TRAVEL TO THE HOLY LAND
1799–1831

A CASE STUDY:
THE JOURNEY OF
MOSES & JUDITH MONTEFIORE

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History Department : Faculty of Arts
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THE ABSTRACT

Following Napoleon's invasion of Palestine in 1799, up to Mehemet Ali's conquest in 1831, an increasing number of Western Europeans went to explore this long-neglected Holy Land. Many published their travels, but none described the planning needed for such an expedition, nor the outward or homeward journeys.

Moses and Judith Montefiore seem to have been the first and only prominent Anglo-Jews to travel to Jerusalem in this period. Using material [much of it unpublished] relating to their journey of 1827/28 together with the accounts of the other travellers, this thesis describes the complexities and practicalities of such an adventurous journey at that time in a period before improvements in transport and changes in political climate made such tours increasingly easy.

It looks at the information available for planning such a journey, the route, letters of introduction etc. and its actual costs. It examines the dangers faced due to disease and war, and mundane aspects like finding accommodation and food and their religious observance whilst travelling.

The motives for their journey were a mixture of the touristic and religious, yet the Montefiores spent only three full days in Jerusalem on a journey lasting ten months. However, this first visit had profound effects on the Montefiores: it led to a more Orthodox Jewish life-style, to six subsequent visits to Jerusalem and it led him to identify closely with Jewish causes in England and worldwide. It also resulted in Moses becoming the main conduit for world-wide charity for the Holy Land, and his being seen as a leading figure in the regeneration of the land and its people in the pre-Zionist era.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The genesis of this thesis lies in Kolin, an unremarkable Bohemian town I first visited in 1979 to research links the now-destroyed Jewish community had with my own synagogue. I discovered that Sir Moses Montefiore had visited Kolin in 1855 and this led me to plot the routes of all his journeys to the Holy Land. In 1990 my wife and I tried to replicate his journeys of 1827 and 1855, following his routes as realistically as we could.

The second stage was an introduction to the late Eric Lipson whose maternal grandfather, the Rev. Herman Shandel, was the Minister at the Synagogue on Sir Moses' Ramsgate Estate during the last year of Sir Moses' life. He had rescued a small part of the Montefiore papers burnt after his death and Eric Lipson made them available to me. As this thesis developed he gave me great encouragement and I wish to dedicate it to him.

The third stage began when Professor Aubrey Newman accepted my project as a possible area for research and he and Dr. Alex Keller guided me through the years of part-time research and the writing of the thesis. I would like to thank them and Dr. Marilyn Palmer who helped me focus my thoughts.

I am grateful for the generous help given by the librarians at: the British Library and the Libraries of Jews' College, Leicester University, the Palestine Exploration Fund, Southampton University, University College London and the Archives of the Spanish & Portuguese Jews' Congregation and the Rothschild Archives.

My heartfelt thanks go to my secretary, Toby Sparks who has grappled with my handwriting and spelling and helped in so many ways to produce this thesis. Dr. Charles Middleburgh and Elise Stone who made valuable suggestions, and Cyril and Penny Sherwood who proof-read and greatly improved the final text. My congregation, Northwood & Pinner Liberal Synagogue have encouraged me to undertake this project. And my wife Sharon who for years has had to cope with Moses and Judith Montefiore often being my major preoccupation.

Finally, my thanks are due to Judith and Moses Montefiore who have inspired my interest in travel and deepened my Jewish roots and knowledge of the history of the Holy Land.

Rabbi Andrew Goldstein
February 1998
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GLOSSARY OF FOREIGN WORDS FREQUENTLY USED

Kashrut the biblical and rabbinic regulations on food that is fit [or Kosher] to be eaten by Jews.

Shochet a man who killed meat according to the laws of Kashrut.

Sefhardim Jews originally from the Iberian Peninsula, later from countries bordering the Mediterranean.

Ashkenazim Jews from the rest of Europe.

Chassidim followers of a Jewish revivalist sect founded in the early 18th century.

Mitnagdim or Perushim Jews who opposed the religious style of the Chassidim.

Speranaro an open, one- or two-masted bark usually associated with Malta, but occasionally built in Sicily. Called xprunara in Malta.

Cangia an open rowing boat used on the Nile.

Lettiga a sedan chair carried by two donkeys or mules.

NB Palestine, Holy Land, Syria were all used by the 19th-century travellers to describe the country now known as Israel.

The area now known as the Middle East or, more correctly, Near East, was often referred to as 'the East'.

Moses Montefiore was knighted in 1837. References to him before that date use 'Moses' or 'Montefiore' and after that date 'Sir Moses'.

The spelling in the text follows current convention but in the quotes, particularly from Judith's journals, keeps to the original.
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PART ONE

THE BACKGROUND
CHAPTER ONE
THE BACKGROUND: 1799 to 1831

Introduction
"At the beginning of the nineteenth century Palestine was but a derelict province of the decaying Ottoman Empire"¹. "Palestine, at the end of the eighteenth century, had been almost terra incognita"². These are but two typical descriptions of Palestine or the Holy Land at the turn of the century. This changed with the invasion of Palestine by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1799 when the country was brought again to the attention of Western Europe. Napoleon's incursion lasted only six months before he was forced to retreat and the country, despoiled by his invasion, sank back into the lawlessness and neglect of the previous centuries. This would not change until the Pasha of Egypt, Mehmet Ali, conquered the country in 1831. However, such was the interest aroused by Napoleon's invasion that a number of Western European travellers ventured to Palestine between 1799 and 1831 and it is these journeys to and from the Holy Land that are investigated in this thesis.

Napoleon's Invasion
By 1798 British naval supremacy had ruled out a planned invasion of Britain and the French expansionist plans in Europe had been thwarted. The Directory of Five, then ruling France, and Napoleon needed fresh victories and access to new sources of wealth to stay in power. If they could conquer Egypt and the Near East they would jeopardise

¹ Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century: The Old City [Jerusalem, 1984], p.11
British access to an overland route to India and pre-empt Russia's attempts to extend its influence on the crumbling Ottoman Empire and, some historians say, create a base from which to attack other European powers [ie. Austria and Prussia] from the south.

On the 19th May 1798 Napoleon set sail from Toulon, evading Nelson and the British fleet, and landed an army of 38,000 men near Alexandria on the 1st July. Within a month he had conquered Egypt, but Nelson had caught up with him and destroyed his fleet in Aboukir Bay. His lines of supply and communication with France had been cut and this would prove decisive in his failure in the East.

Napoleon tried diplomatic approaches to the Sultan in Constantinople and the Pasha of Sidon, the most powerful ruler in Palestine, to legitimise his invasion, but was refused. Perhaps to forestall a Turkish attack from the north, he took the initiative and on the 6th February 1799 crossed Sinai with an army of twelve to fourteen thousand men. He quickly overran Rafah, Gaza and Ramleh. The defeated Muslim soldiers of Jaffa [perhaps three thousand] were butchered on the beach. By the 18th March Haifa was occupied and Napoleon moved on to conquer Acre, the capital of the Pasha of Sidon, Ahmad al-Jazzar. However, plague had broken out amongst his soldiers and the British fleet prevented his heavy artillery from reaching him by sea.

Napoleon laid siege to Acre and repeatedly tried to breach its walls. As well as the heroic defence by Ahmad al-Jazzar, Napoleon was increasingly harried by the naval guns and force of the British fleet under Sir Sidney Smith. Two months after the start of the siege, Napoleon was forced to retreat. On his return march of over five hundred kilometres, completed in twenty-five days, his army devastated the coastal plain of Palestine. Although his return to Cairo was "stage-managed" as a victory, he had
lost about twelve hundred soldiers to the plague and a further two thousand three hundred were sick or severely wounded. By the end of August 1799 Napoleon had set sail for France, having failed in his invasion aims and yet on his return home he was again treated as a victor and by December 1799 he had become the sole ruler of France.

New Interest in the Holy Land and Egypt
Although a constant stream of Orthodox Christians continued, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, especially for Easter, very few Western European Christians went. Napoleon certainly did not go as a religious pilgrim and made no attempt to visit Jerusalem. He did, however, take with him a large group of geographers, archaeologists and artists. They produced the substantial Description de l'Egypte and also sent back many Egyptian antiquities that started a trend and began enriching the great museums of Europe. Unfortunately, his short and uncertain stay in Palestine prevented his scholars extending the Description to Palestine. However, his geographers did make the first scientific survey of the parts of the country he travelled and these were published in 1810 as Jacotin's Map. There were five or six folios covering Palestine, the first modern maps of the country. In addition the publication of narratives of the campaign gave a vivid description of the country.

The same interest was aroused in Britain. William Wittman was a surgeon in the British fleet and accompanied Sir Sidney Smith into Acre and on his march to Jerusalem in 1801. He published in 1803 a book of his experiences with

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3 Sherman Lieber, Mystics and Missionaries: the Jews in Palestine 1799-1840 [Salt Lake City, 1992], pp.13 & 32
A facsimile edition of Description de l'Egypte was published by Benedikt Taschen Köln 1994
several maps and illustrations. Another surgeon, J.B. Spilsbury, on HMS Tiger published in 1803 a book of drawings, coloured by hand, of many contemporary scenes in the land, ranging from Sir Sidney Smith meeting the Pasha Ahmad al-Jazzar to views of the Sea of Galilee and Mount Tabor. At the Lyceum in the Strand in London Sir Robert Ker Porter's painting, "The Siege of Acre" went on public display in 1801. For a while the Holy Land was brought to public attention in both England and France and this publication led a few intrepid travellers to see the sights for themselves, but not yet in great numbers as there were many difficulties to be surmounted.

Until the Napoleonic Wars ended in 1815 travel for the English through France was difficult [although not impossible] and the sea routes to the Mediterranean were fraught with danger. Edward Clarke was the only English traveller of note to visit Palestine during this period. After 1815 the British flocked to tour France and it was more feasible to go beyond France and Italy to contemplate the Eastern Mediterranean. However, although such travel became easier after 1815, Europe was still not free of incidents of unrest. Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria had formed the Quadruple Alliance in November 1815, agreeing not to interfere in other nations' affairs. Yet Austria became involved in Naples in 1820, France invaded Spain in 1823 and Russia marched south to Constantinople in 1827. It was an era of the great powers anxiously watching each other in case one or the other tried to gain an advantage.

5 William Wittman, R.N., Travels in Turkey, Asia Minor, Syria and across the desert into Egypt during the years 1799, 1800 and 1801 in company with the Turkish army and the British military mission [London 1803]
6 Francis B. Spilsbury, R.N., Picturesque Scenery in the Holy Land and Syria Delineated During the Campaigns of 1799 and 1800 [London, 1803]
7 Naomi Shepherd, [n.2], p.11
This was particularly so regarding the decaying Ottoman Empire as the Eastern Mediterranean region held the key to communications and trade with Asia and particularly India.

The Greek Wars

The Greek Revolt against Turkish rule, though rumbling since the French Revolution, had flared up in the spring of 1821 and became particularly well known in Britain owing to the involvement of Lord Byron and his death fighting on the Greek side at Missolonghi in 1822. In 1824 the Sultan had persuaded his vassal, Mehemet Ali, ruler of Egypt, to send his fleet to restore Turkish authority over the Greek Islands and coastlands, and thus allow his army to restore control over the Morea and the islands. In February 1825 Ibrahim Pasha [the son of Mehemet Ali] and the Egyptian fleet achieved superiority and landed at Modron, while the Turkish Army attacked from the north. The Greek Revolt would have been snuffed out but for the intervention of the Allied Powers.

When, in March 1826, the Duke of Wellington went to St. Petersburg to celebrate the accession of Nicholas I, England and Russia agreed that they would mediate and that neither would seek to gain advantage over the other. The idea was to give the Greeks a form of independence within the Turkish Empire. The Protocol of St. Petersburg opened "Greece should be a dependency of the Empire [Turkey] and the Greeks should pay to the Porte an annual tribute...".

The Sultan rebuffed the Protocol, hoping that Ibrahim Pasha's fleet and his army could maintain control over Greece. France was brought into the alliance and in the Treaty of London [July 1827] the Protocol was restated. The three powers sent a fleet [mainly British under the command of Sir Edward Codrington] to try to enforce the Treaty. On the 20th October 1827 in the Bay of Navarino, due to a

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8 Quoted in Peter Lane, *Success in British History 1760-1914* [London, 1978], p.105
misunderstanding, Ibrahim's fleet opened fire on the allies and, by evening, the Turko-Egyptian fleet was destroyed.

