared by two faithful attendants, the Syrian Khalîl Atîḳ and the Hebrew Bâkhor Hassûn whose remains lie with theirs.'[7] The plain and unadorned ledger, made of Aberdeen granite, uniquely situated just below the memorial, only lists the initials and ages of the three British men. However, buried with them in a homosocial skeletal embrace are also the partial sets of bones of Atîḳ, a Syrian and Hassûn, a Jew from Palestine; both lived under Ottoman rule, the latter using a pseudonym to hide his Jewish background in the midst of a conflict which, as we will see, was often cut across religious lines. Their names are inscribed on the memorial with circumflexes, a linguistic tool both inherently visual and exoticizing, to distinguish them as foreigners. However, Hassûn and Atîḳ are unacknowledged on the ledger, an omission which points to the intricate and complicated nature of this monument and the five individuals it commemorates.[8]

This article investigates the Monument to Men Murdered in the Sinai Desert, an engraved brass mural monument in the crypt of St Paul's; it is humble in comparison to many of the 300 other monuments upstairs in the vaulted spaces of the nation's cathedral, many of which are large-scale marble or bronze testimonials to celebrated figures made by leading British sculptors. A comprehensive body of scholarship has foregrounded how visual narratives of power and Empire were constructed through the St Paul's monuments during the Napoleonic Wars and throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.[9] However, less attention has

been devoted to the later nineteenth-century monuments and, in particular, the proliferation of brass memorials across this period, with the exception of David Meara's *Victorian Memorial Brasses*.[10]

In this article, I offer a close reading of the Monument to Men Murdered in the Sinai Desert to establish how this understudied sculptural form within the Cathedral contributes to grand historicizing and imperial narratives. I situate the panel amongst the wider body of sculpture in St Paul's drawing upon its similarly complex visual iconography and align it more closely to the potent allegorical messages found in many of the monumental sculptures. By shifting focus to the late nineteenth century, this study also adds a new perspective to two of Queen Victoria's 'little wars' [11], the Anglo-Egyptian Campaign (1882) and the Anglo-Sudan War (1881–99). Within the visual culture of British involvement in Egypt and strategically linked Sudan, this is a unique object, pivoting from the overwhelming prevalence of depictions of Major-General Charles Gordon, the former Governor-General of Sudan who was killed during the Mahdist Uprising, to a mission that, had it been successful, would have stayed a secret from the public forever.

The murder site, deep in the Sinai desert, also highlights transhistorical connections between St Paul's Cathedral as a primary British Protestant site of worship and, for the elite, burial and the area around the region of Palestine as the source of that worship and the crossroads of the world's three Abrahamic faiths: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The panel evokes the Victorian concept of the Holy Land, the parts of the Middle East that served as settings in the Bible, and which according to Eitan Bar-Yosef, extended beyond Jerusalem and into the Sinai and Egypt in two contexts.[12] The panel does so firstly by presenting the area as an Orientalized territory, in line with contemporary debates about the historicity of the Bible in which Palmer actively participated. As I will argue, this is presented on the panel through imagery, which I term Orientalist allegory. And secondly, it evokes the territory as an imperial protectorate and therefore, both British and Christian in opposition to the Islamicist Egyptian and Sudanese forces from the same lands. This echoes Nigel Aston's astute point that St Paul's was a 'cultural as well as Christian shrine' and reflects on how those two factors played complementary roles for the sculptures within.[13] Therefore, this article brings together the interrelated topics of British involvement in the Middle East and Orientalist visual culture in the context of British sculpture studies.[14]

The murders of Gill, Palmer, Charrington, Atîḳ, and Hassûn were widely reported and discussed in Britain in the weeks following the party's disappearance in the desert.[15] While the immediate press coverage was often sensationalist, the much later panel provides a reduced account of complicated events. Working in tandem, the engravings by Hart, Peard, Son & Co. and text by Royal Engineer Sir Henry Yule frame the murders as an ideological conflict between Islamic Egypt and the Christian British Empire, as opposed to conventional military historical readings that characterize the Anglo-Egyptian Campaign as an invasion to protect British interests focused on the Suez Canal.[16] My analysis also reveals the elements of the narrative that the panel deliberately obfuscates, in part, to protect other spies still active in the field. I shall argue that the monument is obliged to tell a story premised on secrecy and conducted away from the battlefield. This adds to our wider understanding of the way the monuments of St Paul's project notions of valour and memorialize different types of service to the nation. While this article focuses on a close reading of a single understudied monument, I also bring in other well-known examples, including the memorials to Major-General Charles Gordon (1885) and Major-General Sir Herbert Stewart (1885), both by Joseph Edgar Boehm, and to T. E. Lawrence, by Eric Kennington (1926), to reveal a sculptural network at St Paul's concentrated on events in Egypt and Sudan.

The Mission

British forces landed in Egypt on the eve of the Anglo-Egyptian Campaign in late spring 1882 as tensions were mounting between the pro-nationalist Egyptian government and its European creditors, Britain and France.[17] Central to British colonial interests, such as the large cotton export trade with Egypt, was the protection of the Suez Canal, the Empire's main waterway to South East Asia.[18] This purpose was served further by the presence of Indian as well as British troops who landed at the southern end of the Gulf of Suez in May. Early tactical moves by the Anglo-Indian forces were intended to scare the Egyptians away from outright battle and included cutting telegraph wires along the Gulf, breaking the Egyptian forces' communication links to the Minister for War and de facto leader, Ahmad 'Urabi, as well as to the Ottoman government in Istanbul.

Gill, the subject of the opening poem, was entrusted with several of these covert wire-cutting missions which required, according to his personal journal, riding deep into enemy territory for days at a time.[19] Originally enlisted as a Royal Engineer with a military career that

included tours of Central Europe, Russia, and China, Gill experienced a shift in his duties when in the 1870s he was appointed to the intelligence branch of the War Office. Formally established during the Peninsular Wars by the Duke of Wellington, this branch of organized military intelligence was developed by the Admiralty in response to the need for tactical information not only in Europe, but increasingly in colonial territories such as India, Hong Kong, and South Africa.[20] Gill's corps, the Royal Engineers, were frequent recruits to these covert departments which were expanded through the nineteenth century. Crucially, the Engineers had also been primarily responsible for additions to the Ordinance Surveys since the 1820s, mapping thousands of square miles at home and abroad. Therefore, they had a built-in skill set for reconnaissance.

