

THE SVOBODA DIARIES.

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The Svoboda diaries were originally 61 in number covering a period from 1862 to the seventeenth of January, 1908. At present they are to be found in the Yacub Serkis Collection which was a private bequest to the Al Hikma University and is housed separately from the main library. A few years ago I became interested in the diaries as a social document of a particular fragment of Iraqi society in the second half of the nineteenth century, and with the help of Baghdad University obtained a grant from the Gulbenkian Foundation to cover part of the expenses involved in transcribing the diaries to typescript form. The task proved much more formidable than I had anticipated. Of the original 61 diaries, Number 1,2,3,5,6,10, and 43 are missing, probably lost in a fire which destroyed many Svoboda family documents before the diaries passed into the possession of the late Mr. Y. Sarkis, a well-known Iraqi antiquarian and friend of the Svoboda family

So far I have completed the transcription of thirty diaries, reaching as far as Diary 36, dated October 1891-August 1892. The transcribed diaries vary in length from a minimum of 140 quarto typescript pages to nearly 250 pages making an avalanche of typescript of more than 5000 pages. Of these thirty diaries, all have been transcribed in full with the exception of Numbers 9 and 11 for the years 1870 and 1872 respectively which I have only produced in a shortened form. As a matter of interest I am reproducing here a page at random from Diary Number 9, to illustrate the nineteenth century copperplate script which proved comparatively easy to read, except where our author, as often happened, seems to have been impelled by reasons of economy to telescope his script and cover every centimetre of the small rod leather covered notebooks.

The diary habit is not a common one, and diary keeping is often the one mysterious fact in a life that is otherwise as clear as the sky. This would seem to be the case with our diaries. Joseph Matthia Svoboda, born in Baghdad on the seventeenth of October 1840, died in the same city, January the nineteenth, 1908, and who spent his entire working life as clerk in the Lynch Company's service travelling on the river steamers between Baghdad and Basra, making his first voyage in 1862 in the 'City of London' under the command of Captain Holland. Allowing for the fact that English was not his native language, (he mentions his debt to Richard Rogers, his sister's husband who taught him English in 1859 till his death at Basra in 1862) -1- and admitting that the quality of his lan-

guage improves as the diaries progress, yet we can certainly bring no charge against our author of being unpleasantly literary. The diaries are remarkably pedestrian in character, conveying a quantity of miscellaneous information in a style that makes for dull reading. Stuffed with facts, gossip, details of weather, personalities and family life in equal measure, I think we must rule out the possibility that these diaries were written with any thought of being preserved for posterity. More likely they owe their origin to an urge for self-expression with the idea of self-improvement and self-discipline looming large on the author's horizon.

His family background is an interesting mixture of oriental and western influences, and as we read the diaries, a picture emerges of a social milieu that was mainly Christian, closely connected with the European community in Baghdad, and yet thoroughly well-versed in the languages and sensitive to the mental climate of Baghdad society in the last decades of Ottoman rule. The founder of the family in Baghdad, Antoine Svoboda was born in Hungary on the second of April 1796, and died in Baghdad on the seventh of September 1878 at 4.O.p.m. Exactly how and why he came to settle in Baghdad, I have not been able to discover, but surmise it was by way of Constantinople, and as far as his later history is concerned there are many incidental references in the accounts of travellers who passed through Baghdad. His marriage to a local Christian is certified as taking place on the twelfth of February, 1825, and in a letter written from Baghdad on May 15th. 1825 by a young official of the East India Company 3. making a pleasure tour from Bushire to Tehran, Baghdad and back to the factory in Bushire, we have the following colourful description of Mr. Svoboda in the early days of his married life :

"The detail of the first visit that I paid to M. Svoboda, a young German who has lately married a Chaldean Catholic, will serve as a specimen of the common life and manners of the European Christians here. After walking up a narrow dusty street, where I was in the double danger every step of tumbling over a litter of puppies, or getting well ducked by the water carriers, I was conducted to the entrance of an apparently neat brick house.

I entered the yard and found everything there in momentary confusion. Presently down jumped from the upper story the gay young German, and welcomed me, rather too much in the oriental style, to his house, habited without hat, or cravat, or coat, demi-Turk and demi-Frenchman, and evidently, by the flush on his cheeks, roused most inopportunately out of a sweet slumber. As he ushered me to the rooms above, overlooking the courtyard, he proposed my smoking, ----- Out he swept again in a little while followed by a tall, pale young lady, whom he introduced to me as Mrs. Svoboda, and who then put the chibouk into my hands.

I told her, as to have given what I had seen thing as it was shed his spouse appearance v head-dress consisting of a gold coins the head. A long and turned u with these g brought me so the visit e ation, seem t

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I told her, as she understood Persian, that I was quite ashamed
to have given this trouble to a lady. She laughed, and repeated
what I had said to her husband, who begged me not to say any-
thing as it was their custom. I did not reflect that he probably wi-
shed his spouse to be in the dark as to her proper privileges. Her
appearance was singular. She had a gaudy and many coloured
head-dress composed of several pieces of cloth twisted into som-
ething of a turban round her temples, and crowded with small
gold coins the size of our guineas, which tinkled as she tossed her
head. A long and misshapely gown covered her figure, slashed
and turned up on the arms, and a loose girdle bound it studded
with these glittering coins. After a little talk she went out and
brought me coffee, and then sherbet for her husband also. And
so the visit ended. They are quite slaves, and yet, strange infatu-
ation, seem to enjoy it."

He survived the disastrous flood, plague and revolution that deposed
Daoud Pasha in 1831, and is mentioned in the pages of the diary kept
during this terrible period by the Reverend Anthony Groves, the English
missionary who lost his wife and child in the disasters that destroyed the
last traces of Mameluke grandeur in Baghdad. He seems to have made a
living as an importer of Bohemian glass and was involved in a lengthy
legal case concerning buried treasure found in the house, he was renting.
This case made him a bitter enemy of the Pachachi family and seems to
have been something of a cause celebre in Baghdad in the middle of the
century, since we have two full accounts of the incident. One is in the Autoblo-
graphy of Sir Henry Layard, (4) and a second in the Report of the French
Archaeological Mission under the leadership of Fresnel and Oppert which
spent several months of enforced leisure in Baghdad in 1851 because of
tribal unrest that delayed their expedition to Babylon.

Mr. Svoboda senior was the founder of a large family of eleven
children, seven girls and four boys, of whom one boy and three girls died
in infancy. As an Austrian subject he was under French consular protec-
tion in Baghdad, and in the course of his long legal process with Abdul
Rahman Pachachi seems to have often quarrelled with the French consul
of the day. (6)

He must have been well known to foreign travellers since on his
death a memorial was published in the Literary Gossip sections of the
Athenaeum magazine.(7) A man of strong temper he quarrelled with his son
Joseph on the occasion of his marriage to Eliza Marine, a widow whose
daughter was regarded as a more suitable match for Joseph. In one of the
more memorable episodes in his diary, Joseph records his father's comments
on his marriage(8) 'he told me that if I have come to ask him for advise

these are his but if for permission and blessings that he has none to give me'. After a violent quarrel in which his father knocked him down with his stick, and neighbours rushed in to separate the feuding family, Joseph left his Father's house on the eleventh of October 1877,(9) and did not re enter it until the day of his funeral in 1878.

Of the early years and education of our diarist, I have been able to find very little trace. It is a great pity that the first three volumes of his diary are missing. He evidently spent some years in Bombay with his elder brother, Alexander, returned in 1857,(11) learned English from his brother in law, Richard Rogers, and entered the Lynch Company's service on the twelfth of February 1862 making his first voyage to Basra in the 'City of London' under the command of Captain Holland.(13)

The Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Company Limited, formed and incorporated in England on April 25th. 1861, played an important role in the history of river transport in Iraq, and indeed in the revival of trade and prosperity that characterise the second half of the century. Steamship traffic on the Tigris was the consequence of Colonel Chesney's classic journey by steam paddleboat down the Euphrates from Birecik to Basra and thence up to Baghdad in 1836. It is outside the scope of this article to relate the varying fortunes of the expedition down the river, the tragic sinking of the Tigris in a sandstorm, the loss of her Commander and twenty members of the crew including Lieutenant Robert B. Lynch. In 1837, the expedition was broken up, and Chesney, disappointed in his schemes of opening up a new route to India returned to England, leaving Captain Henry Blossie Lynch of the East India Company's Navy in charge. In 1839, the 'Euphrates', surviving vessel of the Chesney expedition was reinforced by three vessels sent out from India, and put together at Basra, the Nitocris, Nimrod, and Assyria.(14) These four vessels continued in operation for the next two or three years, surveying the two great rivers, carrying the mails between Baghdad and Basra, and generally maintaining regular communications between the British Political Agents in Baghdad and India through the port of Basra. The expense of maintaining four government steamers on the Tigris had proved very costly for the East India Company and eventually three of the vessels were withdrawn, leaving behind the Nitocris under the command of Captain H.B. Lynch for the service of the Political Agent in Baghdad.

During his period of service in command of the second expedition, Captain Lynch had fully realised the importance and potential value of Mesopotamia as an outlet for British trade. His two brothers, Tom and Stephen came out from England in 1841 and established the firm of Stephen Lynch and Company in Baghdad. The Lynch Brothers received every support from the British Political Representative and their operations had

soon expanded from the original enterprise in a combined trade and transport specially imported from the Malabar registered as British vessels, proceeded to India. The East India Company decided to withdraw was in a position to offer to replace merchant steamers and an application to the British Majesty's Representative on the two rivers. A firman was issued on these conditions, and the company contracted in London' which was assembled in 1862, to be joined by 'The Dija', which inherited the concession which gave the company a monopoly of navigation under the firman of 1834.