Greek independence was assured but on that very day the subjects of this thesis, Moses and Judith Montefiore, were in Jerusalem and about to return to Alexandria, which they reached as news arrived of the destruction of the Egyptian fleet; they could have been in grave danger.

The political situation in Palestine
The huge Ottoman Empire was divided into twenty-five to thirty provinces, each province ruled by a pasha appointed by the Sultan in Constantinople [the gateway to his palace was known as Bab Al-Aali, "the Sublime Porte", and this name was often taken in European diplomatic language to refer to Constantinople or its ruler]. Egypt was one province [or pashlik] and Palestine was divided into two provinces, centred on Sidon and Damascus. The former controlled Galilee, the coastal plain down to Khan Yunis and the border with Egypt. The capital was Acre. The Pasha of Damascus ruled the upper Galilee, the mountainous country of central Palestine, Jerusalem and down to Hebron. Often the exact border changed. Within each pashlik the pasha appointed governors of areas or towns, like Jaffa, Hebron and Jerusalem. Each pasha had a certain amount of independence as long as he remained loyal and paid the demanded taxes to the Sultan.

In 1827 the Pasha of Sidon was Abdallah and of Damascus, Mustapha. By rights the Montefiores would need the firman [passport or permission to travel] of the former to land at Jaffa and of the latter to enter Jerusalem. In one place Judith Montefiore does complain that "Abdallah forbade our advance". But in 1827 the Pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, Private Journal, pp.167-168 [see n.34], but gets mixed up and says, "Abdallah the Pascha of Damascus".

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seems to have been the dominating power in coastal Palestine and Jerusalem; and so it was from him that the Montefiores needed a **firman** before travelling from Alexandria to Jaffa.

In 1831 Mehemet Ali [who had ruled since 1805] conquered Palestine. He was the son of an Albanian fisherman and had arrived in Egypt in 1798 and distinguished himself in the fight against Napoleon. He sought to modernise Egypt and Moses Montefiore had discussions with him in 1827 and 1839 regarding trade with Britain and acted as a sort of guardian in England for his grandson, Tousson Pasha, in 1857. At first, Mehemet Ali was fiercely loyal to the Sultan, but as a reward for sending his "modern" fleet in 1825 and 1827 to help crush the Greek revolt, he sought control of Palestine, but was rebuffed by the Sultan. 1831 was a good time to react as the European powers were preoccupied with the reverberations of the 1830 revolutions in France, Holland, Poland and Italy. In October 1831 Ibrahim Pasha led his well-trained army and quickly conquered the two provinces of Palestine and beyond. [Once again Acre proved the hardest to capture; it took six months before Pasha Abdallah gave in.]

The Sultan deposed Mehemet Ali and declared war on him, whereupon Ibrahim Pasha rode north until within a hundred and fifty miles of Constantinople. It was clear that the European powers would not allow Mehemet Ali to conquer the Sublime Porte. Mehemet Ali negotiated a settlement with the Sultan which left him in control of Egypt, Arabia and all of Syria. For the nine years he had control of Palestine, Mehemet Ali ushered in a new era of modernisation, reorganisation and stability. Even when forced to give up control in 1840 the land did not revert to its former lawlessness and decrepitude.

From 1831 the land was open to visits from the west as it was relatively safe and well-governed. The period of Egyptian rule shaped the nature and future history of the land, its people and visits to it. During the period
designated by this thesis - 1799 to 1831 - the idea of travel to the Holy Land had been brought to the attention of the West even though travel there was still fraught with great danger, insecurity and the land was in its last years of dormancy.

The People of the Holy Land 1799-1831
That the Holy Land in the early nineteenth century was of little importance is shown by the fact that there were perhaps only 275,000 inhabitants in the whole country. At the same time 260,000 lived in Cairo and 100,000 in Damascus\(^{10}\). The relative unimportance of Jerusalem is demonstrated by its having only 9,000 inhabitants in 1800 whereas Acre had 9,500 and Gaza 8,000\(^{11}\).

There were perhaps 25,000 Christians in Palestine [mostly Greek Orthodox with 3,000 Catholic and 1,000 Armenian] and only 5,000 Jews. The Jews lived in their holy cities: 2,500 in Jerusalem, 800 to 900 in Tiberias, 600 in Safed and 300 in Hebron. Ninety-five per cent of the Jews were of Sephardi origin from countries bordering the Mediterranean or Mista'arvim Jews who claimed to have lived in the land from earliest times. Their largest immigration followed the expulsion from Iberia, but over the years there was a constant smaller stream of settlers. Only about two hundred Jews were Ashkenazi\(^{12}\).

These numbers would remain fairly constant until the Egyptian rule in 1831. Any new settlement was cancelled out by a very high mortality rate. The Sephardim formed a fairly homogeneous community sustained largely by charity funds from the Diaspora and with well-developed channels for collecting and distributing that money. A group of three

\(^{10}\) Lieber, [n.3], pp.19 and 27

\(^{11}\) ibid., p.27

\(^{12}\) Numbers are from Lieber [n.3], pp.33-35 and Yehoshuah Ben-Arieh [n.1], pp.267ff

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hundred Ashkenazi Chassidim arrived in 1777 and they were involved with many disputes with the Sephardim over charity funds and ritual matters. In 1808 a growing number of Perushim or Mitnagdim began arriving and they argued with the Chassidim and the Sephardim. In 1824 there were about 5850 Jews in Palestine of whom 4275 were Sephardim, 725 Chassidim and 850 Perushim. The increase in the Ashkenazim would continue apace over the next decades until they outnumbered the Sephardim. The disagreements between the Sephardim and Ashkenazim and their lack of welcome for newly-arriving Jews was a source of much concern in Europe, and it was the only problem Moses Montefiore came to Jerusalem in 1827 to confront [see below p.114].

Conclusion
Between 1799 and 1831 Palestine was a sparsely-populated, undeveloped land with only the coastal strip of any commercial or political importance. There were no paved roads and no wheeled vehicles. Most of the population lived in walled cities, those outside were a prey to the Bedouins. It was a land for the most part visited only by Christian Orthodox pilgrims [a few Jews went but mostly to die there]. It was difficult to get to because of lack of safe harbours, pirates at sea, and bandits on the overland routes. The invasion of Napoleon brought the land back to the attention of Western Europe for political, intellectual, scientific and religious reasons. Yet, despite the great interest in the land, travel to it was fraught with such difficulty and danger that relatively few western travellers went. Who these few travellers were will be described in the next chapter.

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13 Lieber, [n.3], p.146
CHAPTER TWO
TRAVELLERS TO THE HOLY LAND
1799-1831: A LITERATURE SEARCH

In 1890 Reinhold Rohricht published "Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae": it is a bibliography of books about the Holy Land from 333 to 1878. By 1826, Rohricht had noted 1,722 titles [and others could be added to his list]. A majority of these titles were first published in German or French and many were not the records of actual journeys to the Near East but, for instance, atlases of places of Biblical stories, often by geographers who had never visited the country. Research for this thesis has concentrated on the books published in English, by English men and women, of their travels from England to the Holy Land in the period 1799 to 1831. There are a few exceptions, but the reason for their inclusion will become obvious [for example their popularity and translation into English before 1827 - the date of the start of our case study]. Of the books produced in English in the period before Napoleon, four seem to be those most referred to by authors contemporary to the Montefiores.

The earliest English traveller of note was Sir John Mandeville who claimed to have travelled around the Mediterranean and Near East in 1322-1356. A reprint of his original journal was published in 1725 from the Cotton Manuscript in the British Library and another reprint in

14 A facsimile edition was produced by John Trotter Books in 1989. An up-to-date Bibliography of Travel to the Holy Land is being prepared by Ruth Lehrman and through the good offices of Professor Aubrey Newman I have been privileged to consult early drafts.
1839 which illustrates its popularity\textsuperscript{15}. George Sandys set out for the Near East in 1610 and his book, printed in 1632, was very popular. It contained many sketches and diagrams of sites in Egypt and the Holy Land and would certainly have been the sort of early book to excite interest. However, of these early books, one seems the most referred to and the nearest to a "modern" travelogue and that is "A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem" by Henry Maundell dated 1697. It is a slim volume and could easily have been slipped into a trunk or pocket to take on a journey to the East. This could not be said of Richard Pococke's "A Description of the East and Some Other Countries." This appeared in 1743-5 in two very large folio volumes and parts in Pinkerton's Collection in 1810. Pococke is very easy to read and his books are full of large drawings, diagrams and maps. As well as the historic sites he devotes pages to costumes, social habits and the plants of the Near East. He also has much material on comparative length, weight and measurement, and examples of the form of passports and letters of introduction needed. It really is the sort of book to whet one's appetite for travel and the many illustrations paint a vivid [and not too imaginative] picture of the countries visited. His text makes a realistic assessment of the dangers and problems of travel and he is constantly debunking the claims of locals who identify historic sites.

In truth some of the early travellers used their imagination more than their personal observations, both for illustration and description of the places mentioned. This is thought particularly true of Mandeville's account.

\textsuperscript{15} In 1848 Bohn's Antiquarian Library published "Early Travels in Palestine" which included the narrative of Benjamin of Tudela, Mandeville and Maundell as well as others.
Perhaps the most influential of the travel books of the period of this thesis was "Travels in Palestine, Through the Countries of the Bashan and Gilead East of the River Jordan". It was written by James Silk Buckingham and published in 1821. He mentions in his Preface: "Benjamin of Tudela, Sir John Maunderville, down to Dr. Clarke and Mr. Chateaubriand ... Maundell, Shaw, Pockocke ...". He says that in his youth "I applied myself to reading every book within my reach that was likely to extend my knowledge." [p.vii].

Such introductions were common, and all the other explorers and travellers often quote the observations and claims of the earlier travellers and their recently-published contemporaries. These travel books provide much information about most aspects of travel in the Near East in the chosen period - but none dwelt on the actual planning of the journey or the journey from England to and from the Holy Land.

A full list of printed diaries or books consulted in this thesis is found in the Bibliography and the following table lists the main travellers to Palestine and when their books were published.
Figure 1. Leading Travellers to the Holy Land: 1783 to 1831

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>When in the Holy Land</th>
<th>When Published</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1783-85</td>
<td>1787-88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count F.C. de Volney</td>
<td>Count F.C. de Volney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1799-1800</td>
<td>1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Napoleon (&amp; mapmakers,</td>
<td>Relation de Campagnes</td>
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<td>e.g. Jacotin)</td>
<td>1803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Wittman</td>
<td>William Wittman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.P. Spilsbury</td>
<td>J.P. Spilsbury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Daniel Clarke</td>
<td>Luigi Mayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Cooper</td>
<td>Richard Pococke [travelled in 1810]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luigi Mayer</td>
<td>1738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1805</td>
<td>Mayo Jacotin [maps]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulrich Jasper Seetzen [to 1810]</td>
<td>Ulrich Jasper Seetzen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1806-07</td>
<td>Edward Daniel Clarke</td>
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<tr>
<td>Viscount F.A. de Chateaubriand</td>
<td>Viscount Chateaubriand</td>
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<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johan Ludwig Burckhardt</td>
<td>Aaron Arrowsmith [maps]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1814</td>
<td>1815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Turner</td>
<td>John Silk Buckingham</td>
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<tr>
<td>James Silk Buckingham [to 1816]</td>
<td>John Silk Buckingham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Bankes [not published]</td>
<td>1818</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Jowett [to 1820]</td>
<td>Captain Henry Light</td>
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<td>1816</td>
<td>1819</td>
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<tr>
<td>Caroline of Brunswick</td>
<td>Terence Rigby Joliffe</td>
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<td>Robert Richardson</td>
<td>Thomas Legh</td>
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<td>1817</td>
<td>1820</td>
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Manuscript Sources [unpublished]

Existing manuscript sources were sought\textsuperscript{16} but little of direct relevance was found. The most useful discovery was "Diary of Robert Hay kept in Egypt and the Mediterranean in 1826, 1827 and 1830 with a few sketches and squeezes of hieroglyphic inscriptions"\textsuperscript{17}, also "Papers relating to Robert Hay's Egyptian expedition 1826-39"\textsuperscript{18}. The latter is largely a collection of drawings and watercolour paintings of sights in Egypt. The former, although Hay's destination was Egypt, gives details of his journey from Syracuse to Egypt via Malta.

There were once many other manuscript diaries but Hay's was the only one found still extant. The Church Missionary Society [founded in 1799 and based then in Malta] was listed as having several potentially interesting items, for example letters of Rev. William Jowett to and from Malta, but it seems these no longer exist. The British & Foreign Bible Society [founded 1804] had "several journals of voyages in the Mediterranean and various Minute books of countless dealings with Malta and Palestine". This material was reported stolen relatively recently.