While Gill retained his membership in the Royal Engineers and is acknowledged in the inscription as 'Captain William John Gill, R. E.' and an 'ardent and accomplished soldier', he was not a conventional serviceman fighting on the battlefield, as seen in more familiar visual depictions of the Campaign such as Elizabeth Thompson Butler's *After the Battle of Tel El Kebir – Gen. Wolseley Cheered by Highlanders* (1882). Instead, Gill worked unseen and strategically rather than at the trigger end of a gun.

In June, Gill was approached by the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Earl of Northbrook to influence local politics by persuading Bedouin tribal leaders to remain neutral and not aid the Egyptian forces with supplies or information. Unable to communicate with the Bedouin in their language and unaware of the intricacies of their local politics, Gill sailed back to England to recruit an expert.[21]

This was to be Edward Henry Palmer, Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic at Cambridge University, not Reader, as incorrectly stated on the panel. Palmer was a gifted linguist and expert in the topography, peoples, and languages of the Sinai desert. In 1871, he had published *The Desert of the Exodus: Journeys on Foot in the Wilderness of the Forty Years' Wanderings*, an extensive study of the region between the Dead Sea and the Isthmus of Suez.[22] The title signals his direct engagement with biblical geography, a pseudo-scientific subfield which aimed to confirm the historicity of the Bible. In the opening to the second volume, Palmer claims the events of the Exodus 'undoubtedly' took place in the area and sets out to map the region according to Biblical events, concurrently weaving in anthropological and botanical information as well as travellers' anecdotes.[23] In 1874, he also published a

pamphlet, *A History of the Jewish Nation,* for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge which used an empirical methodology to trace Judaism from the pages of the Bible to its adherents in the present day. Palmer's writings echoed wider cultural debates at the time around the historicity of the Bible, exemplified by proponents of High Criticism and historicist accounts of the life of Jesus such as David Strauss' *Leben Jesu* (1835) and Ernest Renan's *Vie de Jésus* (1863).[24] As the nation's Cathedral and seat of Anglicanism, St Paul's at the time was deeply invested in reinforcing the authenticity of the Bible narrative. Palmer's attempts to wed developments in the social sciences with a reassertion of the validity of the Bible complemented the Church's moves to enmesh itself further in the Holy Land. The Dean of Westminster, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, was a particular advocate of this approach and co-founded the Palestine Exploration Fund, devoted to 'investigating the Archaeology, Geography, manners, customs and culture, Geology and Natural History of the Holy Land' after his visit to Jerusalem in 1862 with the Prince of Wales.[25]

Saul Kelly has drawn a broader connection between scholarly Orientalists like Palmer and map-making intelligence operatives like Gill and his direct superior, Charles Wilson.[26] Orientalists who travelled throughout the Holy Land, like Palmer, often worked alongside military intelligence to gather mutually beneficial data on topography, terrain, and persons of interest. During his research for *The Desert of the Exodus*, Palmer travelled with Royal Engineers mapping the Sinai Peninsula and was photographed for the Ordnance Survey in 1869 (fig. 3). The book and Palmer's subsequent lectures were sponsored by the Ordnance Survey as well as Dean Stanley's Palestine Exploration Fund which regularly supported trips to the region with tactical as well as scholarly aims. The Fund's influential activities across the fields of Middle Eastern archaeology, anthropology and museology were commemorated in 1903 with a monument in St Paul's by George Frampton to the organization's secretary, Walter Besant, a long-time friend of Palmer's as well as co-author. In *The Desert of the Exodus,* Palmer wrote about the relationship he developed with the Bedouin, who referred to him in a familiar way as 'Abdallah'.[27] Read from an intelligence perspective, Palmer demonstrated an ability to cultivate human sources. Gill knew of Palmer, mentioning him by name to Northbrook, and it is likely that he had read *The Desert of the Exodus* when it was first published. In fact, this text may have identified Palmer as the ideal candidate for this mission.[28]

Gill met Palmer in Cambridge on 24 June 1882 and claimed that the professor immediately 'volunteered himself' to travel to the centre of the conflict and personally negotiate with the Bedouin on behalf of the Admiralty.[29] A report made later by Royal Engineer Lieutenant Haynes suggested that Palmer had 'war fever' and wanted to 'do his bit' for Britain.[30] The substance of their conversation and Palmer's true motivations remain unknown, but here is one of the more lucid examples of the relationship between scholarly Orientalists and intelligence operatives in the Middle East, or, as Edward Said later framed it: 'the Orientalist's special expertise […] put directly to functional colonial use.'[31] There is no evidence that Palmer had previously worked for military intelligence despite his presence on the 1869 Ordnance Survey expedition, but he readily accepted Gill's offer, and, to finish Said's sentence, 'at that crucial instance when an Orientalist had to decide whether his loyalties and sympathies lay with the Orient or the conquering West, he always chose the latter.'[32]

A cover story was quickly cooked that Palmer was travelling to Egypt as a correspondent for a major newspaper. He arrived in Alexandria on 6 July and met with Gill a month later in Suez. In that time, Palmer had arranged a meeting of Bedouin leaders to take place sixty miles east of Suez at An-Nackl, a fort deep in the desert.