The Turkish Government abolishing a merchant steamer service in 1855 Rashid Pasha had formed a company to build boats, the 'Baghdad' and other business qualities and experience of Rashid Pasha in 1867 under the title of 'The Dija'. Its fleet enlarged and a repair yard was established. The company's operations is reflected in the Svoboda. It maintained a regular service to time and was able to provide its shareholders with a handsome bonus to ship.

Navigation of the river was made the journey to Basra in a 'good' although even in flood time it was tedious. The tedious voyage up the river was a half days, sometimes even a day, and the nights dark, and the river was low, and the nights dark, all, or to go fast even by day. The journey, the sameness of the scenery, the scarcity of other river craft. The same landmarks of the journey were of sight - seeing sailors would be of the Carden of Eden. After leaving the Carden of Eden and following areas of marsh and swamps below the level of its banks. The geese were abundant in season and passed every ten or twenty miles. A Jewish holy place of pilgrimage was in 1861 where the Company

and blessings that he has none to give his father knocked him down with to separate the feuding family, on the 17th of October 1877,(9) and died in 1878.

From our diarist, I have been able to see that the first three volumes of his diary cover some years in Bombay with his elder brother. (1) He learned English from his brother through the Lynch Company's service on the first voyage to Basra in the 'City of Holland'.(13)

The Persian Navigation Company Limited, formed on April 25th. 1861, played an important part in Iraq, and indeed in the revival of the second half of the century. As a consequence of Colonel Chesney's expedition down the Euphrates from Birecik to Basra, 36. It is outside the scope of this volume to discuss the expedition, the loss of her Commander and Lieutenant Robert B. Lynch. In 1861, Chesney, disappointed in his expedition to India, returned to England, leaving the India Company's Navy in charge. The Commander of the Chesney expedition was Captain Robert B. Lynch, India, and put together at Basra. These four vessels continued in the Persian Gulf, surveying the two great rivers, the Tigris and Euphrates, Basra, and generally maintaining British Political Agents in Baghdad. The expense of maintaining four vessels proved very costly for the East India Company, and the vessels were withdrawn, leaving the command of the second expedition to Captain H.B. Lynch for the

importance and potential value of the expedition. His two brothers, Tom and John, had established the firm of Stephen Lynch Brothers received every part of the native and their operations had

soon expanded from the original commission business to a flourishing enterprise in a combined trade and transport business with large teak vessels specially imported from the Malabar Coast, flying the British flag and registered as British vessels, proceeding up and down the river. When the East India Company decided to withdraw their steamers, the Lynch Company was in a position to offer to replace them with specially constructed merchant steamers and an application was made to the Porte through Her Britannic Majesty's Representative for the acquisition of navigation rights on the two rivers. A firman was eventually granted subject to certain minor conditions, and the company commissioned its first steamer 'The City of London' which was assembled in Basra and made its maiden voyage in 1862, to be joined by 'The Dija', in 1865. So the Lynch Brothers had inherited the concession which gave the British Government the rights of navigation under the firman of 1834 specially granted for the Chesney expedition.

The Turkish Government was also alert to the importance of establishing a merchant steamer service between Baghdad and Basra, and in 1855 Rashid Pasha had formed a local company and imported two Antwerp-built boats, the 'Baghdad' and the 'Basra'. The service at first lacked business qualities and experience and was later re-organised by Namiq Pasha in 1867 under the title of the Oman-Ottoman Administration, and its fleet enlarged and a repair yard built. Rivalry between the two companies is reflected in the Svoboda Diaries, but the English Company maintained a regular service to time without the burden of corrupt officials, and was able to provide its share-holders with generous profits(16) as well as paying a handsome bonus to ships officers and Company agents.

Navigation of the river was anything but easy. The river steamers made the journey to Basra in a minimum of two days when the going was 'good' although even in flood time six to ten hours more were generally required. The tedious voyage up the river, against the stream, lasted from three and a half days, sometimes even eight days according to the season. When the river was low, and the nights dark, it was impossible to steam by night at all, or to go fast even by day. All travellers comment on the monotony of the journey, the sameness of the scenery, the absence of vegetation(16) and scarcity of other river craft. The diaries record with monotonous regularity the same landmarks of the journey - from Basra to Kurneh where parties of sight - seeing sailors would often be put ashore to visit the supposed site of the Garden of Eden. After Kurneh, the steamer passed through rice - growing areas of marsh and swamp, with the river at times barely a foot below the level of its banks. Pelicans, snipe, wild pig and flocks of wild geese were abundant in season and reed hut Arab encampments would be passed every ten or twenty miles. The next landmark was Ezra's tomb, a Jewish holy place of pilgrimage, then Abu Sedra and on to Amara founded in 1861 where the Company had established a coaling depot on the east

bank. The poplar grove of Ali Shergi was followed by Ali Gherbi, a small village on the west bank with its saintly tomb, then Sheikh Saad until the next stopping point at Kut-el-Amara where there was a second coaling depot for the Company's steamers. In 1855, the small village of Bughela was built on the west bank as property of the Sultan, then followed the village of Azizieh and on to Baghdadiéh, an old mad fort on a mound on the west bank, built by a sheikh of the Zobeid tribe to levy blackmail on the native boats. The next real land mark was the famous site of the 'Twin Cities' of Ctesiphon and Selucia. Here the river makes a great loop of several hours steaming time around the peninsula, and passengers often preferred to walk into Baghdad rather than wait for the leisurely progress of the steamer past the Diala River.

The diaries omit no detail, however slight, of these journeys between Baghdad and Basra, rises of the river level are recorded meticulously, and no detail of tortorous navigation round the notorious Devil's Elbow are spared. On occasions however, a greater drama emerges and Henry Svoboda records the storm and sinking of the Dijla at Baghdadiéh Fort in 1876. The Dijla was a new vessel only put into commission on June 24th 1865 and she was sunk by being driven by the current upon the remains of a buggalow which she herself had sent to the bottom two years before. The entry in Diary No. 17 (17) for September 8th. gives us an eye witness account of the episode in which fortunately no lives were lost.

"At 4.15 as the ship was steaming on along the bank of Baghdadiéh Fort, she struck very hard on something, the concussion was strong and more than usual. I was sitting on the Quarter Deck reading. The engine was stopped and she slew round without disengaging her bow. Everybody rushed forward, opened the hatch of the foremost Hold and saw the water rushing in from a very large hole or crack extending across and along the compartment which separates the fore from the main Hold, just under her Port Quarter bow. In few second the hold was full up to the waist, the place being full of bales of tobacco which began to float. Took few out to make room to bail out water buckets and the two pumps were employed but the water was gaining fast. ----- It became dark and the people seemed to have slacked work and pumping. We had taken an anchor out from her stern and threw it up stream to turn her round and let her lay straight with her down stream so as to stop the strong rush of water against her broadside. But she won't move at all. ----- We discharged two boat loads of cargo which on deck to the opposite island on East bank but it took a long time to perform the trips in the Launch. At about 8 the main hold was fast filling as well as the bunker. We wanted to stop the water from penetrating into the engine room and set the Donkey pump at work but could not as

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In 1878 the Dijla was
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the water appeared coming fast. We gave up hope of saving the ship. Begun to land the passengers and their kit on the bank of Baghdadiéh, in the Launch. ----- The moon rose at about 10. The ship began to get deeper in the water. --- on my leaving the ship the water was rushing into the saloon and her stern was sinking to settle down."

Divers were brought out from England, some of the cargo and stores were salvaged, but a sudden rise in the river put an end to all the ingenious attempts to float the unlucky Dijla and she had to be abandoned.

In 1878 the Dijla was replaced by the powerful two-funnelled Blossé Lynch, 220 feet in length and 46 feet in beam, sent out from England and fitted at Basra. She was of greatly improved design built somewhat on the model of the American river steamers with a very spacious upper deck high above the main deck with an immense width able to accomodate as many as 600 deck passengers and 300 tons of cargo. The great width - exceeded by few of the large ocean going liners of the day - enabled the builders to reduce the draft of water to four and a half feet. Mr. Svoboda gives an interesting account of the trial trip of the Blossé Lynch.(18) This took place in Basra on Wednesday, April 4th. 1877 and was celebrated with an official lunch on board for over 150 people including the British Resident, Colonel Nixon, the Commodore of the Turkish fleet, officials of the Telegraph and Customs Offices, and officers of British ships visiting Basra at the time.

"The tryal trip of the Blossé Lynch is going to take place to day an invitation to a Tiffin party is to be given by the Company on board and consequently the people begin to come up from Basra by noon everybody was on board and steam got up and anchors weighed. There were over 150 persons on board ---- the Blossé Lynch started from Marghil at 6.40.p.m. and steamed up river, the Comet was dressed with Flags, she steamed remarkably well and with great speed, went up as far as the upper part of Khelet or near Saheb Zeman, turned round and steamed down but met with the flood tide, she steamed very well."