At the National Maritime Museum the papers of Admiral Codrington were discovered. The relevant papers were transcribed in "Piracy in the Levant 1827-8"\textsuperscript{19} and

\textsuperscript{16} Taken from Noel Matthews and M. Doreen Wainwright, \textit{A Guide to Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles Relating to the Middle East and North Africa} [Oxford, 1980]
\textsuperscript{17} British Library: Heytebury Papers: Add.31054
\textsuperscript{18} ibid., Add.29812-60
quotations in this thesis are from this source. Few records of the actual ships the Montefiores [or others] sailed in were found at the Greenwich Museum.

The relevant "Blue Books" and the Governor of Malta's letter books for the period 1824 to 1828 are in the Public Record Office. Although there is no record of any of the named travellers, they do provide useful background material to Malta as a focus for Mediterranean travel. A few copies of the Maltese newspapers of the time were found there and the British Newspaper Library provided a few more. Unfortunately, between both collections, the editions of the Maltese Gazette and Il Portafoglio Maltese, relevant to the Montefiore visits of 1827-28, are missing and none of the other named travellers relevant to this thesis had entries, although for later visits the newspapers give valuable information. In Malta itself certain records must exist, but they are not, at present, collected in a systematic way.

Several individual letters occurred in collections, eg. "letter from Francis Rawdon Hastings, 1st Marquess of Hastings as Governor of Malta to Stratford Canning, Ambassador to Constantinople: 21 Sept.1826". It was on the subject of the Greek-Turkish wars and though providing background information such letters were of little direct use. The same comment applies to the Foreign Office.

20 eg. P.R.O. Co 16345 "Blue Book for 1827", CO 16346 "Blue Book of 1828" etc. CO 15855 Despatches 158:57, 158:58

21 For this and much information on Malta we are grateful for the help of Mr. Stanley Davis OBE of Malta, and for the article written by his son, Derek Davis, 'The Jewish cemetery at Kalkera, Malta' in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England Vol.XXVIII [London 1984]; Referred to as JHSE in later notes

22 British Library Manuscripts, eg. 2805.f.14
correspondence to and from Egypt in The Foreign Office Embassy and Consular Archives. A number of letters to, from or about Moses Montefiore are to be found in the British Library Manuscript Room but all except one were from later periods in his life. The exception was the text of his grandfather's naturalisation paper.

Conclusion

Regarding travel to the Holy Land [or Egypt] in the period 1799-1831 there appears to be very little primary material – only the fragment of the diary of Robert Hay and the letters of Admiral Codrington were of any use. About twenty printed journals of actual travellers to the Holy Land do provide a wealth of background information, especially about conditions and travel in Syria, Palestine and Egypt. None of them deals in any depth with the journeys to and from the Eastern Mediterranean but Moses and Judith Montefiore provide both the manuscript and printed material regarding such an expedition. Thus the description of their journey of 1827-28, and the search for sources of information about these intrepid travellers, becomes the case-study for this thesis.

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23 F.O. 141 and F.O. 142

- 17 -
The difficulties in researching the life of Moses and Judith Montefiore have often been commented upon. There are few surviving primary sources, although once there had been a vast archive of journals, diaries, account books and correspondence; after all, Moses lived for a hundred years and his wife for eighty-four and they were married for fifty years. He led a very active business life and they had a large extended family [though no children of their own] and they were constant travellers. However, in the early 1890's Sir Moses' heir, Sir Joseph Sebag-Montefiore, claiming he was following Sir Moses' instructions, ordered all the Montefiore papers to be burnt.

An indication of the extent of the loss is gained from the letter from Lucien Wolf to Dr. Richard Snowman included in the crucial article on the problem, by Dr. Richard D. Barnett24:

Many years ago I published Lady Montefiore's Honeymoon Diary which old Haim Guedalla managed to rescue for me from the vandalism of his cousin, Sir Joseph Sebag-Montefiore. In the introduction to that little work I gave an account of Sir Moses' Diaries and of their fate. There were several hundreds of them which were deposited in the Library of Judith Lady Montefiore College. After Sir [Moses] Montefiore's death, Dr. Loewe25 published two big volumes which were supposed to contain their gist, but as a matter of fact failed altogether to extract from them the valuable political

25 ibid. p.4
and social information they contained. Some time in the early nineties I had an opportunity of seeing them but only took a few notes from them and I intended devoting a summer holiday to them. When the summer came I dined one evening with Sir Joseph at East Cliff and to my horror he told me that he had burned all the diaries and all Sir Moses' other papers. I am glad to hear from you that one at least of these documents had been saved.

I send you back the abstract you were good enough to send me and am much obliged to you for allowing me to see it. Faithfully yours.

[signed] Lucien Wolf
[dated June 30 1925]

In the Preface to this work mentioned in Lucien Wolf's letter, "Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore: comprising their life and work as recorded in their diaries from 1812-1883", Dr. Loewe thanked the executors "to permit me to take into my custody and care all the notes, memoranda, journals and manuscripts in his possession written by his deeply-lamented wife, to assist me in writing a Memoir of her useful and blessed life.

26 Dr. Louis Loewe [1809-1888] was born in Germany and was a scholar in rabbinic and oriental languages. He first met the Montefiores in England in 1835, and in 1837 embarked on an expedition to Egypt and Palestine where he learned further languages and made important discoveries. On his return journey he met the Montefiores in Rome and was engaged as secretary, interpreter and general factotum. He served in these capacities until Moses' death in 1885 and accompanied him on all his major journeys. He increasingly became his confidant and friend. See article in Encyclopaedia Judaica Vol. 11:pp.448-449.

27 First published in London 1890 in two volumes and re-published in facsimile by JHSE and the Jewish Museum in 1983. Hereafter referred to as 'Loewe "Diaries"'.

- 19 -
The executors having promptly complied with the instructions, I soon found myself in possession of five journals by Lady Montefiore besides many valuable letters and papers, including documents of great importance, as well as of no less than eighty-four diaries of Sir Moses Montefiore, dating from 1814 to 1883, all in his own handwriting."28

Of this hoard, four or five of Judith's Diaries survived and perhaps four of Moses'; most of the rest perished in the bonfire held some time in the "early nineties" as is clear from the letter of Lucien Wolf quoted above. Richard Barnett, in his article, goes on to tell us that thankfully the Rev. Shandel [who was the last minister of the Synagogue on Sir Moses' Ramsgate estate during Sir Moses' lifetime] saved "some twenty files" from the bonfire. In addition Rev. Shandel and others had clearly, before the fire, taken possession of other documents; more material survived by chance in the library of the Judith Montefiore College or East Cliff Lodge Libraries on the Ramsgate Estate. Dr. Barnett's article lists the subsequent fate of this material29. Whatever material was accessible and relevant was examined and this thesis is given added depth through access to a goodly amount of material formerly in the possession of the late Mr. Eric Lipson, the grandson of Rev. Shandel, material that seems so far not to have been closely examined. As an adjunct to this thesis, a catalogue was made of this material which will be passed on to the James Parkes Library at Southampton University. In addition, several documents and account books in the Moccatta Library and Jews College Library, also so far dismissed as being of little use, were found most valuable in trying to build up an

28 Loewe "Diaries", p.iii
29 Ruth P. Goldschmidt-Lehmann has published a Bibliography of the printed material by and about Sir Moses and Judith Montefiore, "Sir Moses Montefiore Bart FRS 1784-1885 A Bibliography" [Jerusalem 1984]
intimate picture of Moses and Judith Montefiore, not only as travellers but as personalities generally. Naturally, the real focus of research was on those primary sources written about the journey of 1827-28 and those journeys prior to this first tour to the Holy Land and those immediately after, including the account of their next tour in 1838-39.

"Lady Montefiore's Honeymoon Diary"
This short diary was printed in the Jewish Chronicle June 13th to 20th 1892 and then, with additions printed as a separate offprint, London 1902. Lucien Wolf included it in his "Essays in Jewish History" of 1934.

The Diary opens on the 10th June 1812, the day of her marriage to Moses. It contains chatty information about the family and the early days of her marriage. Owing to Moses' business, they do not leave for their "honeymoon" until 25th June. There is then a brief daily description of this holiday, travelling via Chatham and Sittingbourne, Canterbury, Dover and Ramsgate. They return on the 30th June. The next entry is for the 20th and 21st September 1812 and a journey to Portsmouth. This is followed by entries for the 17th December 1825 to the 4th January 1826. Judith starts by noting that she had found the notebooks while arranging other books in the library. She re-reads the earlier entries and then uses the book for this later journey which took the Montefiores to East Anglia.

This diary helps set the scene and introduces Judith's style of writing and the diaries that are to follow. It should be noted that the bulk of this Diary comments on journeys undertaken and, with the following Diaries and the

30 Published by the Jewish Historical Society of England and edited by Cecil Roth, pp.233-257.
Hereafter referred to as "Honeymoon Diary".
gaps that follow the three journeys in the "Honeymoon Diary", it suggests that Judith was perhaps more conscientious in keeping a diary while travelling than when at home.

Manuscript Diary for 1816 and 1817-18 of Journeys to Italy
This diary is reputed to be in the possession of Mrs. Myrtle Franklin [or may have been passed on to the Hebrew University in Jerusalem] but access to it is not yet available. Experiences during this journey on the Continent are referred to in the 1823 Diary and it must contain valuable information about the way the Montefiores set about organising their early journeys. The late Sonia L. Lipman did examine this Diary and quotes from it in her article, "Judith Montefiore - First Lady of Anglo-Jewry"\(^{31}\). Richard Barnett talks of one diary of 1817-18, Sonia Lipman talks of two\(^{32}\) - one for 1816 and another for 1817-18, both contained in one exercise book with one starting at one end and the other at the other end. This gives us further evidence that Judith was less than systematic in her diary-keeping; note the gaps in the Honeymoon Diary and in the Diary of 1825 and 1828 below.

Manuscript Diary for 1823/4 Tour of Continent and Italy
Like the following item [ie. Diary for 1825/8] this manuscript diary is in the Shandel/Lipson collection [see p.20]. These Diaries are of no great literary merit, but do help to flesh out the picture of the Montefiores as a "travelling couple" and give valuable information about how they organised their travels. They also help identify individuals referred to obliquely in later diaries.

The Journal is 73 pages long, handwritten in a plain exercise book [18 cms. x 23 cms.]. It begins on Saturday 4th October 1823 and follows the Montefiore travels via the Low Countries, France, down the Rhone to Marseilles and on to Leghorn, Florence and Rome. In Rome they catch up with


\(^{32}\) ibid. p.291
Moses' younger brother, Abraham [1788-1824] who has gone to Italy to improve his health. They find him desperately ill and stay there to help nurse him. The Journal ends abruptly on the 9th December 1823 with them still in Rome and Judith's last words comparing the clothes shops in Rome to those in London!

**Manuscript Diary for 1825 Tour of Ireland and 1828 Holiday in Yorkshire**

This is written in a quality, ruled, notebook with vellum covered cardboard covers and closed by a brass catch. It runs to 95 pages ([measures 20cms. x 16cms.]). It deals with a tour of Ireland that commences on the 14th July 1825 and ends on the 3rd September 1825 with Judith still in Dublin. She has written in "Sunday the 4th Sept." but the rest of the page is blank and she gives no details of the return journey unlike the outward journey which is described in full. They did not return until some time after the 9th September.

Moses went to Ireland as a Director of the Provincial Bank of Ireland to open branches of the Bank in Cork, Belfast and other towns. It was thus a business trip but the Montefiores made it an extended holiday. On page 66, the page after "4th September", Judith started another journal - on "Thursday 27 Novr 1828" - and it opens with "The usual inclination to travel has led us en route for Harrowgate". It describes a winter holiday in and around Harrogate. Thus, this notebook contains Judith's reminiscences of journeys just prior to and just after their momentous first journey to the Holy Land of 1827-28.

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See Loewe "Diaries" Vol I pp.31-32
Private Journal of a Visit to Egypt & Palestine by way of Italy and the Mediterranean

This record of the first journey to the Holy Land is the key source. It was printed in 1836 by Joseph Rickerby of Sherbourn Lane, London but not published. Judith had it printed for distribution to her friends [the copy in University College Library has written on its flyleaf, "Presented to me by the authoress Lady Montefiore 1838 S.A. Hart"]35. The dedication says, "To the beloved companion of my journey this journal is dedicated as A Slight Memorial of pleasures and dangers shared together, in the contemplation of many sacred scenes" [1 May 1827 to 20 July 1828]. Why it took eight years to get printed is uncertain, but maybe it was contemplation of the next journey, commencing in November 1838, that prompted Judith's attention to the project.