Gill reengaged the services of Atîḳ, an Ottoman Syrian, who in 1881 had served as his dragoman, a local term used to refer to guides and fixers, and Hassûn as the expedition's cook and waiter. Harold Charrington, a flag lieutenant on the HMS *Euryalus*, arrived the following day to join them carrying a black valise under his arm. Inside was between £2000 and £5000 to be used to bribe the Bedouin. It is unclear whether Palmer or Gill suggested bribery, but the Admiralty sent the *Euryalus* specifically to deliver Charrington with the money. After Charrington disembarked, the ship went on to play host at Suez to a group of 'friendly sheikhs' on 2 August 1882, later depicted in the *Illustrated London News* (Fig. 4) by war correspondent Melton Prior,[33] himself also commemorated in St Paul's with a bronze panel mounted on marble by Bertha Burleigh in the south aisle of the Chapel of St Faith.[34]

Richard Burton, a famous Orientalist in his own right, close friend of Palmer, and initial candidate to fill his place on the mission, later recounted the party's final days in two articles for *The Academy*.[35] To give a succinct account: Gill and Palmer were betrayed by a man posing as a Bedouin tribal leader, who had learned about the money at Suez before the

expedition had left for An-Nackl. On the second day of travelling through the desert, their camp was raided and the five men were taken hostage. The following day, their captors took them to a ridge and shot each man at point blank range, their bodies falling into the ravine below.

In late August, a search party was dispatched and led by Colonel Charles Warren, a noted biblical archaeologist famous for his excavations of the Temple Mount and later a British commissioner in South Africa and commander during the Second Boer War. On 24 October, Warren's search party found their carrion-picked remains still in the ravine where they had been shot. The description of the murder scene by Lieutenant Haynes reveals the macabre motivation to inscribe Psalm 141 on the memorial panel: 'Our bones lie scattered before the pit'.

> Below, we found the remains of our unfortunate countrymen – a skull, jaw-bone, numerous ribs and broken bones, much knawed [sic] by wild beasts; a truss of a very small man, supposed to be Professor Palmer; two socks marked W.G. with the feet still in them; and parts of socks and drawers marked H.C. and H. Charrington: also a pair of duck-trousers, with buttons marked with the name of a Bombay tailor; these latter were in such a condition that we burnt them. The bones were much scattered over the bed of the gully, there were pools of water and clumps of reeds; and on the ledge, and on the side of the gully, there were traces of blood, showing that one or more of the party must have been killed or wounded above.[36]

The story of the Palmer Expedition, as it came to be known, was widely circulated in the British press, a direct journalistic predecessor to the reporting of Major-General Charles Gordon's death in Khartoum in 1885 which I will discuss later in more detail. Nearly twenty Bedouin men were arrested for their alleged part in the murders. In February 1883, at a trial prosecuted by Egyptians hand-picked by Warren, five men were sentenced to public execution, another seven to lengthy imprisonment.

The Monument

As mentioned above, the Monument to Men Murdered in the Sinai Desert was designed by Hart, Son, Peard & Co.[37] Although little of their archive remains, there are records that they

were regular exhibitors at international exhibitions and known for their ecclesiastical metalwork.[38] William Burges and William Butterfield both designed for the firm as well as the architect Alfred Waterhouse, for whom they produced works in iron.[39] The firm completed five commissions for St Paul's in total, all brass or bronze panels commemorating soldiers, colonial administrators, and lay persons associated with the Cathedral.[40]

While brass was an innovative and widely used material, in the hierarchy of metalwork it was more readily associated with domestic wares than with monumental design.[41] As David Meara explains, this perception began to shift by the middle of the century as the medieval tradition of memorial brasses was revived by Victorian firms and in particular Hardman & Co., for whom A. W. N. Pugin produced highly decorative designs, raising the status of brass to an essential material for Victorian commemorative art.[42] At the same time, a wider interest in the preservation of medieval monumental brasses was promoted by groups such as the Brass Rubbing Society, founded in 1893, and institutions like the South Kensington Museum.[43]

By commissioning a firm known for its artistic approach to metalwork in churches, the Royal Engineers and Northbrook may have wanted to distinguish their monument from the numerous unadorned brass roll calls that commemorated soldiers who died in Queen Victoria's nearly continuous 'little wars' . This more specific approach to the design that combined the elegiac panel text with intricate visual elements also enabled them to distinguish the individuals, characterizing especially Palmer as a scholar, rather than soldier, as well as the unique events surrounding their deaths. Although the monument is made from a supposedly lesser material than marble or bronze, its decorative and visual components are no less significant amongst the nineteenth-century Pantheon assembled at St Paul's. In the same vein, the honouring of Gill, Palmer, Charrington, Atîḳ and Hassûn arguably challenges contemporary perceptions concerning who was eligible for commemoration within the Cathedral. As Joan Coutu notes, in the eighteenth century, it would have been unthinkable for an ordinary soldier to be the subject of a monument.[44] This would change to a democratized approach to remembrance in the nineteenth century, as argued by Roger Bowdler and Ann Saunders. They identify the Crypt, which had been used as a lumber store room until 1878, as the space where new subjects from different ethnic and class backgrounds were commemorated.[45] The Monument to Men Murdered in the Sinai Desert is one of the earliest examples of this new democratizing approach.

The panel's central text is bordered by two vertical and two horizontal fields that are separated from each other by a square in each corner. In the vertical fields, framed within green arches, are densely packed grotesques.[46] Stylized candelabra and vases are filled with fern leaves and topped with a plumage of date palm leaves, a tree indigenous to Iran and North Africa, thereby infusing the Renaissance motifs with Orientalist naturalism. As a potential source for the vegetation of the side panels, Jason Edwards has pointed to Gill's forays into botany which involved him bringing previously unclassified species back to Britain.[47] These motifs can also be traced to Greek designs from Owen Jones' *Grammar of Ornament* (1856) which, at this point, had exerted its influence on the decorative arts for nearly thirty years.[48] The horizontal fields at the top and bottom of the plaque contain further intricate floral decoration as well as Latin inscriptions. In the top panel, four repeating anthemions border a St George's cross, encircled by a garland underneath a scroll which reads 'Otia temnentes cupientes ardua plorat' (One mourns those who scorn leisure and desire challenge). In the bottom panel, a central Christogram, surrounded by poppies that symbolize remembrance, is flanked either side by another scroll that reads 'Tres simul abreptos' / 'Mater, ut orba Rahel' (The mother, Rachel, had three [children] snatched at the same time, so that she [was left] childless.).[49] While this is not a biblical text, the reference to the Old Testament figure of Rachel lends a Biblical authority to the events commemorated by the plaque. However, the reference to three children, rather than two (Rachel was the mother of Joseph and Benjamin) again acknowledges British Gill, Charrington and Palmer to the exclusion of Atîḳ and Hassûn. The three children could also refer to the Abrahamic faiths: Christianity, Judaism and Islam represented in these events through Rachel 'the mother', also the great-great niece of Abraham. At the same time the high level of decoration and inscription is indicative of the increasing role ornament played in St Paul's monuments and its complementary role alongside allegorical symbols.