The most difficult stretch of river navigation is between Amara and Ezra's Tomb. The Tigris gradually dwindles in breadth after Kut until at the Narrows near Kaleh Saleh it is no more than 50 yards wide with a depth at low water of no more than 3 feet. Here are several devil's elbows that are extremely difficult to negotiate - at one place the river doubles on itself almost completely, the breadth at the turn being no more than 50 yards. The task of rounding the corner by a vessel nearly 300 feet long was accomplished by jamming her bow into one mud bank and her stern into another. With only a few inches of water under her keel, the stream was blocked

and must push forward the obstruction to freedom. The diaries are full of incidents concerning the notorious 'devil's elbow'. One of the most interesting is in Diary No. 8. (19) under the entry of April 2nd. 1870 where Svoboda records that the Turkish S. V. Fox had smashed herself going down near the elbow, the 'Baghdad' tried to tow her and got smashed too, until at last the 'Euphrates' was sent from Basra and managed to take her down.

Not all the trials of the voyages were concerned with navigation. Babies were born, men were lost overboard, second mates got drunk, (20) smashed cabins and had to be put in irons, paddle boxes broke, boilers burst, a second officer, Mr. Pery died from sunstroke, and at times the vagaries of the climate and petty irritations of the clerical work on board seemed almost unbearable. Increasingly a victim of insomnia, palpitation of the heart, severe sweating fits, constipation and a host of other psychosomatic symptoms that seemed to be leading to a nervous breakdown, Mr. Svoboda applied for and obtained six months sick leave in the early months of 1880. (22) Incidentally his diaries are crammed with exact descriptions of minor ailments, and an interesting study could be made of the medical remedies available in Baghdad at this period ranging from Sedlitz powders to the application of leeches for toothache.

But before he obtained his leave, and perhaps one of the final factors that precipitated his nervous crisis, we have his accounts of the prolonged droughts of the year 1879 when the river fell to an exceptionally low level, making navigation extremely difficult, at times even impossible. So much distress was felt among the rice-growing areas around Amara because of the shortage of water that the Turkish authorities constructed a barrage across the river in the Narrows. In Diary No. 20 (23) in an entry dated June 2nd. 1878, Svoboda comments 'Wheat is again getting very scarce and rising in price. The crop has been very bad this year on account of the scarcity of rain and the lowness of the river.', and in the same Diary, dated June 12th. he records "The Turkish government at the suggestion of the Arab Sheikhs of Albu - mohamed intend to block up the river with a sudd so as to be able to cultivate their rice. Since they have had no rise of the river this year, if they get no water this season, the government will lose about 800,000 Shamies of revenue from rice alone. Ashraf Pasha has forwarded this scheme to the governor of Baghdad. Who informed the British Consul officially yesterday. So as to inform the agents of the Euphrates and Tigris S. N. Company here."

Further entries about the sudd and navigation problems continue in Diary No. 21. Cargo and passengers frequently had to be landed to lighten the load, and in the second half of the year direct through service was suspended. On orders from the Company's agent in Baghdad, the 'City

of London' had to remain at in the sudd that would allow seems to have suffered most records the news that came afterwards. Most of them shut the made their mind to run away

The winter of 1879-1 throughout the north of the only activity that of the uprising of the poor. Under Svoboda records the following:

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In 1880, the Company the river, and from the den voyage from Basra with wheat that was being

Meanwhile, the that the Company applied The building of the barrage of permission being requested. (28) Despite the was finally decided against drawn.

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They were concerned with navigation. The first mate, second mates got drunk,(20) the paddle boxes broke, boilers from sunstroke, and at times the men of the clerical work on board became a victim of insomnia, palpitation and a host of other psychopathology leading to a nervous breakdown, some months sick leave in the early years are crammed with exact descriptions. A study could be made of the medical period ranging from Sedlitz powder to the

and perhaps one of the final factors have his accounts of the river level fell to an exceptionally low point, at times even impossible. So the irrigating areas around Amara because the authorities constructed a barrage No. 20 (23) in an entry dated 1870 "heat is again getting very scary bad this year on account of the low water in the river.", and in the same Diary, the government at the suggestion of the British government intend to block up the river to cultivate their rice. Since this year, if they get no water they will lose about 800,000 Shamies of rice. The Pasha has forwarded this scheme to the British Consul who informed the British Consul to inform the agents of the Euphrates

navigation problems continue frequently had to be landed to lighten the year direct through service of the British agent in Baghdad, the 'City

of London' had to remain at Amara to wait for the possibility of a break in the sidd that would allow navigation to continue to Basra. Our diarist seems to have suffered most fearfully from an unusual wave of heat and records the news that came from Basra(24) "People suffered the heat most awfully. Most of them shut their shops and if the heat lasts longer, they have made their mind to run away from Basrah."

The winter of 1879-1880 was exceptionally severe and famine raged throughout the north of the country. The bazaars of Mosul were empty, the only activity that of the armourers since the inhabitants feared a general uprising of the poor. Under the entry for January 31st. 1880,(25) Joseph Svoboda records the following details;

"All the lemon trees died from the effect of the cold weather also the date branches in some places at Baghdad had dried up and shrivelled. In the country above Mossul the cold weather has been most awful this winter, the quantity of snow which is falling is very great. All communication and traffic to Mossul is stopped from Dyarbekir nothing comes to Mossul and consequently great misery and starvation prevails at Mossul, Kirkuk and the other Villages, the poor beggars are swarming there, hundreds of them have come to Baghdad and the streets are full of them. Wheat at Mossul is not to be found and the price went up to 44 Beshlie per wazna of 50 Constple Okes. Bread cannot be got in the bazaars, one has to take with him a Zapyeh (policeman) so as to be able to procure some bread for his daily consumption. Here in Baghdad wheat is selling at from 22 to 28 Beshlies per wazna. The river is still very low here, and no rain is falling anywhere except in the upper countries above Mossul and there too is not so plentiful as it should have been. The river we have heard few days ago has frozen at Dyarbekir and people can walk across it. This is never heard of before."

In 1880, the Company had placed a new steamer, the 'Khalifah', on the river, and from the diaries(26) we learn that she completed her maiden voyage from Basra to Baghdad on April 27th and came up fully loaded with wheat that was being sent to relieve the distress in the north.

Meanwhile, the volume of traffic had increased to such an extent that the Company applied to Constantinople for permission to tow barges. The building of the barges seems to have been put in hand well in advance of permission being received(27) and strong local opposition was encountered.(28) Despite the intervention of the Foreign Office,(29) the question was finally decided against the Company and the Barges had to be withdrawn.

The Company periodically experienced difficulty in renewing its firman for navigation rights, since it was often argued that all official documents referred to rights of navigation on the Euphrates and said nothing whatever about the Tigris, on which river alone the Lynch steamers traded. It has been suggested that the Pasha who drew up the firman did not know the difference between the Tigris and the Euphrates and was uncertain as to which river Baghdad was situated on, but be this as it may, periodic bouts of anti-British feeling were often expressed by placing obstacles in the way of foreign shipping. Diary No. 26 (June 1883-May 1884) devotes a great deal of attention to this issue. Beginning with an entry on June 16th, 1883

"I heard the sad news of the prevention of both steamers Mejdieh and Khalifah by the Turkish Government from running in the river, that an order came from Constantinople from the Minister of the Interior to the waly ordering him to stop both steamers from running in the river that the Ferman granted to the English steamers was only for to run in the river Euphrates. The Resident Colonel Tweedie has telegraphed to Constantinople."

Merchants were forcibly prevented from shipping cargo,(30) orders were sent to Gorna to the Turkish man of war to prevent by force the passage of steamers on the Tigris. The Pasha was in constant telegraphic communication with Constantinople, and Colonel Tweedie, the British Resident, had to resort to the medium of the French consul to transmit his requests to the Pasha. People were prevented from posting their letters in British Post-Offices, and the Company's vessels were laid up at the end of June. The matter was discussed in the British Parliament and Svoboda records, "All Baghdad have nothing else to talk about but our steamers." Articles about the affair were written in the Daily Telegraph and Pall Mall Gazette and copies received eagerly and discussed passionately in Baghdad. On August 2nd, the British Resident received a private telegram from Constantinople informing him of a favourable decision, and on the 5th. August, 1883 the steamers resumed their service. One final comment from the entry dated August 4th. (32).

"People say that the Pasha, the Mushir, Serry Effendi etc. are in a terrible way about this order which came against their wish they are very sorry and they are not expected to remain in their posts. They will be dismissed very shortly. The Resident is determined to get the Pasha dismissed as a punishment for the ill treatment he gave to our steamers and the insult to the English flag."

In 1891, similar opposition was encountered, and even in 1901 when

permission was finally granted of two, no reference was made

I must confess that it is notones of the regular river tri diaries are also interesting in Baghdad in the second half was high and spared no sectic of Colonel Herbert, the British Holland's Charley, and in Dic 1882, we have the matter of I son, he died about six days ag child he is losing."

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permission was finally granted to employ three boats continuously instead
of two, no reference was made in the concession to the Tigris.

I must confess that it is something of a relief to escape from the mo-
notomes of the regular river trips to dry land in Baghdad or Basra, and the
diaries are also interesting in the glimpses they afford of everyday life in
Baghdad in the second half of the nineteenth century. Infant mortality
was high and spared no section of the community. We read of the deaths
of Colonel Herbert, the British Resident's one year old son, (33) of Captain
Holland's Charley, and in Diary No. 24, under the date of January 17th.
1882, we have the matter of fact statement "Mr. Clarke has again lost his
son, he died about six days ago aged one and a half years. This is the third
child he is losing."