Although there is far more information in Judith's "Journal" than in Loewe's Diaries, reading it still leaves one impatient for many more facts, impressions and inner thoughts. Having studied Judith's Diaries of journeys undertaken in 1823, 1825/28 and even her Honeymoon Diary, one is aware that the printed Journal of 1827/28 seems very sparse, dry and humourless. There are few details of religious observance and, for instance, few references to the Rothshilds, to whom they were closely related, and one might have expected them to be of help in the arrangements for their journey, particularly the branch in Naples.

34 Hereafter referred to as "Private Journal"
35 Solomon Alexander Hart 1806-1881, member of Royal Academy, English painter of note who painted several famous canvasses of Jewish interest, eg. "Rejoicing of the Law in the Ancient Synagogue of Leghorn"
Judith's Handwritten Journal

Fortunately, this was discovered and provides a totally different picture of the voyage, the travellers and everyday events around them. It gives a valuable insight into the character of Judith Montefiore and it is surprising that earlier researchers do not seem to have referred to it. The only frustration is that it covers only the latter part of the journey and shows how much has been lost. The first notebook would undoubtedly have given fascinating information not just about the Montefiores as personalities, but also comments on actual events and sights during their outward journey and, most importantly, their time spent in Palestine. This manuscript journal is discussed more fully below [pp.326-327].

Moses' Account Book 1827-29

It is most fortunate that Moses' Account Book for 1827-29 still exists. Biographers have pointed out that Sir Moses was meticulous in his accounting and very careful with money spent on his personal needs. Of all the surviving Montefiore manuscripts, the most numerous are Moses' account books. The volume covering his first tour to the Holy Land is an incredible affair and gives a wealth of information, not just about this particular journey but about travel generally in the late 1820's. The accounts were written up in a leather-bound account book with brass clasps. At the

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36 Described in Hartweg Hirschfeld's "Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS of the Montefiore Library" 1904 as "567 Lady Montefiore's Journal, Nov. 11 1827 to Feb 20, 1828. A Hebrew poem of three strophes is pasted over the inside left-hand cover. 4to. pp.111". This journal and the collection is housed at Jews' College, London. This is hereafter referred to as "Private Journal MS"

37 In the Mocatta Library at University College, London. Montefiore Mss.716 Hereafter referred to as "Moses' Account Book"
beginning it has a printed A-Z index which Moses did not use. The rest of the pages are printed with book-keeping columns on the left-hand side and straight lines on the right-facing pages. The book is then neatly handwritten by Moses in very clear sub-divisions. The first pages contain an index to the sub-sections that follow. Moses has written in the page numbers with facing pages numbered the same. Sample pages in Appendices 3 and 4 give an idea of the layout and the meticulousness with which Moses counted every mile and penny along the way.

Pages 2 to 50 give minute details of the whole journey from Park Lane, London on 1st May 1827, through Europe to Sicily, to Malta and Alexandria and on to Jerusalem, and then back, arriving home in London on 29th February 1828. There are exact details of routes, distances, time taken and costs of the various stages of the journey. All is added up twice and accounts kept each day. On the right-hand pages are Moses' comments on the state of the road, the scenery and passing remarks. Add to this the exchange rates given and the book is an incredible touring guide for that year.

This is but the beginning. Pages 82 to 100 go through the whole journey again, this time giving details of where they stayed or ate, exact costs for accommodation, meals, servants, food etc. and rating the hotels and service received. It is a type of "Michelin Guide". There then follows further information and accounts, eg. "Washing ... Petty Expenses ... Carriage Expenses ... Malta ... Egypt ... Passage Money ... Passport, Custom House, etc. ... etc."

In this one Account Book there are a host of details not just about the journey of 1827-28, but about travel generally, and an examination of this work has hopefully provided added depth and authority to this thesis.
Notes from a Private Journal of a visit to Egypt and Palestine by way of Italy and the Mediterranean

The first edition of Judith's account of the 1838-39 tour to the Holy Land was printed in London by Joseph Rickerby in 1844, again "Not published". The second edition was printed and published by Wertheimer, Lee in 1885, probably as a response to the great public interest aroused by Sir Moses' 99th birthday celebrations in 1883, his 100th in 1884 and his death in 1885. It is interesting to speculate why this was marked by no publication of his earlier diaries; perhaps it is an example of Sir Moses' reported reticence that may have led him to give the order that all his diaries and papers be burnt after his death?40. [Or, as is clear from his Journal of 1840, his original Diaries are very boring!]

This journal starts on Thursday, November 1st 1838 with the Montefiores' departure from London and ends on Saturday August 10th 1839 with the travellers arriving at Civita­vecchia in Italy where they had left their coach on the outward journey. As with the Journal of the 1827-28 tour, there are no entries for the last stage of Continental travel on the return. The Journal runs to 364 pages and is then followed [in both editions] by 46 pages of "Extracts from Some of the Reports, letters & Addresses on Agriculture in the Holy land, Received by Sir Moses Montefiore FRS etc.etc. During his Sojourn there. Transcribed from the Original by Dr. L. Loewe." These pages provide useful information for those studying Sir Moses' involvement in developing new

38 Hereinafter referred to as "Notes from a Journal".
39 Extracts of this Journal appeared in a French translation in L'universe Israélite in 1844/45 and subsequently in several languages, a mark of growing interest in the Montefiores and their travels.
40 Sir Moses wrote up and had published his seventh and last visit to the Holy Land in 1875. The first edition came out in 1875, the second in 1877.
Jewish life in Palestine, but give no information about the travels of the benefactor.

Regarding this journal Dr. R. Barnett wrote, "Unfortunately the value of this publication is completely negatived by all names being reduced to dashes"\(^{41}\). This is a bit pessimistic as a knowledge of Judith's earlier diaries make it possible to supply the full names of most of the important people Judith refers to and this Journal does supply many insightful facts about the Montefiores as travellers. The printed title itself does, however, point out that it is "Notes FROM a Private Journal" and, knowing how much material from the original notebook of the first journey is not included in the printed version, it is sad to reflect on the many facts and insights now beyond recall.

Moses' Account Book for 1830

This slim book details a journey to the Low Countries and Germany in 1830 and is to be found in Jews' College Library. It is incorrectly catalogued in Hirschfeld's Catalogue of the Montefiore Library\(^{42}\): "578 Diary of a journey through England, Holland and Germany, giving the names of the towns visited, expenses incurred and chief incidents."

It is an account book and not a diary as such and went unnoticed by Dr. Richard Barnett in his article of primary sources, and the contents are of only minor importance to this thesis. However, it contained, loose-leaf in its pages various ephemera that do illustrate details of travel at that time, especially actual Bills of Exchange, not cashed, but showing the format used. This Account Book also demonstrates how Sir Moses went about keeping these meticulous records.

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\(^{41}\) Richard D. Barnett, [n.24], p.15 note 13 [ii]. Many contemporary travel journals used this style, eg. Carne, Clarke, etc.

\(^{42}\) Hirschfield Catalogue [n.36], p.161.
Sir Moses' Diary of 1840
Dr. R.D. Barnett has published the text of this Diary and made extensive notes on it in "A Diary that Survived: Damascus 1840". The original is preserved in the archives of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue and a careful examination of the two slim books revealed a number of facts Dr. Barnett had missed in his article. He points out that the Diary is a combined Journal and Account Book, but he did not publish the Accounts and they contain a number of references of great use. Secondly, he overlooked the actual tickets of the journey contained in a pocket in the cover. Thirdly, he dismisses as of little use the second booklet as it was in pencil that had been erased. Close examination of the pages reveals that the book was re-used by Dr. Madden [who travelled with them] and contains a number of sketches by him, of views and of the Montefiores, and a couple of poems he wrote.

Letters
Dr. Barnett talks of the extant letters that might also be consulted and outlines their scattered existence in various libraries and private collections. He talks of the project he and Mr. Walter Schwab had started of making a collection of transcripts of all existing letters. Their work has not been published, but a copy of it was given to the Parkes Library at Southampton University. This collection proved invaluable and filled in many details about the journey [and would be invaluable to anyone considering a new biography]. However, only a few letters exist for the earlier years and only one from the actual journey of 1827/28. Some letters not in this collection were discovered, for example, at the Rothschild Archives and in the Shandel/Lipson collection.

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44 R.D. Barnett [n.24], p.7
45 Catalogued as "Schwadron Collection", MS 259 A 880
Conclusion
Having started out, as have most investigations into the life and activities of Moses and Judith Montefiore, by bemoaning the lack of primary resources, the fact is that as far as the focus of this thesis, the Journey to the Holy Land of 1827-28, more material has been found to exist than was at first thought. The first question to consider is what motivated them to make the journey?
CHAPTER FOUR
WHY TRAVEL?

Several of the travellers to the Holy Land, in the period immediately before the Montefiores' journey explained the origin of their love of travel. Edward Clarke wrote: "An unbounded love of travel influenced me at a very early period of my life. It was conceived in infancy, and I shall carry it with me to the grave. When I reflect upon the speculation of my youth, I am at a loss to account for the passion ... Sometimes in the dreams of fancy, I am weak enough to imagine that the map of the world was painted in the awning of my cradle and that my nurse chanted the wanderings of pilgrims in her legendary lullabies.""46

Buckingham starts his work with a long preface: "As far as my earliest recollections guide me, the desire of visiting distant regions was even in my infancy the prominent one in my heart."47 He goes on to describe this yen for travel leading him to become a sailor at 9, a prisoner of war at Corunna at 10, and then again a sailor. Between watches, "I applied myself to reading every book within my reach that was likely to extend my knowledge..."48 Volney was left a sum of money and wondered what to do with his life and decided to travel49.

Chateaubriand claimed that it was the idea of pilgrimage that motivated his travelling: "Probably I shall be the last Frenchman that will ever quit his country to travel to

47 John Silk Buckingham, Travels in Palestine Through the Countries of Bashan, etc. [London, 1821], p.vii
48 ibid.
49 Count François de Volney, Travels through Syria and Egypt [1788], p.iii.
the Holy Land, with the idea, the object and the sentiments of an ancient pilgrim"\(^50\).

Why was Moses an inveterate traveller?
It could be argued that the seed was sown before he was even born. After all, though he was conceived in England, his pregnant mother made the arduous journey to Leghorn in Italy in 1784 to accompany her husband on a business trip. And there Moses was born. His mother clearly had an adventurous spirit, we would have expected a woman less so to have stayed at home once she knew she was expecting her first born: at the time she was twenty-two years' old. The difficulties of the journey must have been well known in the family; a diary exists of a journey from London to Leghorn in 1782 by Samuel Vita Montefiore and his sister, Jayley - uncle and aunt of Moses\(^51\). It seems unlikely that stories of such epic journeys would not have been talked about amongst the family in London or Leghorn.

Moses' first extensive journey may have been as an embryo but the return journey as a very young baby was the beginning of a long lifetime of travelling. An account of that return journey is found in the Loewe Diaries. We see here not just his mother's fortitude but also the example she would set regarding Kashrut while travelling.

"After a stay of several months at Leghorn, Mr. and Mrs. Montefiore returned to England. I have often heard descriptions of that homeward journey from Mrs. Montefiore,

\(^50\) Viscount François de Chateaubriand, Travels through Greece, Palestine, Egypt and Barbary during the years 1800 and 1801 [English translation, London, 1811]

when she used to visit her son at Park Lane. 'Moses,' she said, 'was a beautiful, strong, and very tall child, but yet on our return journey to England, during a severe winter, I was unwilling to entrust him to a stranger; I myself acted as his nurse, and many and many a time I felt the greatest discomfort through not having more than a cup of coffee, bread and butter, and a few eggs for my diet.' 'No meat of any description,' she added, 'passed my lips; my husband and myself being strict observers of the Scriptural injunctions as to diet.' 'But I am now,' she said, with a pleasant smile, 'amply repaid for the inconvenience I then had to endure.' 'What I thought a great privation, in no way affected the state of my health, nor that of the child; and I feel at present the greatest satisfaction on account of my having strictly adhered to that which I thought was right.'"52.