While the metal and its decorative borders may be readily traceable to existing trends in the decorative arts, the four gold and red squares in the corners of the memorial have more distinctive imagery. These squares, I should like to argue, use Orientalist allegory to explain the significance of the murder within the rationales of the Anglo-Egyptian Campaign. They provide a crucial visual element in the process of memorialization, so central to St Paul's artistic project, where burial is incidental to the far more complicated act of monument making.

On the top left, framed against a latticed screen, a Qur'anic book stand is stood on a fringed carpet and flanked by an ink pot, pens and a large Mamluk-style candlestick (fig. 5). Displayed on the bookstand is an open book with undecipherable mock-Arabic writing. On the other side, a rapier, its decorative handle facing outwards, is crossed with a military compass against a solid background (fig. 6). In the bottom left, a sinking ship is shown before a blazing sun (fig. 7), and opposite this scene, in the bottom right field, Britannia sits on the shore weeping, her right hand brought up to her eyes, beneath a palm tree with a mosque in the background, recognizable by its minaret (fig. 8). On the other side of the palm tree, towards the horizon, a three-sailed ship with its flag raised departs. The iconography is somewhat biographically suggestive although symbolic rather than literal. Thus one might see a reference to Palmer's scholarly Orientalist credentials and his 1880 English translation of the Qur'an in the Qur'anic book stand on the top left panel, with Gill's background as a Royal Engineer and cartographer linked to the top right hand panel's rapier and compass, and Charrington's naval commission to the departing ship. Notably absent is any overt reference to Atîḳ and Hassûn. However, their presence is intrinsically tied to this imagery's links to Orientalist visual culture.

Certain objects and in particular those found in the top left and bottom right panels, function as a visual shorthand to conjure up an Orientalized setting. By the 1880s, the British Orientalist lexicon, a genre of visual and material culture based on Western perceptions of the Middle East, referred to as the 'Orient' in the nineteenth century, was firmly established after decades of open British travel to Egypt, the Holy Land and other Ottoman territories.[50] Artists were some of the most influential travellers of the period and the emergence of Orientalism as a style, largely influenced by artists' experiences in the Middle East, was seen in both high and low culture, from illustrated publications of the *Arabian Nights* to the annual Summer Exhibitions of the Royal Academy.[51] This rich field of nineteenth-century visual culture has received ample scholarly attention in the fields of painting, illustration and the decorative arts.[52] However, scant attention has been devoted to a British Orientalist body of sculpture, figurative or otherwise. Clearly though, as evidenced in the Monument to Men Murdered in the Sinai Desert and other examples which I come to shortly, the Orientalist iconographical lexicon was utilized in Victorian sculpture and warrants a close reading of these referents.

The objects in the squares echo the line from the Royal Engineers' poem transporting us to 'the far distant strand…that sun-stricken land.' Location is eminently important in the narrative of the Palmer Expedition and implies the simultaneous allure of Egypt and the Sinai alongside dangers for British men. Elements of the Biblical past and Islamic practice are juxtaposed with British, Christian men's deaths. As a sculpture in a Protestant setting, the panel evokes deeply religious resonances of the Holy Land that are filtered through the prism of Orientalist visual culture.

Similar examples that transport the viewer to the Middle Eastern site of death, include Joseph Edgar Boehm's Memorial Triptych to Major-General Sir Herbert Stewart (1885) and Monument to Major-General Charles George Gordon (1885). Stewart and Gordon died within weeks of one another during the Siege of Khartoum in early 1885. In an elongated narrow section at the top of Stewart's memorial a procession of soldiers and camels moves from right to left (the same direction Arabic and Hebrew are read) carrying the Major-General who was injured during combat (fig. 9). In the context of a Christian monument the depiction of a camel procession brings in a Biblical resonance recalling the Israelites' Exodus from Egypt. Furthermore, the monument is subdivided into nineteen frames that combine text, biographical visual elements and military symbols. This multimedia design allows for readings in either direction: following the central panels' events in Sudan from top right to left and then reading Stewart's conventional biography and portrait in British military dress from bottom left to right.

To the passing viewer, a panel positioned on the back side of Gordon's tomb is easily overlooked. One has to crouch down to almost floor level to examine the small bronze bas relief depicting the General in a madrassa, a religious school, in Sudan (Fig. 10). The scene represents an event mentioned in Gordon's journal which describes the madrassa in Khartoum, still active despite the presence of British troops. 'The school here is most interesting […] . Little black doves with no pretension to any nose, and not more than two feet high, push forward to say the first ten letters of the alphabet, which is all they know.'[53] Boehm inserts Gordon at the centre of the scene, holding the attention of the nearly naked boys over their Sudanese teacher. Again, key objects of Orientalist visual culture are inserted: the fezzes worn by Gordon and the teacher, a nod to the Ottoman Tanzimat dress reforms, the octagonal inlaid table at the teacher's feet which, according to Diana Maltz, was one of the most important 'signifiers of the Near East' and the same mock-Arabic script also found on

the Monument to Men Murdered in the Sinai Desert.[54] Gordon was known as a devout Christian but does not seem to object to the boys' Islamic education. However, it is clear from the derogatory language of the journal entry that he did not consider their education a credible threat to imperial dominance in Sudan. For a Victorian audience, however, the perception of his tolerance in this scene must have been overlaid by the knowledge of events that later unfolded, namely that of his death at the hands of the Islamic fundamentalists.