Today, epidemic disease has practically disappeared in Iraq, but
this was far from true in Mr. Svoboda's time. There were outbreaks of
cholera in 1865, 1871, 1889, 1894, and 1889. He gives a moving account
of the year 1888-9 when no part of Iraq seems to have escaped. In Basra,
he recorded 35 deaths on the 15th. August 1889, (34) many people fled from
the town in fright, Telegraph offices were closed, dead bodies were left
lying in the streets since no-one could be found to carry them, and all trade
and business came to a standstill. In the same diary, he describes the rava-
ges of the disease in Baghdad itself. Beginning on the 10th August, deaths
increased in Baghdad from 15-20 daily up to 50 and even 150 in one day.
Mr. Svoboda's own sister, Carolina, the wife of T. S. Blockey, Lynch's
agent died on the 20th August, in spite of the efforts of Drs. Bowman and
Sutton the two English doctors in Baghdad. None of her sisters could at-
tend her, and his description (35) of her simple, hurried funeral is very
moving:

"I went to Blockey's house with Mr. Grezeski no one was
there, except two french priests, and Dr. Sutton came and Artin,
poor Carolina's body laying down under the verandah neglected
no body to look after her or change dress, none of my sisters
came, we had to get a hired woman to perform what was requi-
red and at 7½ took the coffin down by the river in the Cutter of
the Comet towed by the Gig in which we sat and I steered to Bab
al-Sherghi and then walked to the English Cemetery the two fre-
nch fathers pronounced a short prayer and the body was inter-
red."

Under the same entry he continues: "The deaths are increas-
ing, it is now counted in hundreds. At night we could hear the
yells and cry of people in the neighbourhood. We are in great
fear. I had no sleep at all and always hearing the cries and yells
for the dead."

All who could fled the town and encamped in tents by the banks of the river. Whole families were stricken, Mr. Robertson, the British Vice Consul died in Basra (36) together with his two children and all their servants, leaving only his widow to survive him. Svoboda wished that he had taken his wife and children to Bombay. He was unable to break the news to his brother Henry that his favourite daughter, Effie head of her class, proficient in French and the piano, had died aged fifteen years old. A telegram came from Bombay giving the Waly of Basra the formula of a prescription against cholera, but the disease had to run its own course, and he does not mention a decline until the 28th August. On September 9th(37) he records, "the Christians have had over 80 persons died from Cholera up till now, out of a population of 4000 souls they estimate the number now in Baghdad." On September 21st. "Cholera is still working in Baghdad there are about 10 cases every day among the Jews and Mohamedans, but they do not let the Authorities know it, for fear of burning and destroying their clothes." By September 16th. he is able to record that the disease had declined in Baghdad, finished in Kirkuk, avoided Mosul, but taken a northward direction to Suleimaniya.

The Turkish authorities had their own doctors and quarantine officials, but it is never easy to enforce a strict quarantine, and in Diary No 9 Svoboda describes the vexations of an enforced quarantine when his ship was detained outside Amara in 1870. Conditions at Qornat Ali were no better. In May, 1881 the quarantine period was extended to 15 days, and in a entry dated May 6th of that year, he is moved to state(38)

"This place is getting worse and worse with regard to strictness, everyone is looking for bribery from headman, clerk and down to the common arab guardians. Communication with both parties is exercised with great freedom, people come on board and out as well as the quarantine people with liberty without being stopped"

Plague also took its toll of human life and in November, 1876, he records an outbreak unusually early for the time of the year. Dr. Wartaket, the Inspector of Quarantine and Dr. Millingen the Quarantine Sanitary doctor were members of the government commission set up to investigate conditions, but by April of the following year, it was working everywhere, and on April 17th. (39) he mentions "Three dead corpses of Jews having been smuggled into the town yesterday by being hidden under loads of beans on donkeys, but were found at the gate and fined heavily. Nearly three fourths of the Jews have fled out of town." Again on the 28th April, 1877 "Plague is not increasing but about the same since we left, the mortality range from 30-45 daily."

Small-pox was another killer. In 1880 he mentions the death of an English Dr. Bereton,(40) and his own small daughter Carolina, died after

a hard struggle on December 3 and on December 10th he cor all over Iraq from Basreh up the Tigris." Three children o space of twenty days. (14) T inside the church next to his burial in the English ceme we have the following melan

"It was difficu would have anythi had to get some I the goffa and then

Tuberculosis was com of his widowed sister, Made tragic circumstances, since s Mons. Khoury the French C particularly sharp and she h daughter's death. His accour demerted mother refused to Christian cemetery outside t the Syrian church beside h wedding gown and garland, the white satin-covered coffin

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and encamped in tents by the banks of the river. Mr. Robertson, the British Vice Consul, with his two children and all their servants, were with him. Svoboda wished that he had been able to break the news to his wife. His daughter, Effie, head of her class, died aged fifteen years old. A telegraph was sent from Basra the formula of a plague had to run its own course, and on the 28th August. On September 9th (37) over 80 persons died from Cholera up to the 15th. They estimate the number now in Baghdad is still working in Baghdad among the Jews and Mohamedans, but for fear of burning and destroying it, he is able to record that the disease had not reached Mosul, but taken a nor-

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880 he mentions the death of an infant daughter Carolina, died after

a hard struggle on December 3rd, 1887. This outbreak was very widespread, and on December 10th he comments "This epidemic seems to have spread all over Iraq from Basrah up to Mossul on both rivers the Euphrates and the Tigris." Three children of his brother Henry died from diphtheria in a space of twenty days. (14) The second child was not allowed to be buried inside the church next to his sister, and special permission was taken for burial in the English cemetery. When the third child, Thomas, also died we have the following melancholy entry for June 7th, 1885. (42)

"It was difficult now to get people to carry the body no one would have anything to do with it all the people shrunk it. Henry had to get some Mosully by paying them to carry the body to the goffa and thence from Babal Sherghi to the Cemetery by land."

Tuberculosis was common, and his niece, Guiseppina, only daughter of his widowed sister, Madeleine, died at the age of eighteen in especially tragic circumstances, since she had only just celebrated her engagement to Mons. Khoury the French Chancellor in Baghdad. Her mother's grief was particularly sharp and she had to leave her own house for a year after her daughter's death. His account of the funeral is poignant, (43) since the half-demerted mother refused to allow her daughter to be buried in the new Christian cemetery outside the town, insisted that she should be buried in the Syrian church beside her father, and that she should be buried in her wedding gown and garland, with her ribbons, perfumes and trousseau inside the white satin-covered coffin.

But there is a more robust side of life reflected in the diaries. Despite his absorption in his own health, Joseph Svoboda was a keen sportsman, and it may interest present-day enthusiasts to mention a few of his more memorable exploits in his field. On January 21st, 1874, after passing Amara on the return voyage from Basra to Baghdad he reports, "We saw a tremendous lot of pigs on the East bank. Hardie, Captain Holland and myself were firing at them. I killed 2 large ones and wounded two or three in the legs ---- I never saw so many, like flocks of sheep." Although the season was a little advanced, he describes a shooting trip outside Baquba with his brother Henry in January, 1877 (45) and lists 92 partridges and 7 hares as the total bag, not including the guard-attendant who was shot by accident. In Diary 28, (46) the record climbs to 241 partridges.

But nothing can overshadow the noise and fury of March 19th 1874 when four lions were shot in the space of half an hour from the deck of the steamer just below Azeir - an event which our diarist affirms had never occurred in that part of the country in the memory of man. The dead lions created some things of a sensation in Baghdad and Mr. Svoboda sent the skins to a tanner and proceeded to stuff them himself, commenting (47) "It was very

hard work, but I am sorry it did not come out to its former shape with the exception of the head, the rest of the body and legs took on other shape, it came too thin and narrow, the skin having shrunk a good deal." Although many more shooting incidents are reported - none can equal the exploit of the four lions - not even the "most singular occurrence which has never yet happened or mentioned in the Annals of ancient and modern history", namely the killing of an enormous whale, forty feet in length with a ten foot tail above Ezra's tomb.

Then as now, social life largely revolved round the family - visits were paid and visits received on every important occasion. So we find that on Easter Sunday, 1883, (49) after attending church, Joseph Svoboda made 26 visits. A friend left to become a monk (50) and had to be escorted on the first stage of the journey to Mosul, a niece who had become a nun (51) left for France, students gave a play in the Latin Church (52) that was attended by all the Christian community. Domestic life followed its course, and in the case of the Svoboda family reflects the customs of both east and west. So we find him on occasion following the procession of the bridal 'Jihaz' or outfit through the streets to the accompaniment of pipe and drum, and at others attending a ceremony performed by the Acting British Resident of the day and sitting down to a mixed wedding 'tiffin'. (53) On Sunday, June 1st 1873, (54) he accompanied his Father, brother Henry, 4 sisters and his brother's bride from the Chanteduc family to the Latin Church on the occasion of the seventh day of Henry's marriage. Yet at times he seems to have rebelled against the ritual demanded of him, and as abusive language is usually sincere, we must conclude that his feelings on the occasion of the marriage of his wife's eldest daughter, Medula, were sincere. He says. (55)

"Eliza having invited some people to the wedding of Medula in my name and against my wish for it, I was very disappointed for it as I do not wish to have a large turn out of it ---- They came at 8, and we sat waiting for Hannosh Tessi's people to come and take the bride to church to get married. Poor Medula got tired and wearied from sitting with her dress and jewellery on and got very sleepy, and so got every one. This most abominable custom of marriage in Baghdad cannot be discontinued, the manner and way of carrying it on is most disgusting. We had to wait until midnight and still no sign of their coming appeared although we sent twice to urge them.