Moses' Relatives
Many of his ancestors were "Wandering Jews", their journeys made not because of forced expulsion, but out of a spirit of adventure or commercial advance. Moses' grandfather, Moses Vita Montefiore, was born in Leghorn in 1712, but left for England and was naturalised in 175753. He became a successful merchant trading with Italy. He had seventeen children. The eldest three sons were born in Leghorn and the eldest, Judah, remained there in the care of his grandparents54. The fourth son, Joseph Elias, was

52 Loewe "Diaries" I:10 & 11
53 The original document is in the British Library: BM 36.131.f.32
54 For most of this information see Lucien Wolf, Sir Moses Montefiore - A Centennial Biography [London, 1884], Chapter 1.
Sir Moses' father and the sixth son, Joshua, was said to have been a favourite uncle of Sir Moses. His story is larger than life: he was a soldier, lawyer, journalist and supreme storyteller. Most of his stories were exaggeration, for example that he was the first Jew to hold a commissioned rank in the British army, the first Jew to be called to the Bar, that he was offered a knighthood by George III but declined and so on. However, he did try to settle in Jamaica in 1784, he did take part in an ill-fated colonising expedition in 1792 to the West African coast and did go to live in America where he wrote very successful works of reference, for example "Commercial Duty", "Synopsis of Mercantile Law", etc. He lived his latter years in some penury and [Sir] Moses sent him an annual allowance until his death in 1835. Lucien Wolf recalled: "Sir Moses still retains a vivid recollection of his dashing 'Uncle Josh' whose laced red coat and pigtail and cocked hat and sword, together with his fund of tremendous anecdote, rendered him a huge favourite with his nephew".

The seventh and eighth sons, Eliezer and Jacob, became business partners, ending up as merchants in the West Indies. Another paternal relative gave an address in Boulogne-sur-Mer. A cousin, Joseph Barrow Montefiore, emigrated to Australia and became one of the founders of the banking system there, was prominent in the colony's administration and helped organise the first Jewish community in 1832. And then there were the less dashing relatives back in Leghorn, and Moses' attachment to them is shown by his desire to visit them [for example in 1818 and

55 He wrote about it in An Authentic Account of the late Expedition to Bulam [1794]
56 Wolf, [n.54], pp. 10-11
57 ibid., p.7
1828] and a glimpse of this attachment is seen in one extant letter written in 1793 to his uncle Moses V. Racah in Leghorn⁵⁹.

By [Sir] Moses' youth his Italian relatives were to be found in several Italian towns⁶⁰. Moses' mother was Rachel Mocatta and through her family there were connections in Holland and North Africa and his mother's brother, Moses Mocatta, accompanied his parents on the journey to Leghorn in 1784 where [Sir] Moses was born. The Mocattas played an influential role in [Sir] Moses' education and early financial career and again it seems most likely that the travel stories of many members of this side of the family would have inspired [Sir] Moses.

Relatives by marriage that could have influenced Moses and Judith were the Rothschilds, another international family. The founding member of the family in England, Nathan Mayer, became Moses' business partner, and was married to Judith's sister. Moses and Judith made several excursions for Rothschild weddings or on holiday with them, and certainly visited distant branches of the family while on their travels. Nathan Mayer attracted many foreign visitors to his house and office [opposite the Montefiores in New Court] and these visitors could only have whetted Moses' passion for travel.

Lucien Wolf reported, in 1883, "Sir Moses still relates to the few visitors he is allowed to receive how, at five o'clock one morning, he was roused by Mr. Rothschild with the intelligence that Napoleon had eluded the vigilance of

⁵⁹ Copy in Montefiore letters, Schwadron Collection I/3, University of Southampton

⁶⁰ See Loewe "Diaries" I:pp. 5-9, especially p.9 dealing with Moses' close bonds with his uncle, Racah
the English cruisers and had landed in Cannes"61. The account goes on to picture Sir Moses' excitement even in his late nineties for an event that happened in 1814 - of how Rothschild had got news of Napoleon's escape via his own courier and the action he and Moses took: they made a killing on the Exchange before telling the British Government62. It seems likely that the Rothschild connections fuelled the passion Moses and Judith Montefiore had for travel and helped them in their planning and execution of the journeys.

Travel for Business63
In May 1814 Moses and Judith went to Paris, clearly on business as an existing letter to Nathan Meyer makes clear64. Judith's "PS" to her sister shows her taking the opportunity to "sightsee". In 1815, shortly before the Battle of Waterloo, Moses went to Dunkirk and Yarmouth on Rothschild's behalf to organise a fresh news agency there, with an express service to Brussels65. Again it was this business that Moses attended to first when he and Judith landed at Calais on the 2nd May 1816 on the first of their Continental tours66. Then on the next tour in 1817-18 Moses was clearly thinking about business as a letter home proves67. In these latter two letters, like the first, Judith adds a note to her sister, Hannah [Nathan Meyer's wife], making it clear that though Moses' mind is on business, she is there as a tourist.

61 Wolf [n.54], pp.23-24
63 For an extensive article covering this aspect of Moses' life see P.L. Cottrell [n.58]
64 Rothschild Archives R.Fam C/30/1
65 Lucien Wolf, [n.62], pp.283ff
66 Rothschild Archives R.Fam C/30/3
67 Rothschild Archives R.Fam C/30/4
From the 1820's Moses' business interests widened [usually also having a connection with his brother-in-law]. In 1824 both were involved in setting up the Alliance Assurance - or to give it its full name, the Alliance British and Foreign Life and Fire Assurance Company. The word "Foreign" indicates its international interests and in its setting up a side company was formed, dealing with Marine Insurance. These two new ventures could well have fuelled Moses' interest in foreign travel as well as informing him about its practicalities. In April 1825 Moses was asked to tour Britain to stimulate new business.

Moses was one of the founding Directors of the Provincial Bank of Ireland that was officially recognised by Royal Assent on the 10th June 1825. On the 14th July 1825 Moses set out to tour Ireland and to initiate the opening of branches of the Bank. He went with Judith and Mr. [and Mrs.] Medley, the Bank's accountant, meeting up in Ireland with Mr. & Mrs. Blount [the former being the Bank's solicitor]. They toured Ireland opening branches: but also making of it a holiday. He would make other journeys on behalf of the Bank and, even on "holiday" or travelling, was clearly concerned with its workings.

Moses also became involved in 1825 in The Imperial Continental Gas Association [and it was for his work for this company that he was elected an F.R.S. in 1836]. Unlike the earlier ventures, this business was very slow to develop, although in time it was very profitable.

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68 Guildhall MS 12,162 A/1 6 April 1825
69 Judith's Manuscript Diary for 1825/1828
70 ibid. 27th November, 10th, 11th, 14th December 1828 and his 1840 Diary, 14th July: "A Diary that Survived" [n.43], p.156
On their second journey to the Holy Land in 1838/39, Moses' [and Judith's] mind was very much on the business of the Gas Company. In Lille, on their second day on the Continent, Judith noted: "The town is now lighted by the Continental Gas Company, but the rage of competition is such that offers are made to light the city free of expense, for the privilege of obtaining the private lights."\(^{71}\) The next day they went to the Synagogue and, being the Sabbath, in the afternoon Moses had to walk to inspect the gas works. A week later Judith notes: "Liege is lighted by gas by a company established in the town"\(^{72}\). She too had her mind on the Gas Company and its rivals. Next day in Aix-la-Chapelle they visited the gas works\(^{73}\) as they did in Marseilles and Toulon [again on the Sabbath]\(^{74}\). On their return journey Sir Moses noted a lamplighter with a contraption that allowed him to light the street lamps without climbing a ladder. Sir Moses got a detailed explanation of the working of the lamps and got Dr. Loewe to make sketches\(^{75}\). On his return to England he probably wished to share this information with the other directors of the Continental Gas Company. Next year he was again in Marseilles [on his way to Egypt in respect of the Damascus Affair] and again he spent time at the gas works and with its local manager\(^{76}\). Dr. Loewe later recalls "When travelling on the Continent, he invariably made a point of visiting everyone of the branches of the Imperial Gas Association, making strict enquiries on every aspect ... and inviting all the officers to his table"\(^{77}\).

\(^{71}\) Notes from a Journal, p.9,
\(^{72}\) ibid. p.14,
\(^{73}\) ibid. p.15
\(^{74}\) ibid., p.43
\(^{75}\) Loewe "Diaries" I: p.205
\(^{76}\) "A Diary that Survived" [n.43], p.157
\(^{77}\) Loewe "Diaries": I:29
What was the nature of the 1827/28 journey?
The Irish Bank had no presence on the Continent, nor had the Gas Company started production. On the return journey Moses did note Fire Protection Marks and remarked that this was a new sight, as previously he had only seen them in Paris. After their long tour, nearing home, the sight of the Fire Mark on a house reminded him of his "Fire and Alliance" business. In Malta Moses paid great attention to one of his other minor business interests: the British, Irish and Colonial Silk Company. On his first day on the island he met its director, Mr. Macgill, and toured its silk farm and manufactory; Judith describes in detail the whole undertaking. They visited the establishment on other occasions during their stay and again on their return. Unfortunately, the Silk Company failed and when next in Malta in 1839 Judith records their sadness at finding "the mulberry-trees ... are all rooted up."

It seems as if their early foreign travels were motivated primarily by business interests and that even when later on other motives came to the fore, Moses took the opportunity to keep in touch with his various interests. It also seems likely that these various businesses not only kept him in contact with a variety of individuals abroad, but also kept alive his interest in and knowledge of foreign places. The 1827/28 journey does not seem to have been motivated by any of his business interests and so the question still remains: why did the Montefiores decide to travel to the Holy Land in 1827?

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79 Moses' Account Book, p.40, 18th February
79 Private Journal, pp.92-94
80 ibid., pp.98-99 16th July: when Moses makes a celebration for all the workers.
81 Private Journal MS January 1st 1828
82 Notes from a Journal, p.184
83 See below, pp.44ff
Why did Judith become an inveterate traveller?

Judith had an earlier connection to the Rothschilds than her husband. Her sister, Hannah, married Nathan Mayer in 1806 and Judith did not marry Moses until 1812. Her own father, Levi Barent Cohen, had come from Amersfoort in Holland, so again Judith had international connections, although no record has been found of her corresponding with or visiting foreign relatives, prior to her marriage to Moses.

Following the fall of Napoleon in 1815 it become the fashionable thing to tour France and the Continent and "in 1815 itself 25,000 English are said to have been in Paris". The Montefiores had already been in 1814 and would return in 1816 and 1817 and several times later. An initial reason for Judith's interest in travel may well be that it was the socially-accepted thing to do.

Regarding the much more adventurous decision to go to Egypt and the Holy Land perhaps Judith was inspired by other women travellers. Although she was the first English Jewess to travel in this period to the region, there were a few other English women who had already been there by 1827 and whose exploits received much publicity. In 1816 Caroline of Brunswick, the rejected wife of the Prince Regent, travelled to Jerusalem and her exploits were widely talked about, especially in 1821 when her husband was crowned George IV and she returned to England to claim her place by his side. Judith must also have known of the exploits of Lady Hester Stanhope, the sister of William Pitt. In 1810 Lady Stanhope journeyed to the Levant and to Jerusalem, and in 1814 settled on the southern slopes of Mt. Lebanon where she and the curious court she surrounded herself with became a living legend. Most of the early travellers would visit her or meet her by chance as she explored various areas of Palestine. As the Montefiores approached Beirut in 1838 Judith wrote, "for a moment my thoughts were occupied

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84 see Sonia Lipman, [n.31], p.292 and rest of article
with Lady Stanhope, but they were dissipated by the appearance of the quarantine boat"\textsuperscript{85}.

Maybe Judith was a prude and unlikely to approve of these women. A more likely inspiration was Mrs. Belzoni. Her husband had been born in Padua and left Italy in 1800\textsuperscript{86}, travelled Europe and arrived in England in 1803, soon afterwards marrying an English woman. Like the Montefiores it appears they had no children and in 1815 he wrote, "I formed the resolution of going to the south of Europe. Taking Mrs. Belzoni with me, I visited Portugal, Spain and Malta, from which latter place we embarked for Egypt where we remained 1815 to 1819"\textsuperscript{87}. In Egypt he proceeded to explore and excavate and plunder the antiquities, becoming the agent for Mr. Salt, the British consul of Alexandria and arranging the sending of a number of famous antiquities to the British Museum [for example the Young Memnon].