The bottom right panel of the Monument to Men Murdered in the Sinai Desert is the most obscure in its suggestion of a mournful Britannia in a memorial made months after victory in the Anglo-Egyptian Campaign and the establishment of the British protectorate in Egypt. This particular image of Britannia is similar to other examples in St Paul's and in particular, Johnson and Gawthorp's Memorial to War Correspondents Who Died in the Sudan (1886) (fig. 11) which is considered the sister work to this panel.[55] In both memorials Britannia is presented wearing a helmet and classical robes while holding a shield and trident, potent symbols of Britain's military power.

The predominant Orientalist allegorical symbolism of these works also stands in contrast to the detailed body of imagery that appeared in various periodicals in the weeks and months following the murders and which laid out the details of the story quite clearly. This type of material is rarely cited in accounts of the monuments at St Paul's which have tended to focus almost entirely on resonances within the historiography of sculpture. The most striking example is an article from *The Illustrated London News*, published in November 1882, which included detailed and descriptive images such as the town of Moses Wells from where the party departed and, crucially, detailed biographies and portraits of Palmer, Gill, and Charrington (fig. 12) as well as references to Atîḳ and Hassûn that briefly name them alongside their job titles. Even before 1882, images of Palmer and Gill were circulated via their respective publications reinforcing the duality of their personas as figures of British authority who were also able to blend into their local Oriental surroundings. An illustration of Palmer dressed in Bedouin robes, the Orientalist conceit known as 'going native', appeared as the frontispiece to *The Desert of the Exodus*.[56] Gill's account of his early career, *The River of Golden Sand: The Narrative of a Journey Through China and Eastern Tibet to Burmah* (1880) included a portrait by Theodore Blake Wirgman depicted in Western military dress and a long, drooping moustache. Later, Palmer was also memorialized in a portrait by the second-generation Pre-Raphaelite John Collier, commissioned by his alma mater, St John's

College, Cambridge.[57] In the painting, Palmer is again dressed in Bedouin robes that are depicted in rich colours. Collier's rendering inextricably ties Palmer to his Orientalist credentials and perhaps also to his tragic fate by including the rocky terrain in the background reminiscent of the ravine where he died. Undoubtedly, in late 1882 and early 1883, Palmer and Gill's faces were known to the public following this story. However, on their monument, they are represented through conflicting and contested imagery which, in large part, reframes and retells their story to the public and future generations as an ideological, crusader-like conflict between Islamic Egypt and Christian Britain.

In contrast to the non-figurative symbolic representations on the panel, Eric Kennington's bronze bust of T. E. Lawrence (1926) (fig. 13), also installed in the Crypt, takes a more open approach to commemorating the work of a well-known spy. Lawrence was a colonel in the intelligence unit of the British Army during the First World War. He is best known for fighting with local leaders in their quest for an Arab state that was independent from the Ottoman Empire. His activities, although historically distant from the specific events of the Palmer Expedition, fit directly into a geopolitical genealogy of memorials to British men spying in the Middle East. It is worth noting that Lawrence is not buried in St Paul's but instead at St Nicholas' Church in Moreton. However, this makes its inclusion upon an invitation from the Dean in 1927 extended to Lawrence's mother after the original edition of six busts were completed the previous year more notable as a sculpture not originally designed as a monument but later co-opted into the St Paul's Pantheon. The portrait bust identifies the sitter as 'Lawrence of Arabia' – a proud recognition of his reputation as a Liaison Officer, an updated version of the title Gill held, working in the Sinai Peninsula during the First World War. In its approach to the commemoration of spies in the national cathedral this monument represents a shift away from the pattern discernable in the Sinai monument; a shift from vague references in the earlier work to 'public duty' to proudly referencing an evocative nickname which ties the subject directly to the covert activities described in Lawrence's autobiography, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (1922). Importantly, the monument is not an Orientalist depiction of Lawrence of Arabia but a conventional portrait bust.[58] The style of buttoned collar suggests British military dress. Despite the long-standing associations between Lawrence and the Orientalist tropes cultivated and cemented in *Seven Pillars* he is given a portrait-treatment and his military service given visual priority over his romantic Orientalist associations.

As seen in some of the most famous examples from the nave such as the monument to Lieutenant General Sir Ralph Abercromby by Richard Westmacott (1809) commemoration in St Paul's was awarded to those perceived to have conducted themselves with honour during their military service; it is apparent that in this context the battlefield was considered the most honourable location for death. Abercromby was killed at the Battle of Alexandria during the last British conflict in Egypt in 1801. The monument imagines the exact moment of his death as he falls from his horse, shot by a musket ball, on the shores of the Mediterranean. This main group is aligned with the imagery of ancient Egypt as it is flanked by two sphinxes based on a Roman copy taken from an Alexandrian Ptolemaic temple,[59] rather than the contemporary Islamic and Orientalist imagery found on the Monument to Men Murdered in the Sinai Desert. The text of the panel, on the other hand, aims to frame the Palmer Expedition as akin to Abercromby's death as it reinforces the codes of soldierly conduct as discussed above. Articles published after the funeral of the remains of the five men allude to the Admiralty's specific request 'that this honour [burial in the Cathedral] be conferred on men who fell as much in their service of their country as if they had met their death on the battle field.'[60] The proximity of the panel and ledger to Nelson's tomb on the naval side of the Crypt served to legitimize and sanitize the expedition's service as well as wedding the two ships on the panel to the Navy. The text, imagery and strategic placement within the Cathedral work together to remould the mission as one that fits the more conventional criteria for burial in St Paul's, also seen in the Gordon and Stewart memorials, while quietly acknowledging the intelligence part of the mission and its growing role in imperial warfare.