It was just at 2½ a.m. when they came, such a crowd of people with the Tabools (but these we stopped them at the door) Hundreds of people all rushed in, masters, servants and Beys all mixed it was like an assault of an army into a fortified place, the

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when they came, such a crowd of people we stopped them at the door) in, masters, servants and Beys all an army into a fortified place, the

women were so many that we had no place for them to sit upon they filled the room, and our guests remained outside. The other salon got full with people of all sorts --- I got so disgusted to see this overpowering crowd that I did not even go inside and we had to stop outside or in our sleeping room. --- They then sat at Table spread before them and the women also went to another table spread in another room in the Divan Khaneh, but they did not stay long, for they had had too much to eat and drink at Hannoshes house. They then took Medula and left the house just at 4a.m. or day break, and they left the Chaldean church at sunrise after the marriage ceremony was concluded, officiated by the Chaldean priest and thus Yacoob Tessy and Medula got married."

Picnics were a favourite diversion, donkeys were galloped in the desert outside South Gate, a musical party or a goffa race on the river was sometimes arranged, and the female members of the Svoboda family often accompanied the boat down as far as Gerrara, either to return by donkey or to visit friends encamped under tents there, if the season was suitable. On January 4th. (56) in his bachelor days, Joseph Svoboda mentions visiting the bazaars which were open until midnight during Ramadan and watching a Karagoes or Puppet show, and on the 24th October, 1869, (57) he saw a Theatrical performance of plays, rope tricks, pantomime and dances given by an Italian family who had hired a house in Baghdad. An evening walk to South Gate was something to be recorded, and Joseph Svoboda comments in November 1874 (58) "We took with us two servants carrying lanterns and walked quick outside along the wall of the town to near the English cemetery and back."

The social life of the foreign community in Baghdad centred mainly round the British Residency. The Queen's birthday was celebrated in style, and one entry will serve as a model for the years to follow. On the 24th. May 1870 (59) we read, "Went with my father and Henry to call on the Colonel, it being the Queen's birthday today, he held a levy in his uniform and all the rest of the officers, Doctor etc. The Pasha had sent him the Band and was playing all the time on the Sudd. He will have this evening a Dinner given to all the Diplomatic people, and tomorrow a Ball and Supper for the rest of the Europeans, Ladies and Gentlemen. We are asked also." In Diary No. 13 for the year 1874, we find that the same Colonel Herbert and family had gone down river on the gun-boat the 'Comet', apparently to escape the rigours of another birthday fete. The arrival of a new Resident is always noted in the diaries, and when Colonel Tweedie left in 1891, Svoboda remarks that none of the English community came to see him off. (60) Celebrations for Queen Victoria's Jubilee day were conducted in style - the Comet let off rockets and blue lights and the Lynch steamer was also illu-

minated as well as the street of the Residency, or Street of the English as it was often called.

New Year's Day was usually celebrated with a dinner party and sometimes a dance at the British Residency. The anniversary of the coronation of Sultan Abdul Aziz is always recorded in the diaries, together with the accompanying festivities, illuminations on the river, or sometimes a party given by the Pasha of the day in the Mejdieh Gardens. An amusing anecdote is related about a ball and supper given by the Russian consul : (61)

"There were a great many people, all the English gentlemen and Ladies, Menusha Henry's wife, and Alice also were there, they had gone with Blockey and Carolina. The Nawab, the Persian Consul and Colonel Tweedie were there but the latter did not stop but about half an hour. Many other Greeks and Germans with their wives were, some I do not know, they danced and had supper at 2 after midnight, but the Ladies were taken to the table and as the place was small they arranged that the Ladies sat first and the gentlemen served them stading behind and assisted by the servants. This is a thing I never saw before, and the Englishmen did not like it much. Lots of wine and champagne was served.

He mentions taking his children on donkeys to the Cricket ground where the English were playing(62), and also going to the British Residency to watch Lawn Tennis.

The diaries abound in references to the personalities of the period, and I have selected a few representative examples. One of the most interesting is the entry for April 30th. 1869 that notes "The new Pasha for Baghdad has arrived yesterday in the S. V. Mossul at Moadhem, from Samarra, and will make his entry into town today, his name is Madhat Pasha." In the same Diary 7 on May 30th. we hear more of Madhat Pasha's activities, "The Pasha of Baghdad has left today to a tour of Mossayeb, Hilla, Diwanieh and back to Baghdad." In Diary No. 8, (63) "The Pasha for Baghdad, Medhat Pasha left the town yesterday with Troops to go up the Euphrates River against those Arabs who fired and killed some people belonging to the Turkish steamers on their way to Aleppo." On June 11th. 1877, we notice the following entry: "Lots of theft and murder going on in the towns by the mobs and people who were taken for the reserve army and our new Pasha Akif takes no notice of it, they say he does nothing but drinks by night and day." On April 7th. 1878, he records, "Kady Pasha the Governor of Baghdad arrived here last Thursday, the 3rd. inst. from Constantinople. He is well conversed in French, Arabic, Persian and a little English." Taq al Din Pasha dismissed in 1887, and J. Svoboda mentions the sale of his stable of 70 horses of the best breed. (64) About Redif

Pasha we hear that he left fortune he made by taking s people and the petty Govern records the death of Jaco "one of the best men among he was a Kaimakam of Hu ted many other sources of i When the Nakib of Baghda staminople, Svoboda records

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Another intersting e Sheikn Yahya, (67) the he over 80 who had learned to ident, Colonel Taylor, in F :orous, mutaserifs who retir was stabbed to death, an October 20th. 1889 to the not liked by the present Wa in political matters, being w

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Pasha we hear that he left Baghdad on the 1st. June "with a very good
fortune he made by taking so much bribes from right and left from the rich
people and the petty Governors." (65) An interesting entry of June 22nd. 1866
records the death of Jacob Pasha, the Collector of Customs at Basra,
"one of the best men among the Turks in the government service --- when
he was a Kaimakam of Hussein, he encouraged the cultivation and inven-
red many other sources of increasing the revenue and traffic in those parts."
When the Nakib of Baghdad, Sayid Selman Effendi left Baghdad for Con-
staminople, Svoboda records (66).

"He had been asked by the Sultan to come to him, he takes
with him large presents to the Sultan about 100 horses and 15
fine mares, jewellery of all sorts about 500 fine Abbas as many
silk and gold Izars, Diamond combs and all sorts of valuable and
precious presents to give away to the different officials. He left
on Saturday and large crowd of people went to accompany him
to the other side of the river some troops went with him and the
Turkish Government showed him great honor the Bands was
playing and troops drawn up to salute, they say he must have
taken about 10,000£ worth of presents he is afraid of his going
this time should he not be allowed to come back."

Another intersting entry in the same diary refers to the death of
Sheikn Yahya, (67) the head of the Sabean community, an old man of
over 80 who had learned to speak and write English from the British Res-
ident, Colonel Taylor, in 1838 40. Such glimpses of personalities are num-
erous, mutaserifs who retired with 'a nice fortune', an assistant judge who
was stabbed to death, and I will conclude with Svoboda's refence on
October 20th. 1889 to the death of 'Derwish Effendi the Hyderi' who 'was
not liked by the present Waly, Mostapha Assim Pasha as he used to intrigue
in political matters, being well up among the Turkish aristocracy.'

Turkish government service attracted foreigners of many different
nationalities and we have a surprisingly cosmopolitan group moving thro-
ugh the pages of the Svoboda diaries. They include M. Mougel the French
engineer who helped Svoboda with his hobby of photography, the French
Commodore of the Turkish S. V. Fox who come up from Bombay (68) to be
employed, an Italian Inspector of Quarantine. Mr. Padovani, doctors of
varying nationalities, Greek, German, Italian, and varying capabilities. Mr.
Starno was a Greek employed in the Pasha's service as an interpreter, Mess-
oud Bey a Belgian who, in '58, built the two Turksh steamers, even a
Mr. Stevens an English carpenter in Turkish employment.

Among the foreign residents in Baghdad, the Nawab Iqbal al Dow-
lah was perhaps one of the most colourful as well as the most lovable. King
of Oude for three days, he had been expelled by the British, granted a gen-

erous pension and had chosen to live out his exile in Baghdad to be near the Holy Shrines. Generous and open-hearted by nature, his mansion in Baghdad and country house in Khadimein were centres of hospitality and even his cooks and servants were lent willingly to friends. On the occasion of the marriage of Svoboda's brother-in-law, Antone Marine, employed in the British Residency as 'writer' or dragoman, we hear the following: (69)

"We all dined at Antone. People are working there in preparing for the wedding. Eliza and Antone's aunts and the servants of the Nawab Ikbal ood Dowleh with all the table service chairs and Tables etc. from the Nawab are there. The nawab has offered to Antone his three servants and the cooks to serve and arrange everything."

In December, 1882, the Nawab was invested with the Star of India and Joseph Svoboda has recorded his impressions of the ceremony

"I called on Capt. Cowley and went together to the Residency, a large crowd of people were there. The Turkish Band playing and the sepoy all drawn up and presenting arms, all the Turkish officials and Europeans and Indians were there assembled in the large room on chairs and every person's name written on it. --- Colonel Tweedie read the letters of the Queen authorising the nawab to wear the order of the Star of India etc., and they were also read in Turkish translated and read by Mr. Yaccob Thaddeus the Dragoman and the colonel Tweedie invested the nawab with the order set in diamond. The nawab also got up and made a speech and thanked her Majesty for this honor conferred on him, also to all the Government servants and the assembly for their kindness in honoring with their presence etc. and then we all got up and passed out through the other door of the room and every one congratulated and shook hands with the nawab and the Colonel and went away."