While in Egypt the Belzonis crossed paths with contemporary travellers, for example Burkhardt, Turner, Irby and Mangles and had great adventures. Belzoni wrote a lively and readable account of their time in Egypt and detailed his wife's adventures. At the end, Mrs. Belzoni adds her account, especially of a trip she made on her own from Alexandria to the Holy Land in 1818\textsuperscript{88}. Her husband was busy

\textsuperscript{85} Notes from a Journal, p.201
\textsuperscript{86} Presumably due to the Napoleonic regime they could not enter France and he had been forced to flee Italy in 1800 due to "troubles".
\textsuperscript{87} Giovanni Belzoni, "Narrative of the Operation and Recent Discoveries within the Pyramids, Temples, Tombs and Excavations in Egypt and Nubia" [London, 1820], p.viii.
\textsuperscript{88} It appears at the end of her husband's book under the title, "Mrs. Belzoni's Trifling Account of the Women of Egypt, Nubia and Syria" and runs to 40 pages.
so "I persuaded Mr. B. to let me visit the Holy Land. It was this idea that brought me first to Egypt"\(^8\). She visited Jaffa and Jerusalem, Jericho, Nazareth and Bethlehem. She dressed as a man to gain admission to the El Aksa Mosque and the story she tells is full of adventure; she left black shoes at the entrance, was found out and hastily escaped by a side door\(^9\). Judith Montefiore must have heard of the Belzonis and of Mrs. Belzoni's adventures, and their book was in the East Cliff library\(^10\). Mrs. Belzoni could well have inspired Judith to want to travel to the Holy Land and persuade her that it was possible for an Englishwoman to do so.

There were other women travellers whose exploits were written about [for example the Countess of Belmore\(^11\)] and others of whom there is no written account, like the servant Judith employs in Malta in 1827 to go with her to the Holy Land. She wrote, "she had already done the tour with Mrs. Lee ..."\(^12\).

A Childless Couple

Finally, the fact that the Montefiores, like the Belzonis, were childless meant Judith had the freedom to travel with her husband. In later years she travelled even when she was desperately ill. Did she go then out of habit and a desire not to leave the side of the husband she dearly loved. In later years when he travelled up to London from Ramsgate and had to stay overnight, they would exchange letters

\(^{89}\) ibid., p.457
\(^{90}\) ibid. p.465
\(^{91}\) See below p.60
\(^{92}\) Robert Richardson, *Travels Along the Mediterranean and parts adjacent during the years 1816, 1817 and 1818* [London, 1822]
\(^{93}\) Private Journal, p.115
protesting their affection for each other. Or, to be mischievous, could it be that Judith did not wish to let Moses out of her sight? A number of authors have claimed that Moses had illegitimate children\(^9\). If this were so and Judith knew of his philanderings, perhaps she was afraid to let him travel abroad on his own!

Conclusion

The Montefiores were inveterate travellers even into old age. The interest may have stemmed from contacts with family living across Europe and on other continents. Business interests led to the need to travel in Britain and on the Continent, and in time the needs of foreign Jewish communities provided a reason for several adventurous journeys. Like many other famous travellers, they were infected with the urge to travel and barely had one journey ended than they were contemplating the next. But what moved them to make their first journey to the Holy Land?

CHAPTER FIVE
WHY TO THE HOLY LAND?

Cecil Roth once wrote, "in 1827 ... Montefiore and his wife ... visited Palestine which was still a somewhat perilous adventure. He did this not in the spirit of the nineteenth-century English tourist but rather of the eighteenth-century Italian Jewish pilgrim, who went to pray at the Temple site in Jerusalem and at the graves of the patriarchs."95 This claim was repeated more recently by Dr. Tudor Parfitt96. How far does this reflect the truth?

Although Moses was born in Leghorn, his father was born in England and Moses was clearly more "English" by upbringing and nature than "Italian". Of course, he had a close attachment to Italy and had toured extensively in that country in 1816, 1817-1818 and 1823. He spoke Italian and no doubt corresponded with his relatives in that country. But, in religious outlook and culture, he was at heart an Englishman. There is no evidence of large-scale Italian Jewish pilgrimage in the eighteenth century; the Jewish pilgrims who did go tended to be from the Ottoman Empire, although in 1777 a group of three hundred Polish Jews arrived in Palestine. Finally, the Montefiores did not go to Hebron on their first visit to "pray at the graves of the Patriarchs"97 and, although Moses did go twice to the Western Wall, Judith only went once when she described it as

97 Although Judith regretted not having time to go: see Private Journal, p.212 and they went to Hebron on their next three visits.
a "stone" not a wall. Moses expressed no great satisfaction at getting to the Western Wall, just at being in the Holy Land and City.

Before exploring further the Montefiores' motives it might help to examine the motives of the other Western travellers to Palestine. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the average number of Christian pilgrims was two to three thousand a year: one thousand Greek Orthodox, one thousand Armenian and a mixture of Roman Catholics and other sects. For centuries the number of Protestants going on pilgrimage had been negligible and Western Catholics were inhibited both by the ideology of the French Revolution and by the Napoleonic Wars that followed. Most of the pilgrims were from the Ottoman Empire and this was true of the few Jews who came in this period. The majority of the Christian pilgrims came to visit the Holy Sepulchre, especially at Easter.

In the period covered by this thesis, only the French Catholic, Chateaubriand, claimed to go as a pilgrim. He said "I have entered into minute details respecting Jerusalem, because Jerusalem was the principal object of my tour." But such sentiments and motives were not shared by other travellers.

Napoleon certainly did not go there as a Christian pilgrim; for him it was for military and political reasons and he made no attempt even to visit Jerusalem. The first English visitors after Napoleon's defeat travelled there because they were in the vicinity, for instance Wittman and Spilsbury who were attached to the British Forces. Although the latter visited Jerusalem he did not include it amongst the twenty large coloured illustrations that formed the basis of his book.

98 Yehoshua Ben-Arieh [n.1], p.198
99 see pp.31-32 above, Chateaubriand [n.50], p.188
Edward Daniel Clarke had travelled most of Europe, and made his way south through the Balkans and found himself in Constantinople with the opportunity of taking a British naval ship onwards. He was travelling out of curiosity not piety. It is true that some, like Jowett and Woolf, came as Christians, but their main aim was to convert the Jews they found in the Holy Land [having soon realised the impossibility of converting the Muslims]. Most others came as tourists. Napoleon's Expedition to Egypt and Palestine had made them popular places to explore and for several visitors it really was an extension to the Grand Tour of Europe. Thus Irby and Mangles stated in their preface, "14 August 1816, left with the intention of making a tour of the Continent ... curiosity at first and an increasing admiration of antiquities ... kept us away for four years"\textsuperscript{100}.

Why did the Montefiores go to the Holy Land? They did not go as scientists, artists or explorers, as did many of the contemporary travellers. One of the first biographical studies of Moses Montefiore was a supplement to the "Jewish Chronicle" of Friday, 31st July 1885, the day of Sir Moses' burial. Early on it stated "it was in 1827 that Mr. Moses and Mrs. Montefiore made their first pilgrimage to the Holy Land". However, later it says, "the first journeys were doubtless prompted by the ordinary motives of tourists, both Lady Montefiore and her husband being very active and fond of travel". So did they go as pilgrims or tourists? Moses' first reference to it in Loewe's "Diaries" is as "a trip to Jerusalem"\textsuperscript{101} and Judith opens her account "we have at length commenced our long-contemplated tour" and the title of her book is "Private Journal of a Visit to Egypt and Palestine by Way of Italy and the Mediterranean". Judith almost always refers to the journey as a "tour".

\textsuperscript{100} Charles Leonard Irby and James Mangles, Travels in Egypt & Nubia, Syria and The Holy Land [London, 1823], p.1

\textsuperscript{101} Loewe "Diaries" I:35
Where did the idea of the journey originate?

In 1818 the Montefiores were in Leghorn and Judith recorded that they "went in a boat to view two vessels that were going to Jaffa. Montefiore having a great inclination to visit Palestine which enterprise I hope he will not undertake"\textsuperscript{102}. The idea seems to have been still in his mind in 1823, because when in the following year he heard of his brother, Abraham's, death in Lyons he noted, "It was only in the month of January last that when his medical attendant recommended him to take a sea voyage he agreed to go with me to Jerusalem if I would hire a ship to take us there"\textsuperscript{103}. Moses regretted not having taken the opportunity. The question remains: did he think a visit to Jerusalem by his seriously-ill brother would restore him to health or was he thinking, if he must die, let him die in Jerusalem?

Although it is not clear if Dr. Hodgkin was the "medical attendant" in question, he did write to his parents in January 1824 that there was talk of an eventual trip to Greece, Constantinople, Palestine and Egypt and "if his brother's indisposition does not set this journey aside it is possible that he will give me the offer of accompanying him"\textsuperscript{104}. This makes it look like a "tour to the East" rather than a specific pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

On the day they left the Lazaretto in Malta, 20th December 1827, Judith recorded, "Reason have we to be grateful ... above all in spite of every obstruction the "Holy City" the object of our tour, and visit which was the increasing wish of Montefiore"\textsuperscript{105}. Moses was not an intellectual or a

\textsuperscript{102} Quoted in Sonia L. Lipman, [n.31], p.294
\textsuperscript{103} Loewe "Diaries" I:30
\textsuperscript{104} Quoted in Amalie M. Kass, 'Friends and Philanthropists, Montefiore and Dr. Hodgkin' in Sonia and V.D. Lipman, The Century of Moses Montefiore, p.77 & note 35
\textsuperscript{105} Private Journal, p.272
romantic; he had a sincere, uncomplicated religious belief and the constant references to Jerusalem in his prayers led him to develop a desire to visit it. As he developed his passion for travel in general it was natural that he turned his mind to travelling there. Having toured France and Italy more than once, like others in his era, Egypt and the Holy Land must have been high on his agenda. So, in a way, it can be called a pilgrimage. He went as a European interested in travel to places new, but Jerusalem did, from his simple faith, have a deeper attraction and Egypt was visited only as a necessary means of getting to Jerusalem, not an object in itself. Only on his first visit to Egypt did he explore some of Egypt's antiquities but this was largely due to the necessity of time waiting for transport.

The fantastic story told at length by Sonia Lipman can be discounted. In his old age Sir Moses described how he and his wife while making Havdalah [a ceremony] at the end of the Jewish Sabbath and singing the traditional song about Elijah, the prophet, had talked of visiting Mount Carmel and Jerusalem. That night Elijah had appeared to him in a dream pointing to Jerusalem! "the dream made so strong an impression upon me that I resolved the very first thing I would do when I had time would be to go to the Holy Land". It is true that he wore a ring with the Hebrew on it "Koneh hakol", referred to in the dream, but on his first visit in 1827 he made no mention of an attempt to visit Mount Carmel. On their second visit they did camp for a week at the foot of Mount Carmel and ascended to visit "Elijah's Cave" but Judith made no mention of the dream.

Finally, did he go as an English or Italian Jew? Vivian D. Lipman says, "there is about his piety something of the

flavour of the conventional religion of the Victorian haute bourgeoisie". His bearing and behaviour, his food, dress and first language were indeed English. Perhaps his spirit was more than a little of an Italian Sephardi Jew. His connection with Leghorn, and the visits to it on several occasions including his return journey in 1828, coloured his identity and gave him an affinity with the Mediterranean lands.

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Before exploring the preparations needed before setting out on such a journey in 1827, it might be appropriate to comment on the growing ease of travel. If 1815 was a watershed in the possibility of Continental travel owing to the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the period between 1815 and 1827 saw many changes that made travel more convenient.

Within England the first couple of decades of the 19th century saw great improvements in road surfaces. Engineers like Thomas Telford [1757-1834] and John Loudon MacAdam [1756-1836] revolutionised road building techniques. Despite the difficulties of working with a myriad of Turnpike Trusts, by the 1820s something of a national road network was emerging, although the quality of surfaces varied widely. A report printed in 1836 shows that Royal Mail coaches could average over 10.5 mph on the Liverpool to Preston run, while between Canterbury and Deal they could manage no more than 6 mph\textsuperscript{108}. By 1827 there was still no Government plan to improve and standardise roads in England, unlike France with its Corps des Ponts et Chaussées. Napoleon had embarked on a major road building scheme. With the wide variety of surfaces encountered, it is understandable that Moses Montefiore was so meticulous in commenting on the state of the roads at every stage of his journeys as seen in the Account Book of 1827/28 etc.

Philip Bagwell estimates that between 1790 and 1836 the number of stage coach services between the ten leading urban centres in Great Britain increased eightfold\textsuperscript{109}. Not only

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\textsuperscript{108} Reform of the Mail Coaches in England, Ireland & Scotland, P.P. 1836 Vol. XLV p.449. Quoted Bagwell p.43

\textsuperscript{109} Philip S. Bagwell, The Transport Revolution from 1770, [Batsford, London 1974]
were more journeys possible in shorter times owing to improved road surfaces, but the improved design of coaches led to an increase in the number of passengers able to ride in one vehicle. Obadiah Elliot's invention in 1804 of the elliptical spring led to a new generation of coaches being built with lower centres of gravity. They could be driven safely at higher speeds with more passengers, especially on the outside. A law of 1806 increased the maximum number of outside passengers to ten in winter and twelve in summer, instead of the previous all-year-round maximum of four\(^{110}\). The concept of leisure travelling over longer distances was clearly becoming ever more popular and feasible.