While the monument leaves much about the mission unsaid or deliberately unclear, in the wake of such omissions an alternative story emerges that coalesces around institutional, imperial, and religious narratives. The iconography of Islam is dominant in these images from the Qur'anic bookstand to the imposing architecture of the mosque which transports the viewer to an Orientalized setting. This imagery is juxtaposed with the statement on the plaque that the remains were deposited in St Paul's 'with Christian rites'. Notably, this statement is made two paragraphs before Atîḳ and Hassûn are named as co-habitants in the same grave. Arguably, a Protestant burial was inappropriate for both the Syrian Christian Atîḳ and Jewish Hassûn. This detail emphasizes the complicated, overlapping religious tensions within this object. The location of the murder, deep in the Sinai desert, would have been a potent signifier for all parties as the crossroads of the three Abrahamic faiths. Members of all three religions were active participants in these events. Rather than lay out these events in terms of

their complicated geopolitical, imperial and economic contexts, then, Islam and Christianity are presented in the panels as a simplified, religious and binary narrative with Judaism as a wider framework for Biblical-historical events which took place in the Sinai desert, and which had been, in most Christian understandings of the time, superseded by the narratives of the New Testament. Weeping Britannia against the backdrop of a fortified mosque visually crystallizes this idea and gives an ideological justification to the mission and, by extension, the overall Anglo-Egyptian campaign. In another act of obscuring the facts, the monument purposefully identifies the mixed multi-faith remains of the party, only to then remove any religious agency of the non-British men by conferring Christian burial rites on all five and using their deaths as an assertion of Christian dominance in a region claimed by all three religions. In other words, an imperial missionary agenda was deliberately reasserted.

Once again, the bottom-right square provides insight for our understanding of this monument as a deeply complicated piece of memorializing sculpture. Bearing no discernible relationship to the accepted account of events, it instead suggests a rhetorical narrative about how viewers should 'feel' about the Palmer Expedition with Britannia as a stand in for her subjects. In a moment where Britannia finds herself on the back foot in the conflict – the victim of multiple murders in the desert – the imagery on the plaque ultimately provides ideological justification for the subsequent actions in the Anglo-Egyptian Campaign which culminated in decisive British victory at the Battle of Tel El Kabir; it also transforms the story of the Palmer expedition from one of random, opportunistic murder into one that has its own imperial logic.

Conclusion

Several more memorials were erected for Gill, Palmer and Charrington following the official ceremony at St Paul's. While the Admiralty saw fit to mourn the Palmer Expedition publicly in the highly charged atmosphere of St Paul's, their families honoured their memories in more personalized ways. The Charringtons paid tribute to their son and brother with an engraved tablet, stained glass window and stone of remembrance at three separate churches connected with the family. Gill's alma mater, Brighton College, laid their own plaque in their chapel and established the Gill Scholarship, available to sons of officers in the army, and the Royal Engineers raised further funds to install a stained glass window at Rochester Cathedral.[61] Palmer was survived by a wife and two daughters and received a tribute fitting for his scholarly background from his friend, Walter Besant, in a biography, *The Life and*

Achievements of Edward Henry Palmer (1883). The Collier portrait still hangs in St John's College today. There is no record of if and when Atîḳ and Hassûn's families were informed of their deaths. Perhaps there is a spot in Beirut that marks Atîḳ's memory. Perhaps the mourner's kaddish was recited for Hassûn, spoken by family members who would have known his real name.

The Monument to Men Murdered in the Sinai Desert is an example of how the dominant visual narratives of the St Paul's pantheon are woven through a disparate cohort of characters and events which coalesce around complementary themes of heroism, soldierly valour and power derived from the military. The Palmer Expedition unfolded in a location that held equal importance for its Christian resonances and geopolitical stakes and was turned into a sensationalist story stoked by a periodical press hungry for war stories. At the same time, the commemorative panel is a unique object that highlights the Victorian revival in brass as an ecclesiastical material and industrial art which, in this instance, was further enhanced by Jonesian design and Orientalist allegorical symbolism. In this study, I have shown how Orientalism was more closely linked to late Victorian sculptural production than previously acknowledged and how at St Paul's, there is a distinct subgenre of monuments that commemorate soldiers and spies who served in Egypt and Sudan and that rely on Orientalist allegory to tell their tales. It is clear from current debates that monuments are still central to our understanding of the past and our values in the present. The Monument to Men Murdered in the Sinai Desert reveals the richness and complexity of brass monuments enhancing those debates and in doing so, calling for further study of other examples in St Paul's and beyond. While scholars of the Middle East might feel at a remove from some of the conversations which have primarily centred on profiteers of the transatlantic slave trade who have been commemorated with monuments, my analysis of this panel demonstrates how issues of empire, religion and geopolitical legacy in the region are suffused to this debate in equally important ways.

[1] I would like to acknowledge the genesis and inspiration for this article, *Pantheons: Sculpture at St. Paul's Cathedral, c. 1795-1914*, an AHRC-funded project between the Cathedral and art historians at the University of York. I want to offer my sincere thanks to the principal investigators Professor Jason Edwards, Dr Amy Harris and Dr Greg Sullivan for being generous interlocutors, early readers and insightful commentators, and for the opportunity to present this research at their conference, *World of Faith: Sculpture and Faith at St. Paul's Cathedral, c. 1796-1916* (6 July 2021).

[2] Institution of Royal Engineers, *The Royal Engineers Journal* (2 April 1883), p. 8.

[3] Anon., 'The Palmer Expedition', *The Times* (7 April 1883), p. 10.

[4] Anon., 'The Palmer Expedition: Funeral at St. Paul's.' *The Standard* (7 April 1883), p. 5.

[5] R. Butler, *Marked Domestic Brass c.1600- c.1900*, Devon: Marwood House, 2001, p. 44.

[6] 'Monument to Men Massacred in the Sinai Desert' *St. Paul's Cathedral Collection Database*, accessed 12 January 2022, http://spc.adlibhosting.com/Details/collect/1654. While the present position of the ledger may not be unaltered, the proximity of panel and ledger, is implied in the inscription of the panel and therefore beyond doubt.The ledger is inscribed 'E. H. P. / AGED XLII // H. J. C. / XXXIX // H. C. / XXVI'.