When the Nawab died, he was buried in his own house in Khadimein, and the British Resident sealed the house until a commission could be appointed to liquify the estate. Antone Marine, writer at the Residency was left temporarily in charge of the house and treasure. Joseph Svoboda visited him and records: (70)

"I was astonished to see such a lot of rooms and kit furniture etc. The treasure rooms 3 of them laid open and over 150,000£ cash and jewellery being taken out and there are some more to be opened and Boxes of wood and iron safes all having been rusty and rotten from dampness. In one iron safe 30,000£ been found

all gold (26,000 in Tur one large wooden bo ther the bags having g Kerans it contained."

Nasr-al-Din, Shah of P Holy Cities in the beginning of arations made for his visit. Spe were sent out to Baghdad from in the Nejibieh Garden, and h side North Gate on the bank of

On one occasion in Ma an Indian princess who been The Begum Malekat Jehan came inmein and remained on board. In 1884, the family and follo lled by river steamer to Basra was rather irritated at the diffic members of the party. Another arrived in Baghdad in March and who sorely tried the patie before he embarked for Basra Mejidieh was specially charter sion, and the apothecary of th the service of the Afghans duri

The period from 1830-19 rapid change in Iraq. This we Canal, the coming of the Teleg and improved communications most complete economic isolat tance to the west was increasin changing one way of life for an ies, Baghdad and Basra showe common-place and we read i Lynch's office and Khan was tl June, 1890 (72).

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all gold (26,000 in Turkish Liras and the other 4000 in other coins, one large wooden box contained rupees and Kerans mixed together the bags having got rotten and turned into dust about 215,000 Kerans it contained."

Nasr-al-Din, Shah of Persia made a ceremonial pilgrimage to the Holy Cities in the beginning of 1871 and we read in the diaries of the preparations made for his visit. Special carriages, chairs and dinner services (77) were sent out to Baghdad from Constantinople to furnish the Shah's Palace in the Nejibieh Garden, and his troops and people were all encamped outside North Gate on the bank of the river.

On one occasion in March 1866, the Dijla was hired exclusively for an Indian princess who been making her pilgrimage to the Holy Shrines. The Begum Malekat Jehan came on board after her noon prayer at Khadimein and remained on board until the Bombay steamer arrived to Basra. In 1884, the family and followers of Sir Salar Jhung of Hyderabad travelled by river steamer to Basra after making their pilgrimage, and Svoboda was rather irritated at the difficulties he encountered in checking the female members of the party. Another distinguished visitor was Ayoob Khan who arrived in Baghdad in March 1888 with more than 1000 armed followers and who sorely tried the patience of Colonel Tweedie the British Resident before he embarked for Basra on the Mejidieh at the end of April. The Mejidieh was specially chartered by the British government on this occasion, and the apothecary of the British gun-boat, the Comet seconded for the service of the Afghans during the voyage.

The period from 1830-1900 was characterised by cumulative and fairly rapid change in Iraq. This was specially true after the opening of the Suez Canal, the coming of the Telegraph to Baghdad in 1860 and to Basra in 1863, and improved communications had helped to break down the country's almost complete economic isolation. Baghdad's political and economic importance to the west was increasing rapidly, and her urban society was gradually changing one way of life for another. Yet in outward appearance and amenities, Baghdad and Basra showed little signs of change. Outbreaks of fire were common-place and we read in the diaries that on December 30th. 1879, Lynch's office and Khan was the scene of a particularly severe fire. Again in June, 1890 (72).

"The Khan of the Adlyeh belonging to the Mosque of the Adlyeh close alongside of it took fire this time, there are great quantity of mats in the middle of the yard and full of timber and all sort of wood and combustible great many people rushed there and the soldiers too to extinguish it, but the fire gained and burned everything there was. They demolished all the rooms and buildings and only overcame it late at night."

Heavy rains still disrupted activities inside the town, streets were flooded and guests had to come on horseback to a dinner he gave on May 31st. 1870. In January, 1874, rains were exceptionally heavy, parts of Shorjah bazaar fell, and the government ordered the demolition of some old parts of the bazaar. Again in March 1890 he complains of the damage caused to his house by heavy rains. Only those houses whose roofs were paved with clay and not bricks escaped damage from leaking rain water, and we hear that "The streets are in an awful state not fit for men to walk and even the donkey cannot manage to struggle through them." (73)

The habit of keeping a domestic slave was accepted as a matter of fact by our diarist and he mentions quite casually, "The Baghdad left up river, she had few passengers but full of cargo and about 30 slaves on board.(74)" Again, as late as June 1888, we have the following entry: "Went home found our little slave girl Jemila (whom Jousef Marine had sold to Eliza about eight months ago) unwell with fever and sore throat." (75)

Thefts and crimes of violence were common-place and frequent bitter complaints are made in the diaries about the weakness and mis-rule of the Turkish government. In July, 1874 Thieves were surprised in the Derboonah or street in which he was living, and he felt it wise to employ an Indian watchman specially hired from the Abdul Qader Shrine. Money was collected in the locality and a petition was made to the Beledieh or local council to have lanterns and watchmen posted in the street. On August 25th (76) we read that the petition signed by 40 persons had been presented by Rafael Yagchi.

In 1877 with the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War, conditions in the towns deteriorated still further, and Svoboda comments: (77)

"Great distress now prevails in Baghdad on account of the war. The people are so always taxed and taking the most part of the young people to be soldiers, Reserves and Militia and consequently great many robberies and plunder are taking place. The government is not able to exercise its strict authority and having no force in town, except 2 regiments of Regular Infantry but each Regiment is supposed to muster 650 men and these do not number 300 each Regiment."

Again, later in the same month:

"Great disturbance was supposed to take place in the town amongst the people of the quarter of Bab-al-Sheikh on account of the conscription in Military, the Government is bringing all sorts of people and some very young yet of 14 and 16 years old. The inhabitants have got very much displeased and the young fellows fled from the Serai but were brought back and imprisoned."

In November, 1878, he records
"This evening of Oosy Messeyel town having gone town in getting n cemetery, they were thing they had on severe blows on th

Similar conditions of bands of robbers were disturbed Abdulla Pasha was away at in October 1879, and again to Colonel Miles, the British state with great risk to the li to Baghdad, we have the fo

"Fear is still coming to houses the streets and th the mercy of the or cares to impi against a thief w sees him and th thieves and bribe

The countryside su pools of stagnant water, th entry will suffice for many:

"We went o into town throug the stagnant wat ditches around water and no on into the river."

The population wa at South Gate and in Diar of the flood that caused th The desert between the E in Baghdad, the level of House. On the 16th Apr employed as a clerk on th that same morning on st

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In November, 1878, he records the following incident: (78)

"This evening at sunset as Rezoooki Serkis and Yacoob son
of Oossy Messeyeh were out walking around the walls of the
town having gone out through the North Gate and rounded the
town in getting near the Eastern bastion or near the English
cemetry, they were attacked by three men and stripped of every
thing they had on and left naked besides they received some very
severe blows on their heads with large sticks or clubs."

Similar conditions often prevailed at Basra. In September, 1878,
bands of robbers were disturbing the peace in Basra while the Governor,
Abdulla Pasha was away at Nasiriyeh. Svoboda reports similar happenings
in October 1879, and again in August 1880 when Dr. Bowman telegraphed
to Colonel Miles, the British Resident, that Basra was in a very troubled
state with great risk to the life and property of English residents there. Back
to Baghdad, we have the following entry in April, 1889: (79)

"Fear is still felt among the Christians on account of robbers
coming to houses at night time, as there are no watchmen kept in
the streets and the Lights are so dim and few, the town is left to
the mercy of the thieves and the authorities would take no steps
or cares to imprison the thieves ---- It is impossible to prove
against a thief who attacks a house at night time when no one
sees him and the officials of the court are associated with the
thieves and bribed by them."

The countryside surrounding Baghdad was often flooded leaving
pools of stagnant water, the perfect breeding ground for mosquitoes. One
entry will suffice for many: (80)

"We went out walking towards the Northern gate and round
into town through the Jews quarter. But the dirt and stench and
the stagnant water in town is something enough to kill a man. The
ditches around the demolished ramparts are full with stagnant
water and no one is thinking or caring of having them drained out
into the river."

The population was often called out to reinforce the embankment
at South Gate and in Diary No. 30, we have particularly interesting accounts
of the flood that caused the final fall of the facade of the Arch of Ctesiphon.
The desert between the Diala and Baghdad was inundated with water and
in Baghdad, the level of the river had risen to the last step of the Customs
House. On the 16th April, Henry Svoboda, brother of our diarist and also
employed as a clerk on the river steamers, reported the fact that he had seen
that same morning on steaming in to Baghdad: (81)

"The S. S. Khalifah arrived. Henry came on board, he reported the fall of the Arch of Ctesiphon, he saw this morning on passing it is the front or facade the whole wall from the entrance to the Hall and northward all that portion of the inclined wall fell to the ground, it must be caused by the inundation of the river the water being so close to it and the rain etc. It is a great pity to loose that fine sight and ancient monument the only one standing in Mesopotamia. I am glad I have the negative of it on glass from two parts the front and back view taken in 1871."

Quantities of bricks were brought to the bank of the river to be transported up to Baghdad for the building of a Military School, but in December, 1889, Svoboda reports: (82)

"We have also M. Mougel and Saleh Agha the mudir of Ctesiphon going to Ctesiphon to overhaul the arch by an order from Constple and see if any repairs can be made so as not to let it fall in ruin and no more bricks are to be carried away to Baghdad for the Government use also to overhaul the tomb of Selman al-Farasy the Barber of the Prophet and get it repaired and augment some more building so as to have a sort of a village made near the mosque."