William Symington had made the first successful experiment in steam navigation\(^{111}\) in October 1788 but it was not until July 1812 that Henry Bell launched the first commercial steamboat, Comet on the Clyde. But in 1814 nine steamboats were launched on the Clyde and by 1821 there were 188 steamships in service around the coast of Great Britain. In 1815 George Dodd made the voyage in the 75-ton paddle steamer, Thames, from Glasgow to London via Dublin, demonstrating the possibility of open-sea steamship navigation\(^{112}\). By 1821 there were regular steam packet services between Holyhead and Dublin and in that year King George IV sailed on the steam packet Lightning, renamed Royal Sovereign to mark the occasion. In 1821 the steam packetships Arrow and Diadem were introduced on the Dover-Calais route. By 1827 the crossing to the Continent was becoming less daunting and the notion of even longer voyages to more distant places were becoming less formidable for the tourist.

\(^{110}\) Philip S. Bagwell [n.109], p.49 and 45.
\(^{111}\) ibid. p.64
\(^{112}\) ibid. p.65
From the earliest days of their marriage, the Montefiores were frequent travellers\textsuperscript{113}. The factors outlined above show how it was technically possible to contemplate ever more adventurous journeys.

\textsuperscript{113} Judith Montefiore remarks on this first while in Holyhead in 1825 awaiting the boat to Howth. See her 1825 Diary Thursday 21st July.
PART TWO

PREPARATIONS

FOR THE

JOURNEY

- 53 -
INTRODUCTION

Before setting out on a journey, especially for the first time, any prudent traveller will investigate a variety of sources of information to help plan the journey. There is evidence of Sir Moses doing just this before his first visit to Russia. He had a letter of introduction from the Russian Government in 1842, but it was not until 1846 that he set out. Dr. Loewe wrote that Montefiore "thought it necessary now to make himself fully acquainted with all recent publications referring to that country and its inhabitants and obtained information from German and English travellers who had just returned from visiting Warsaw, St. Petersburg and other important cities in the Tzar's vast empire"\(^{114}\). However, as early as 1830, Montefiore had received a long report on a visit to St. Petersburg in 1826-27, describing the city, its life and population [although there is no mention of Jews, for they were largely excluded from the city at that time]. The report comes from an Englishman, G. Gilbert, who was working in Ghent at the Gaslight Station, a part of the Imperial Continental Gas Association of which Montefiore was a director\(^{115}\).

Moses Montefiore was a man of habit and it seems clear that once he had made up his mind to journey to the Holy Land in 1827 he would have done as much research as possible through conversations with previous travellers and reading all written accounts available. However, the only direct reference to preparation comes from a small extract from his diary, "by the blessings of God, prepare for a trip to

\(^{114}\) Loewe "Diaries" I:311
Jerusalem. Get letters of introduction from Lord Auckland for Malta and from J. Alexander for Constantinople. Study Italian, French and Hebrew"\textsuperscript{116}.

To try to get a fuller picture, the preparations other travellers made before setting out on a journey to Palestine during the period 1799 to 1831 were examined and the material detailing the Montefiores' planning and preparation for their journey was researched. The aim was to answer the following questions:

From where could you get information to plan such a journey?

What transport was available?

What equipment and papers would you need to take with you?

Who would travel with you and what arrangements needed to be made for those left behind?

\textsuperscript{116} Loewe "Diaries" I:35
CHAPTER ONE
WHERE COULD YOU GO FOR
INFORMATION TO HELP PLAN THE
JOURNEY?

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Information from Newspapers and Magazines

Moses Montefiore was an avid reader of newspapers both at
home and especially while travelling. Could they have been
a source for inspiring his journey to the Holy Land and for
helping him in the planning [none of the other travellers
mention this source]?

There is evidence that Moses read the *Times* and the *Courier*
and copies of these papers from 1818 [the year the
Montefiores first talked of going to Jerusalem] to 1827 were
examined. There was surprisingly little interest in the
Near East. Only in the weeks preceding his departure are
there articles on the build-up of fleets in the
Turkish/Greek conflict [e.g. *Times* 7th, 16th and 27th April].
Although the Montefiores could have gained little help from
newspapers in planning their voyage, their anxiety about the
growing dangers in the Mediterranean must have been fuelled
by the news in the papers in the last few days before their
departure. This must have added to Moses' chagrin in
discovering that on the 1st May, the first day of the
journey, he had purchased two supplements and no actual
newspaper, as Judith makes clear in her Journal entry for
that day. [In fact on that day the newspaper itself was
largely filled with advertisements, the supplement had the
news.]

Another possible source of information could have been the
quarterly literary magazines of which a number existed in
1827. Again, on examination, little was found that could
have helped the Montefiores or other contemporary travellers
to the Near East. The *Edinburgh Review*, for instance, had
at least two travel articles in each edition, but to places
other than the Near East. It did, however, give generous reviews of the key travel books of Dr. Edward Clarke [1816, 1823 and 1826], Burkhardt [1820] and Wilson [1825]. At best, the magazines might have encouraged the would-be traveller to purchase the actual books that detailed earlier journeys. Thus it is from books, maps and conversation that information in planning a journey to the Near East seems most likely to have been gleaned.

Information from Books
An obvious source of information before setting out on a journey are the books written by previous travellers; in time they would become Guide Books but early on they were mostly in the form of Journals or Diaries of the traveller. Judging from the references in their extant journals and books in their Library at East Cliff Lodge, the Montefiores were avid readers.

In 1812 William Turner toured Greece, Turkey and Palestine. His father was a friend of George Canning who gave the son a post in the Foreign Office and a posting to Constantinople in 1811. In the introduction to his Journal he says: "The accurate descriptions of Sandys, Pococke, Tournefort, Wheeler, Stuart, Gell, Chandler, Denon, Niebuhr, Olivier and Hamilton have left subsequent travellers nothing but repetition to offer"117. But, of course, he then goes on to offer his observations and packs his books with much practical information about money, costs, routes, letters of introduction, as well as his comments on sites and sights noted by others and by himself. Reading one book is likely to lead one to read another.

But what books might the Montefiores have read as preparation for their journey? A detailed "Catalogue of Books" in their East Cliff Lodge library was compiled by

I. Spielman FSA in 1890 and a copy of this typed catalogue\textsuperscript{118} provides a fascinating insight into the Montefiores' interests. The catalogue was made before Sir Joseph's destruction of Sir Moses' Diaries and papers and therefore it can be assumed that the library listed was much as the collection appeared at the time of Sir Moses' last days and death. It is not known if books had been lent out and never returned, or taken out between 1885 and 1890, but Sir Moses was meticulous even in his latter days and so it seems likely, if he lent out books, he would have noted the fact and asked for their return. There is one example of books from the library being given by Sir Moses as a gift. On the 26th July 1881, learning that Mr. Lewis Emanuel's son "is to be brought up as an artist, it occurred to me that two Books which Lady Montefiore and I brought from Italy more than half a century ago might be of service to him. I have therefore the pleasure to send them to him ... they are very old and beautiful"\textsuperscript{119}.

There are some books in the Shandel/Lipson collection not mentioned in the Catalogue that must at one stage have been in the library. A further complication is that many of Montefiore's personal books must have ended up in the library of the Judith Montefiore Rabbinical College and of that collection no definitive catalogue seems to have been made before its dispersal to various collections. The vast majority of the collection in the East Cliff Library was published before 1840, so maybe after the establishment of

\textsuperscript{118} I. Spielman, \textit{Catalogue of Books in the East Cliff Library, Mocatta Library, Mocatta Fol.Box.Pamphs.al sp1.} Presumably Sir Isadore Spielman [1854-1925] founder and director of the art exhibition branch of the Board of Trade. He organised the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition in 1887 and was President of the Jewish Historical Society 1902-11.

\textsuperscript{119} Letter in Jewish Museum - taken from "Southampton collection" - no other reference given.
the College books tended to be placed there rather than in the House.

Of course, the final caveat is that just because a book is in someone's library it does not mean they have actually read it or, if they have, whether they purchased or read it before or after the journey. Wise travellers obtain books to help plan their journey but often travellers are inspired by the journey and eagerly buy books on the subject after their return. Nine months after their first journey they went on holiday to Yorkshire and Judith wrote, "Read Chateaubriand on Egypt"120.

The library comprised nearly 700 titles, many running to more than one volume and there were forty or so books relating to journeys the Montefiores made before 1827, for example:

- Travels in Italy [Addison] 1776
- Travels in Italy [Barthelemy] 1802
- Travels in Scotland [Hill] 1807

There are fifteen books dealing with travels to places the Montefiores never went to; perhaps they planned to go or the books are further evidence of their passionate interest in travellers' tales of all sorts, for example:

- Travels in Columbia [Cochrane] 1825
- Travels in Brazil [Maure] 1823

The library also contained a number of books travellers to foreign countries might need, for example:

- Italian, English and French Dictionary [Bottacelli] 1805
- French and English Dictionary [Chawner] 1793 and 1805
- Grammaire Francaise et Italienne [Romaldo] 1815
- Hebrew Grammar [Salome] 1825

120 Judith's 1825/28 Manuscript Diary, 28th November 1828
The following is a full list of books on travel to the Holy Land found in the East Cliff Library [they are listed as they appear in the Catalogue]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belzoni</td>
<td>Researches in Egypt</td>
<td>1822</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckingham</td>
<td>Travels in Palestine</td>
<td>1822</td>
<td>2 vols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carne</td>
<td>Letters from the East</td>
<td>1826</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chateaubriand</td>
<td>Paris a Jerusalem</td>
<td>1812</td>
<td>2 vols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chateaubriand</td>
<td>Travels</td>
<td>1812</td>
<td>2 vols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarke</td>
<td>Travels in Africa</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>11 vols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joliffe</td>
<td>Letters from Palestine</td>
<td>1822</td>
<td>2 vols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montagu</td>
<td>Letters of Mary Wortley</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otter</td>
<td>Life of Clark</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>2 vols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richardson</td>
<td>Travels Along the Mediterranean</td>
<td>1822</td>
<td>2 vols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savary</td>
<td>Letters on Egypt</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>2 vols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savary</td>
<td>Letters in Greece</td>
<td>1788</td>
<td>3 vols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swinton</td>
<td>Travels in Egypt</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>2 vols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swan</td>
<td>Voyage up the Mediterranean</td>
<td>1826</td>
<td>2 vols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volney</td>
<td>Travels Through Syria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and Egypt</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>2 vols</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition there are a number of books which, though published after 1828, have reference to their own journey, for example,

- Madden: The Mussulman 1830 3 volumes
- Madden: Egypt and Mehemet Ali 1840

and especially Madden's Travels in Turkey and Egypt 1830 in which their meeting and journey together is mentioned and which is dedicated to Sir Moses.

To show their interest in travel books, of the 700 books listed in their library, approximately 256 were of general literature [novels and poetry], 170 related to travel, 89 to history [often to historical characters in countries they visited], 72 to Judaism or religion and 50 to science.
Of the travel books in their Library, there is evidence of their reading three, and they were the most popular and [having examined all the books in print] most useful.

**CLARKE:** In 1825 the Montefiores went to East Anglia for Christmas and the New Year. In the diary entries that Judith wrote in the empty pages of her "Honeymoon Diary" of 1812 she mentions several books she read for amusement during this holiday. On Friday 30th December 1825 in Yarmouth, "The day being exceedingly wet and dull ... Read Dr. Clark's *Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa*, an entertaining work..." At the end of the entry for the next day ... after remarking on the end of the year, on New Year's Eve: "I read aloud Clark's *Travels whilst Montefiore wrote.*"

Edward Daniel Clarke LLD [1762-1822] was a traveller par excellence as well as being a famous mineralogist and scientist [for example he invented the gas blowpipe used in every chemistry laboratory]. He qualified from Jesus College, Cambridge in 1786 and as a clergymen travelled first as a guide and tutor to the gentry. In 1790 he travelled all over Britain, in 1792 to Italy with the Earl of Berwick, in 1794 down the Rhine and to Venice in 1799. When the Napoleonic Wars made travel south difficult he toured Northern Europe and Scandinavia with the social scientist Malthus and William Otter, his friend and biographer. He corresponded with Byron and Burckhardt, one of the key explorers of the Near East121 ... and he kept regular journals that were published in instalments.