[7] The inscription reads in full:

IN MEMORY OF THREE BRAVE MEN:
PROFESSOR EDWARD HENRY PALMER,
FELLOW OF S. JOHN'S COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE,
LORD ALMONER'S READER IN ARABIC AND
A SCHOLAR AND LINGUIST OF RARE GENIUS:
CAPTAIN WILLIAM JOHN GILL, R.E.
AN ARDENT AND ACCOMPLISHED SOLDIER
AND A DISTINGUISHED EXPLORER;
LIEUTENANT HAROLD CHARRINGTON.
R.N. OF H.M.S. EURYALUS, A YOUNG
OFFICER OF HIGH PROMISE.
WHO WHEN TRAVELLING ON PUBLIC DUTY
INTO THE SINAI DESERT WERE TREACHEROUSLY
AND CRUELLY SLAIN IN THE WADY SADR
AUGUST 11TH MDCCCLXXXII.

THEIR REMAINS AFTER THE LAPSE OF
MANY WEEKS HAVING BEEN PARTIALLY
RECOVERED AND BROUGHT TO ENGLAND
WERE DEPOSITED HERE WITH CHRISTIAN
RITES, APRIL 6TH MDCCCLXXXIII.
THIS TABLET HAS BEEN ERECTED BY
THE COUNTRY WHOSE SERVICE THEY
PERISHED, TO COMMEMORATE THEIR NAMES,
THEIR WORTH AND THEIR FATE.
THAT TRAGIC FATE WAS SHARED BY TWO
FAITHFUL ATTENDANTS, THE SYRIAN KHALÍL
'ATÎK AND THE HEBREW BĀKHOR HASSŪN,
WHOSE REMAINS LIE WITH THEIRS.
"Our Bones lie scattered before the Pit,
as when one breaketh and cleaveth
Wood upon the Earth, but our eyes
look unto Thee O Lord God!" Ps. cxli

[8] Dominic Janes offered this insightful comment at the Worlds of Faith conference on the queer sense of touch elicited by the shared grave. For the inscription of the ledger see note 6.

[9] For more on the formation of the St Paul's pantheon through a state-sponsored programme of erecting monumental sculpture to commemorate heroes of the Napoleonic Wars, see A. Yarrington, *The Commemoration of the Hero, 1800–1864: Monuments to British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars*, New York, Garland, 1988, J. Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda: Monuments and the Eighteenth-Century British Empire*, Montreal, McGill-Queens University Press, 2006, pp. 103–146, S. Burnage and J. Edwards, *The British School of Sculpture, c. 1760–1832*, London, Routledge, 2017, H. Hoock, *The King's Artists: The Royal Academy of Arts and the Politics of British Culture, 1760–1840*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2003, and S. Jenkins, 'The Politics of Public Monument: Parliamentary Commissions of Monuments for Westminster Abbey in 1789', *Sculpture Journal*, 30.1, 2021, pp.9–29.

[10] D. Meara, *Victorian Memorial Brasses*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983.

[11] B. Farwell, *Queen Victoria's Little Wars*, London, Norton, 1985.

[12] For more see, E. Bar-Yosef, *The Holy Land in English Culture, 1799–1917: Palestine and the Question of Orientalism*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2005.

[13] N. Aston, 'St. Paul's and the Public Culture of Eighteenth Century Britain', in D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint (eds), *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004, p. 371.

[14] There is little scholarship on British Orientalist sculpture in comparison to scholarship on the work of, for example, French Charles Cordier, Italian Antonio Rossetti and Austrian Friedrich Goldscheider. For discussion on Orientalist sculpture related to Ancient Egyptian iconography see, J. Edwards, 'In Focus: *The Singer* exhibited 1889 and *Applause* 1893 by Edward Onslow Ford' *Tate Research* Publications, April 2013, accessed 15 June 2021, https://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/in-focus/the-singer-and-applause-edward-onslow-ford and R. Ormond, 'Edward William Lane' *National Portrait Gallery*, 1973, https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitExtended/mw03752/Edward-William-Lane?, accessed 28 September 2021.

[15] See *The Standard* (19 and 29 August 1882), *Leeds Mercury* (19 August 1882), *The Globe* (29 August 1882), *The Daily News* (13 September 1882).

[16] J. Newsinger 'Liberal Imperialism and the Occupation of Egypt in 1882' *Race & Class* 49 no. 3, 2008, pp. 54–75. For more on the authorship of the panel see, S. Kelly, *Captain Gill's Walking Stick: The True Story of the Sinai Murders*, London: I. B. Tauris, 2019, p. 205.

[17] For more see on the early years of the Anglo-Egyptian Campaign see E. Spiers, *The Victorian Soldier in Africa*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013, pp. 77–131 and W. Wright, *A Tidy Little War: The British Invasion of Egypt 1882*, Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2009.

[18] S. Kelly, as at note 16, p. 86.

[19] T. Hadland, *Glimpses of a Victorian Hero: Captain William Gill, Explorer and Spy*, Farringdon: Hadland Books, 2002, p. 74.

[20] The Duke of Wellington is interred in one of the most elaborate monuments in the Cathedral. The scholarship on the Wellington monument is extensive but for a general overview see, J. Frederick Physick, *The Wellington Monument*, London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1970, B. Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982, pp. 91–95 and M. Hatt, M. Droth and J. Edwards (eds) *Sculpture Victorious: Art in an Age of Invention: 1837–1901*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2015, pp. 344–368.

[21] Hadland, as at note 19, pp. 71–72.

[22] E. Henry Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus: Journeys on Foot in the Wilderness of the Forty Years' Wanderings*, vol. 2, Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co; London: Bell and Daldy, 1871, p. 497.

[23] Ibid., p. 284.

[24] Higher Criticism emerged in the eighteenth century amongst German and English Biblical scholars as a historical-critical method of interpreting the Bible and its authors. For a discussion of this historicist moment in the context of Victorian religious painting see, M. Giebelhausen, *Painting the Bible: Representation and Belief in Mid-Victorian Britain*, Abingdon, Ashgate, 2006, pp. 12–20.