The British invasion of Egypt in 1882 with the subsequent defeat of Araby Pasha, led to universal mistrust of Britain in Moselm countries, and had its repercussions in Turkish Arabia. A severe trade depression brought about the failure of several influential merchants. Joseph Svoboda was deeply involved in the failure of Malem Eliahoo with whom he had invested money and we follow his case in every detail in the diaries until the final settlement of his claim in 1884.

Nature had not cast Mr. Svoboda in the mould of an optimist. His diaries are heavily weighted on the side of pestilence, fire, flood and revolution in the Bab al-Sheikh quarter, yet even so, a more cheerful progressive side of Baghdad in the second half of the nineteenth century, does emerge on occasions. Change was in the air, and one of the incidental entries in the diaries is typical of the new influences that for good or ill, were invading old habits and customs. On January 4th. 1870 he records "Y. Serpas came on board, he has changed his dress from the native to the European costume." On June 4th. of the previous year he describes a visit to the government Printing Press working in the Harem of the Serai, and had an interview with its Director, Madhat Effendi who spoke French well. He shared a subscription to the newly published Zowreh newspaper, (33) attended a Grand Mass to celebrate the completion of the newly built Latin Church. He mentions the cotton cleaning machines and rice machine imported through the

Lynch Company by Serry Effend admits that he was encouraging ; 19th. 1880, he visited the Abu ineers were working pretty well and the pump for extracting su northern gate to the village of the command of the Mushir, f it in April, 1882.

The erection of the Hi history of modern Iraq, one of carrid out by the Department its official opening as follows:

"Antone Marir Tweedie by the in consuls and function and the turning of : skilfully executed f who came up with let into the newly day at about 9a.m.

Joseph Svoboda also records his especial interest events of Tel al-Kebir and t Baghdad, and he depended the British Residency. Of g political events nearer at h in 1871 but adds "many so' ger and heat." In Novembe Turkish ships 'Mosul' and ' in Qatif. On the 23rd. July had been sent to Al Hasa t Basra, had been well receiv presented to him, he is gi him and has sent now an c

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in 1882 with the subsequent defeat of Britain in Moslem countries, Arabia. A severe trade depression brought about the merchants. Joseph Svoboda was in Qatif with whom he had invested in detail in the diaries until the final

in the mould of an optimist. His diaries show that in the face of pestilence, fire, flood and revolution, a more cheerful progressive nineteenth century, does emerge on the scene. One of the incidental entries in the diaries for good or ill, were invading old Qatif. He records "Y. Serpas came on board a native to the European costume." He describes a visit to the government Serai, and had an interview with the French well. He shared a subscription in a newspaper, (83) attended a Grand newly built Latin Church. He mentions the machine imported through the

Lynch Company by Serry Effendi, Government of Amara in 1874, and even admits that he was encouraging agriculture extensively in the area. On April 19th, 1880, he visited the Abu Khanah factory and reported that the engineers were working pretty well, putting up the cotton threshing machines and the pump for extracting sub-soil water. The new road from outside the northern gate to the village of Moadhem was constructed by troops under the command of the Mushir, Heydayaat Pasha, and Svoboda comments on it in April, 1882.

The erection of the Hindiyyeh Barrage was a notable event in the history of modern Iraq, one of the rare examples of a public enterprise being carried out by the Department of public Works. Joseph Svoboda describes its official opening as follows: (84)

"Antone Marine had gone out to Hindiyyeh with Colonel Tweedie by the invitation of the Waly Serry Pasha to all the consuls and functionaries to see the shutting of the Hindiyyeh canal and the turning of the water into the Euphrates to its old bed, so skilfully executed by that French Engineer Mons. Schoenderfer who came up with us last September of last year. The water was let into the newly dug canal leading to the Euphrates last Monday at about 9 a.m. and reached Hilla at about 3 p.m."

Joseph Svoboda also followed the larger scene of world events and records his especial interest in the British bombardment of Alexandria, the events of Tel al-Kebir and the Sudan, but news was often slow in reaching Baghdad, and he depended mainly on the Public News sent for the use of the British Residency. Of greater interest are his first hand observations of political events nearer at home. He mentions the easy occupation of Qatif in 1871 but adds "many soldiers have perished from sickness, cholera, hunger and heat." In November, 1874, he comments on the movements of the Turkish ships 'Mosul' and 'Meskenah' with troops sent to quell a disturbance in Qatif. On the 23rd. July 1875, (85) he mentions that Nasser Pasha who had been sent to Al Hasa to suppress a rebellion, and later became Wali of Basra, had been well received in Constantinople "a diamond sword has been presented to him, he is giving no end of bribes, he had taken 20,000£ with him and has sent now an order on Naoom Abood for 9,000 Liras more."

Of greater interest are his entries about tribal affairs which deserve to be studied carefully by a student interested in the success of the new policy of settlement initiated by Madhat Pasha. In these matters, I consider his information is undoubtedly authentic since he is mostly recording events of which he himself was an eye witness. On occasions he mentions by hearsay disturbances in the north of Iraq such as "The Hamawand tribe are committing fearful ravages and pillages near Kirkuk, plundering all the villages.

The Shemmar Jerbah have come down from the Upper Mesopotamia and passed down below Baghdad with their Sheikh Furhan Pasha." (86) But when he mentions the disturbances between the Shemmar Jerbah and the Duleims on the Euphrates (87) we can assume that his information was accurate since his own sister and brother in law were prevented from travelling to Europe by way of Aleppo and had to take the alternative route by steamer from Basra to Port Said.

The Albu Muhomed tribe was attacking boats and cutting Telegraph wires between Al-Ozeir and Basra in May 1878. (88) Near Amara the Shemmar tribe attempted to plunder boats laden with wheat in July 1879, and Svoboda mentions in the same month that it was difficult to find a messenger to take a letter from Kut to Baghdad since so many robberies were taking place in the area. In the August of the same year he records the restlessness of the Montafiq tribes, and by May 1880 (89) troops had to be sent to Nasiriyah to quell a rising instigated by Mansur Pasha who opposed his brother Nasir's Turkish-inspired appointment to leadership. The Governor of Baghdad himself, A. Rahman Pasha went down in the Turkish S. Meskeneh to the Hye River where fighting was going on.

Seyhood of the Albu Mohamed was still causing disturbances and plundering below Ozeir, and on July 11th Svoboda gives us his brother's eye witness account of the attack on the Lynch river steamer, the Khalifa, (90) and the wounding of Captain Clements. Turkish reaction to the incident was to embark soldiers from Kut on the S. Baghdad to go down to Qorna and keep up a continuous patrol along the disturbed stretches of the river.

Diary No. 23 from January, 1881 to November 1881 contains a wealth of detail about Muntafiq affairs. On the 13th. June, Svoboda records that the Turkish S. Baghdad came up from Basra to remain at Kut to operate against the Muntafiq who were mustering in strength against the government. "They have cut the telegraph wire near Suq al Sheyookh and knocked down over 500 poles since 10 days." (91) On the 26th of the same month our diarist reports that the Montafiqs had mustered at Hye village and were insisting on claiming their independence. Taqi al din Pasha had deputed Yahya Effendi as a mediator but no-one believed that his mission could be successful.

On the 6th. of August at Kut, Svoboda gives us details of the fight that had taken place about a fortnight earlier near Nassiriya when 2 "the Arabs of the Montefik attacked the troops in great numbers, the latter were about 3 regiments incomplete. They drove the Arabs and killed some say 400, others 500 and others 200 besides 2 of their Sheikhs and the troops lost some say 70 others 10 and few officers." On the 11th. August, Svoboda re-

ords that the Turks were encamped with the Sheikhs of other tribes along the Euphrates. Details of the actual fight are given on September 6th. he reports that the Turkish government

The sequel to the fight is

"The camels to be taken by the Turkish government on their flight across the Euphrates five days ago to be escorted by some cavalry chief Izet Pasha had been taken to Shetreh where he is collecting taxes, everything is

In two later diaries, No. 24 and 25, 1892 we have further extensive details. Telegraph lines were cut by Sayhu and his earlier attack on the steamer was a protection against him and was not by him. Svoboda believed the death of his two sons at Amara was a defiance of the Mutaserif of Amara and of Kedim Pasha, but under the

"Seyhood has been taken to a mud fort on Thurayya. He is carried in boats and forced to pay for it. So that their war expenses are heavy. They have no money. There must have been some use for them as slack as possible. 15 zeptyes here to

The diaries also contain details of disputes between the sects and the reception in Baghdad, the Sisters of the Presentation chosen one passage about the Turkish especially interesting is

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ords that the Turks were encamped opposite Kut distributing presents to the Sheikhs of other tribes along the river and were preparing to attack. Details of the actual fight are given under the entry for August 22nd, and on September 6th. he reports the news that all the Muntafiq arabs had submitted to the Turkish government except their Sheiks Mansur and his sons.

The sequel to the fight is given in an entry under September 20th

"The camels to the number of 2350 which were plundered by the Turkish government from the Montefik Sheiks on their flight across the Euphrates to the desert have been sent to Baghdad five days ago to be sold by public auction accompanied by an escort of some cavalry and mounted Arabs. The commander in chief Izet Pasha had gone to Nasreyeh and now returned back to Shetreh where he is arranging affairs and collecting arrears of taxes, everything is quiet now."