[25] Bar-Yosef, as at note 9, quoted, pp. 7–8.

[26] Kelly, as at note 16, p. 17.

[27] Palmer, as at note 20, p. 336.

[28] Hadland, as at note 19, p. 71.
[29] Hadland, as at note 19, pp. 71–72.

[30] Kelly, as at note 16, p. 215.

[31] E. Said, *Orientalism*, London: Penguin, 2003, p. 80.

[32] Said, Ibid., p. 80.

[33] M. Prior 'The War in the Soudan' *The Illustrated London News* 84, no. 2341 (1 March 1884), p. 198.
[34] On this panel see J. Edwards, A. Harris and M. G. Sullivan, *Monuments of St. Paul's Cathedral 1796-1916*, London: Scala Arts and Heritage Publishers Ltd, 2021, p. 57.

[35] R. Burton, 'The Late E.H. Palmer – i. Personal Reminiscences' *The Academy* no. 574, 5 May 1883, p. 311 and 'The Late E.H Palmer – ii. The Story of His Death' *The Academy* no. 575, (12 May 1883, pp. 329–330.

[36] AE Haynes, *Man-Hunting in the Desert* London: Horace Cox, 1894, p. 118.

[37] 'Hart, Son, Peard & Co.', *Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851-1951*, University of Glasgow History of Art and HATII, online database 2011, http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/organization.php?id=msib4_1205842995, accessed 17 February 2021.

[38] Two catalogues, *Memorial brasses and mural tablets* and *Examples of metal work for ecclesiastical and domestic* use, London and Birmingham: The Firm, 1871–7, survive and are held at the National Art Library.
[39] Hart, Son, Peard & Co., *Examples of Metal Work for Ecclesiastical and Domestic Use: Manufactured by Hart, Son, Peard & Co.*, London: Hart, Son, Peard & Co., 1870.

[40] 'Monument to Randolph Robinson' (n.d.) (object no. 538) http://spc.adlibhosting.com/Details/collect/1427, 'Monument to George Andrew Spottiswoode' (n.d.) (object no. 539) http://spc.adlibhosting.com/Details/collect/1428, 'Monument to Lieutenant Quintin Battye and Major Wigram

Battye'(n.d.) (object no. 2367) http://spc.adlibhosting.com/Details/collect/1671, 'Monument to Field Marshal Sir Henry Wylie Norman (c.1907) (object no. 2384) http://spc.adlibhosting.com/Details/collect/1687 and 'Ledger Stone of George Swan Nottage' (c.1885) (object no. 2452) http://spc.adlibhosting.com/Details/collect/1750.

[41] For more on Victorian brass work see, R. Gentle and R. Field, *Domestic Metalwork, 1640-1820* London: Antique Collectors' Club 1994.

[42] Meara, as at note 7, pp. 5.

[43] Examples of such brass rubbings by the Brass Rubbing Society (now the Oxford University Archaeological Society) are held at the Ashmolean Museum. The Victoria and Albert Museum's collection can be seen in M. Clayton, *Catalogue of Rubbings of Brasses and Incised Slabs*, London: V&A Publishing, 1915.

[44] Coutu, as at note 6, p. 4.

[45] R. Bowdler and A. Saunders, 'The Post-Reformation Monuments' in D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint (eds) *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004, p. 286.

[46] Thank you to one of my anonymous peer reviewers for this astute suggestion.

[47] J. Edwards, 'Hart, Son, Peard & Co. – Palmer, Gill, Charrington, Atik and Hassun' *Pantheons: Sculpture at St. Paul's Cathedral, c. 1796-1916* (online catalogue, forthcoming, 2022).

[48] O. Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, London, Bernard Quaritch, 1868, plate 16.

[49] Thank you to Jason Edwards for providing these translations.

[50] The scholarship on British travel in the Near East is extensive but for an art historical perspective see, N. Tromans, *Lure of the East: British Orientalist Painting*, London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008, pp. 1–22.

[51] There were many different illustrated versions of *Arabian Nights* published in the nineteenth century. The Dalziel Brothers is one of the best examples and features many of the notable characteristics of British Orientalist art. See Henry William Ducklin, *Dalziels' Illustrated Arabian Nights Entertainments*, London, Ward, Lock and Tyler, 1865.

[52] For more on Orientalism across the arts, with the notable exception of sculpture, see J. Beaulieu and M. Roberts, *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography*, Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2002 and J. Mackenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the* Arts, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995, pp. 43–70.

[53] A. Egmont Hake and C. George Gordon, *The Journals of Major-General C. G. Gordon, C. B., at Kartoum*, London: Kegan, Paul Trench & Co., 1885, p. 6.

[54] D. Maltz, '"Baffling Arrangements": Vernon Lee and John Singer Sargent in Queer Tangier' in J.

Edwards and I. Hart (eds) *Rethinking the Interior c. 1867-1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts*, London: Routledge, 2010, p. 185.

[55] One of the correspondents commemorated, Frank Powers, who wrote for *The Times* died under similar circumstances to the Palmer Expedition. He was robbed and killed in the desert on 28 March 1885.

[56] There is also a photograph of Palmer in Orientalist dress, annotated in Arabic, dated 1867 in the St John's College library collection which Dr Adam Crothers, Special Collections Assistant, shared with me.

[57] I am grateful to Briony Llewellyn for helping with research on this portrait.

[58] Later, Kennington would depict Lawrence in full Arabic dress for a stone tomb effigy in St Martin's Church, Wareham. For more on this tomb, see R. Knowles, 'Tale of an 'Arabian Knight': the T. E. Lawrence effigy' *Church Monuments* 6, 1991, pp. 67-76. This well-known white *thobe* and head covering, a gift from King Faisal of Iraq, are popular artefacts now displayed in the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

[59] Edwards, Harris and Sullivan, as at note 28, p. 24.

[60] Anon. as at note 4, p. 5.

[61] W. Gill, *The River of Golden Sand: Being the Narrative of a Journey Through China and Eastern Tibet to Burmah*, London, John Murray, 1883, p. 63.