In two later diaries, Nos. 35 and 36 for the period July 1890-August 1892 we have further extensive tribal references. In April 1892 both Telegraph lines were cut by Sayhud, the same Sayhud who gone unpunished for his earlier attack on the steamer 'Khalifah'. The 'Blosse Lynch' asked for protection against him and passed 12 boats below Kalat Saleh all burned by him. Svoboda believed that it was a form of revenge for the imprisonment of his two sons at Amara. Sayhud shut himself up in his mud fort and defied the Mutaserif of Amara. Troops were sent down under the command of Kedim Pasha, but under the entry for June 6th, (92) Svoboda reports:

"Seyhood has managed at last to make his escape from his mud fort on Thursday or Friday last and the Troops then advanced in boats and found the Fort empty after his having set fire to it. So that their work is failed and have done nothing but incurred expenses. They have re-instated Arabi, Seyhood's nephew as Sheikh. There must have been some bribery going on. Kadem Pasha they say was useless he was always drunk and let the thing go on as slack as possible. The river remains just as bad. They gave us 15 zeptyes here to escort us down."

The diaries also contain many references to the Christian community; disputes between the sects-the arrival of an Archbishop from Mosul, and his reception in Baghdad, the activities of the mission schools, references to the Sisters of the Presentation, and local scandals inside the Church. I have chosen one passage about the burial of the Assyrian Bishop that seemed to me especially interesting since it happened as late as 1890; (93)

"Early this morning we heard of the sad death of the Assy-

rian Bishop, our venerable and much beloved friend, he died last night in the garden of Jebra Asfar outside the town where he had gone since last Saturday to spend a few days for the benefit of his health - - - - -

I dressed soon and went to the Assyrian church where all the Christian population were there such a crowd that I could with difficulty force my way through it and went in to the room and saw the Bishop surrounded with people, men and women, kissing his hand. He was put on a chais in a sitting posture and dressed with his finest sacerdotal robes and hat, the body was as pale and white as possible. After an hour the body was then carried down to the church on the chair with all the priests of all churches and then placed on the altar on a place prepared high up with candles and lights etc. After I had gone home, some of the Assyrian Christians came to me to ask me if I could go and have his photograph taken as they all wish it should be done. I volunteered immediately and carried my apparatus etc. but I doubted that my old plates work well as they are so old and deteriorated. The likeness was to be taken inside the church where it is too dark - - - - - The crowd of women were so in my way I had great difficulty in working. - - - - At 3 p.m. they began with the funeral ceremony and prayers. The French and English consuls were also in the church and at 5 the body was placed in the vault inside the church a place which he had prepared for him some few years ago. After the body was put inside as it was dressed and sat on the chair, the vault was walled up. A slab only put on top of the pit and plastered round. The Bishop was about 66 years old."

Joseph Svoboda was also interested in archaeology. When opportunity afforded, he would join in an excursion such as the one he describes in May, 1881 to visit the excavations carried out by Hormuzd Rassam, Layard's protégé, at Tell Abu Hebbeh near Mahmoudiya. As well as describing the progress of the dig, he makes some interesting observations about the Khans passed en route, and especially Khan Azad (94) which was then abandoned. He records the activities of the famous French diplomat-archaeologist, M. de Sarzec and his wife, and describes some of his finds at Tello. But Svoboda's interest in archaeology had its practical side, and in October 1878 (95) he records his disappointment at the price fetched in a London auction for his collection of coins and antiques. After quite hard bargaining, he desposed of part of his collection of cylinders to the M. and Mme. Dieulafoy whose excavations at Susa were sponsored by the French government. He was friendly with Sir E. A. Wallis Budge the British Museum Representative who visited Iraq in 1888, 89, and 1890. Sir Wallis Budge agreed to purchase the Svoboda collection of Babylonian cylinders for £130. (96)

Domestic life followed its natural course—life went on whatever the

vagaries of outside events. Me food. They did their business, friends and entertained their guests their recreations and amusements joy and sorrow followed in the seasons, and so it is in the rested in photography, he had quba, to take out a subscription and to attend the literary Latin church. Not always successful in his losses, as for example shoes through the brother of them at a loss.

His father's death affected house in anger at the time of funeral in September 1878. In a punctilious regard for the late to show his natural feelings Austro-Hungarian flag from he seemed to have derived carried to the Latin Church local custom, but lowered born, then a daughter, Car pox was a serious grief. He out a balcony into the road the Municipality since this

He was absorbed in life as in life, we find increasing as the years moved on. So were not close to him, such of the gun-boat, 'Comet', he dad in 1855 while Svoboda the death in St. Petersburg city as the private secretary ows with age, and where later years reluctant to en Medula, announced that s Mr. Crezensky as her third Baghdad for Smyrna in 18 seems to have settled in F ter since Joseph sends his tragically from diphtheria, However he does not an

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vagaries of outside events. Men and women slept and woke and ate their
food. They did their business, made their profits and losses—visited their friends
and entertained their guests. They discussed the topics of the hour, had
their recreations and amusements. Children were born and old folks died,
joy and sorrow followed in the same sequence as the coming and going of
the seasons, and so it is in the Svoboda diaries. Joseph Svoboda was inter-
ested in photography, he had to supervise his agent in his orchard at Ba-
quba, to take out a subscription to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soci-
ety and to attend the literary meetings of the Catholic Circle, held in the
Latin church. Not always successful in business, we can sympathise with him
in his losses, as for example when he specially imported 150 pairs of ladies
shoes through the brother of Jeboory Asfar at Marseilles and had to sell
them at a loss.

His father's death affected him deeply since he had left his father's
house in anger at the time of his marriage in 1877, not to return until the
funeral in September 1878. His remorse showed itself, as so often happens,
in a punctilious regard for the niceties of burial etiquette when it was too
late to show his natural feelings. So we find him insisting on borrowing the
Austro-Hungarian flag from the French consulate to cover the coffin, and
he seemed to have derived some comfort from the fact that the coffin was
carried to the Latin Church not on the shoulders of the male relatives as is
local custom, but lowered down as far as the arm reaches. His son was
born, then a daughter, Carolina, whose death from diphtheris and small
pox was a serious grief. He bought a house, and in the course of putting
out a balcony into the road remembered to send a gift to the President of
the Municipality since this was against regulations.

He was absorbed in the details of his own health, and in the diaries,
as in *life*, we find increasing entries about the deaths of his contemporaries
as the years moved on. So we find him recording the deaths of people who
were not close to him, such as Captain Felix Jones, formerly Commander
of the gun-boat, 'Comet', husband of his cousin Sophy, who had left Bagh-
dad in 1855 while Svoboda was away in Bombay. Similarly, he records
the death in St. Petersburg of R. Erame who had spent many years in the
city as the private secretary to the Turkish ambassador. His character mell-
ows with age, and where once he was quick to interfere, we find him in
later years reluctant to enter the arena of family dispute when his sister,
Medula, announced that she had decided to take the Polish Apothecary,
Mr. Crezensky as her third husband. His elder brother, Alexander, had left
Baghdad for Smyrna in 1858 shortly after their return from Bombay, and
seems to have settled in Europe. He must have been something of a pain-
ter since Joseph sends him a photograph of their niece, Effie, who died
tragically from diphtheria, and asks him to make a portrait in oils from it.
However he does not answer any of his brother's frequent demands for

money to settle his claim to a share in their father's estate. Joseph and his brother Henry had been maintaining their father's household and the house itself belonged to their late mother. He himself made two journeys to Europe, the first in 1891, which are covered in separate volumes of the Diaries, unfortunately not preserved.

His life span covers almost exactly the period of 'Victorian Baghdad' if we may use such a term, and the diaries reveal as much about himself and the generation to which he belonged as they do about the great empire and society through which he moved. They will never be hailed as even a minor classic. There is no range or variety of style and at times we feel that we are reaching the final limits of boredom, so relentlessly does he press on with sheer quantity of miscellaneous information; but the information is there and will reward a student who is searching for a particular fact of weather, monetary exchanges, river navigation, Christian society, the foreign community, trade or sport. "Let us now praise famous men" was once a guiding rule in the compilation of history. We still praise famous men, but today we recognise that the undistinguished have also been concerned in the making of history. It is in the spirit of the historian who said "The great historian now takes his meals in the kitchen" that we should approach and use the Svoboda diaries.

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uded the river banks of
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Marriage of his sister
Baghdad.

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1873
 April
 If Layard called, left at 10 went to
 Mission to get the 200 - the
 Gold Mountain (Nashville) made
 for me & left called on Ann
 at 11 sat in room had long talk
 at 2 p.m. I began to come for p. hair
 left at 5 o'clock home feeling very
 tired & weak had a p. hair
 at 7 p. called on Madeline & returned
 at 9 p. warm night will be
 air
 26th
 Light breeze but sultry with
 few clouds at 6 am. Carried
 on board. Alfred asked me
 yesterday evening by a letter to
 attend the discharge of cargo
 today at 11 as he is going to
 play a cricket match. Pauline
 says that I can do it till 10
 when I shall have to go to
 breakfast. I discharged till 10 am.
 then went home (11:15) & called
 on Sarah left at 11. called on Follie
 May at 11:30. called on Ann
 she was in bath at home left at 5
 came home & had a warm bath
 at 7 p. called on Madeline at 8
 left at 12 p. came home warm
 night
 27th
 Light N.W. breeze at 7 p. AM.
 I went to the Latin Church &
 a grand mass was celebrated by
 the Bishop Jaccari & a very
 people were in the church
 was crowded, about 45 young.