The volume relevant to Palestine and Egypt is: *Travels in the Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa: Part the second. Greece, Egypt and the Holy Land [1812]*122

121 Otter [n.46]

122 Hereafter this will be referred to as "Clarke"
In the preface Clarke starts by discussing the merits of the various names for "Syria". "The several names of Syria, Palestine, the Holy Land, the Land of Canaan, the Land of Judaea and the Land of Promise have been used indiscriminately, with reference to a particular territory or separately applied to different parts of it" [p.i - the discussion goes on to p.xi].

Clarke travelled from Constantinople to Egypt and from there to Acre, the voyage taking three days, as Clarke notes "For the sake of greater precision, the Author has detailed the observations as taken from the ship's log-book. The navigation of this part of the Mediterranean being little known, these may, perhaps, not be without utility" [p.360] - and he gives precise bearings and also includes several sketches of how the towns appear from the sea, for example "Land on the Coast of Syria seen June 28 in Lat. 32.40 at about 11 Leagues distance" [p.360]. Surely an excellent guide to the first-time traveller to these parts finding a way up the coast. Clarke landed at Acre and had an audience with Dzezzar Pasha ["the Butcher"] and describes the way he disfigured and dismembered those who displeased him, for example "A Jew who had been his private secretary ... for some breach of trust had been deprived of an ear and an eye at the same time" [p.363].

From Acre Clarke travelled, with an escort provided by the Pasha, to Nazareth and here he confronted for the first time the superstitions of the Christians in the Holy Land. Throughout the rest of the book Clarke constantly debunks many of the claims made by the monks and guides. However, he gives excellent descriptions of the places visited and artefacts used and the food available. For instance, at Cana their "grateful meal consisted of about a bushel of cucumbers, some white mulberries, hot cakes of unleavened bread, fried in honey and butter; and, as usual, plenty of fowls" [p.444]. Anybody contemplating a journey to the
country, having read Clarke, as did the Montefiores, need have had no fear of starving.

From Nazareth Clarke toured around Galilee and on to Jerusalem. He had a warm reception at the Convent of St. Salvadore where the monks did all they could to make the travellers feel at home: "by way of example, one article equally rare and grateful to weary English travellers in the Levant; namely tea" [p.533]. Clarke then gives an expansive account of his visits to all the holy sites in Jerusalem, often debunking the claims of their guardians and of previous writers. Leaving Jerusalem, Clarke visited Bethlehem, "no notice has been taken of what is called the Tomb of Rachel, between Bethlehem and Jerusalem, because it is a work of no antiquity. The place, however, is held in veneration, not only by Christians and Jews, but also by Arabs and Turks." [p.624]. [Judith visited Bethlehem and Rachel's Tomb in 1827.]

From Jerusalem Clarke made for Jaffa. "The whole distance does not much exceed forty miles, and this according to the ordinary time of travelling, might be performed in about thirteen hours; but owing to the rugged and pathless rocks over which the traveller must pass, it is impossible to perform it in a day and a half" [p.624]. From Jaffa he sailed up the coast back to Acre and the naval ship, the Romulus, that would take him back to Egypt123. Although Clarke travelled more extensively than the Montefiores on their first journey, the extracts and descriptions above hopefully show how the book could well inspire, inform and open the eyes of the would-be traveller.

123 Described in Part II Section II of the 'Greece, Egypt and the Holy Land' parts of this "Travels". Part II, Section III deals with the return from Athens via Bükorest and Buda-Pest to Vienna. An excellent map is included of this European stage.
HENNIKER: On Saturday 2nd June 1827, while in Florence on the first leg of their journey, Judith wrote "the heat of the forenoon was so great that we were obliged to content ourselves at home with 'Henniker's Notes on Egypt'"124. Sir Frederick Henniker Bart. published in 1823 [a second edition came out in 1824] his "Notes During a Visit to Egypt, Nubia, The Oasis, Mount Sinai and Jerusalem"125. It is a small, octavo book that is in the form of letters sent home and is light, chatty and very readable. It is easy to see why it made good reading on a stifling day in Florence.

There is a brief hint at his outward route via Naples and Malta, but, as with other writers, the account really only begins in Alexandria and his opening paragraph illustrates the style of the book: "17th October: I have been on shore; the very stepping stones at the water's edge are a mass of antiquities, about to quit their native country, with strong letters of recommendation from Messrs. _____ and _____, to the respective governments of England and France; defaced hieroglyphics and statues, sent for no visible reason, unless for ballast" [p.2]. While still in Alexandria Henniker gives warning to future travellers of unwelcome experiences waiting for them in Egypt: "the flies are wading unnecessarily through this scrawl, following my pen as crows do the plough" [p.6] "I know not which are our greatest enemies, the flies or the mosquitos, they hold divided sway - half sting by night and the other sting by day" [pp.6-7].

Most of the book is taken up with Egypt but from there he travelled overland to Mount Sinai and onwards via Gaza to Jaffa. Like other writers he describes the British Consul

124 Private Journal, p.44
125 Referred to as "Henniker"
in Jaffa, whom the Montefiores will meet. "The name of the vice-consul is Damiani, an Italian; he converses in French; he is hospitable, though his house is poor. His dress is a la longue, but that part of it which covers his head is a triangular hat, built originally for an officer of the navy" [pp.269-70]. Though Henniker does quote other authors, his book is mostly his own immediate thoughts. Its humorous, colourful style could have been an excellent source of background information for the Montefiores on their outward journey to the places described by Henniker. [From Jerusalem he visited Nazareth and Acre and then went north "as far as Tripoli before crossing to Cyprus, and then Athens, before returning overland via Bucharest and Vienna" - the route taken by Clarke].

BUCKINGHAM: On Saturday 28th July 1827, while in Valetta, Malta, waiting for a ship to take them on to Egypt, Judith recorded in her journal: "the heat was too intense this morning to allow of our going out and we accordingly occupied ourselves with Buckingham's Tour".  

John Silk Buckingham had originally gone to Egypt to persuade Mehemet Ali to consider new routes via Egypt to India. In 1816 he travelled to explore Palestine both east and west of the Jordan, and in 1818 sent the notes of his "Travels to Palestine" to the publisher John Murray. Murray objected to Buckingham's questioning the veracity of earlier travellers' claims, so Buckingham found another publisher and the book came out in 1821. The Quarterly Review, also published by Murray, criticised the book severely and Buckingham added a lengthy rejoinder in an appendix to his second book, "Travels among the Arab Tribes East of Syria and Palestine" published in 1825. In addition, William Bankes who travelled with Buckingham, accused him of plagiarism. Buckingham sued Bankes for libel in October 126 Private Journal, p.109 127 Buckingham, [n.47]
1826 and won substantial damages. Thus, in the months leading up to the Montefiores' departure, "Buckingham's Tour" was the most talked about travel book to the Near East and seems to have been one of the Montefiores' guide books for their journey.

What could they have learnt from Buckingham? The first point to make is that "Buckingham's Tour" is interesting, easy to read and certainly excites a desire to travel.

He starts by reference to previous travellers and refers to them frequently: for example, "Chateaubriand confesses with all the frankness of disappointment, that after he had read some hundred of volumes on the country he came to visit, they had given him no accurate conception of what he subsequently beheld for himself" [Preface vi]. In Cairo he describes the people and places, the various illnesses he suffered and how in the convent of Mar Elias he was treated for sickness by the legendary Lady Hester Stanhope [xiv]. He records that he travelled in "native dress" [and includes a drawing of himself], spoke Arabic [xix] and that he had with him an "Ancient map of Palestine ... from D'anville" [xx]. He also published in the book a clear map, drawn in 1821 showing his route in 1818 from Jaffa to Jerusalem, with many sights of interest on the way. This, no doubt, would have been useful to the Montefiores, as would all of the preface in preparing them for the journeys they planned making.

Buckingham describes the route to Jerusalem [p.160ff], "burdened by prickly pear and orange trees", and gives the timing of the journey, "half-an-hour to the fountain", "four hours ride to Ramley ... with Lydd in view on the left ...". At Abu Gosh, like so many before him, he had to pay a toll [p.162] and reached Jerusalem "just as the gates were being closed" [p.175]. He gives a very detailed account of Jerusalem, both exciting one's interest but also preparing the traveller for disappointment. Siloam is described as "a
"dirty little brook" and of Jerusalem he says, "the illusion created by Milton's sublime innovation to it, in the opening of Paradise Lost is entirely done away by the sight of the spot itself" [p.184].

Of all the authors, Buckingham gives the longest and most colourful and sympathetic description of the Jewish community in Jerusalem. After Jerusalem, Buckingham describes his journey to Jericho, up the East bank of the Jordan, across to Tiberias and then Nazareth. Here his account ends, to be taken up in Volume II.

Information from Maps and Guides
Although the exact details could be changed due to circumstances encountered, it is most likely that the basic route was planned in advance. The route to Palestine was dictated by a number of factors: ease of transport, political practicability and safety, previous experience and a desire to visit specific places and people along the way. The early pilgrims and the Crusaders from England tended to take the most direct overland route. They followed the Rhine and Danube, crossed the Bosphorus and followed the coast of Asia Minor down to Jerusalem. As ships became more reliable and the overland route in places more dangerous, travellers tended to go overland through France and Italy and from a Mediterranean port to take a ship to the Holy Land, or else to sail all the way. For travellers from England, the Alps had to be crossed to enter Italy; alternatively they could go to the south of France and catch a coastal ship to Genoa or Leghorn, or else go by ship all the way. This route had against it the risk of pirates, poor craft and seasickness128.

Primitive roads and lawlessness in the Balkans had long since made a complete overland route fraught with danger [though Lady Mary Wortley had gone this way to Constantinople in 1769, and Edward Clarke had done so in 1801, returning from Palestine via Athens, "Bukorest and Bud-Pest" to Vienna. Henniker followed the same route home in 1821 and Alexander Kinglake would do so in 1834].

The Napoleonic Wars made travel through France and Italy virtually impossible for the English. In 1806 Viscount de Chateaubriand, as a Frenchman, could travel from Paris to Venice and from Trieste take a French ship to Constantinople. From there, armed with letters of introduction for the French Ambassador, he sailed to Jaffa. During the Napoleonic Wars the only Englishmen who journeyed to the Holy Land [and who left a record] did so in British naval vessels. Wittman and Spilsbury were on ships under the command of Sir Sidney Smith and, following Napoleon's retreat from Acre in 1800, went ashore and toured part of Palestine. Edward Clarke was in central Europe and in 1801 was taken from Constantinople to Acre on board a naval ship supplying the British army besieging the French in Egypt.

After this early activity the next traveller of note was William Turner who was given a diplomatic post in Constantinople. He sailed direct from England to Constantinople via Gibraltar and Malta. After three years in Constantinople, in February 1815 he got a ship to Sidon and travelled south from there. Belzoni also left England in 1815 before the Battle of Waterloo and sailed all the way via Gibraltar and Malta from where he went direct to Alexandria on the 19th May 1815. Buckingham used a similar route in the same year.

Once the Napoleonic Wars were over travel through France was again possible; yet in 1816 Richardson took the sea route sailing from Southampton via Gibraltar, Malta, Greece to Alexandria. In 1818 Wilson travelled overland via Paris to
Marseilles and from there took a French ship to Alexandria. In 1821 Carne took a Smyrna-bound ship from Gravesend to Constantinople and another ship from there to Alexandria from where he went overland to Palestine. In the same year Henniker went overland through France and Italy to Malta and from there took a ship to Alexandria.

From 1821 onwards the Greek Wars made it dangerous to consider travelling via Constantinople or Smyrna - or near the Greek islands - and piracy around these coasts was a particular threat. When the Montefiores set out in 1827 the war between the Greeks and the Ottoman Empire was coming to the boil. It had already involved [and would again] the Egyptian fleet and so the Eastern Mediterranean was a most dangerous place. These factors made it vital that English people setting out for Egypt and Palestine should stop at Malta. Malta had been taken from the French after the Treaty of Vienna in 1815 and was the base of the British Mediterranean fleet, and from here one could hope to sail east in a convoy guarded by a warship.

If Malta was the key, the route from England could then be fixed. Robert Richardson, in 1816, went from Southampton by naval ship [HMS Osprey] with the Earl and Countess of Belmore to Malta via Gibraltar in just over a month. In 1830 Benjamin Disraeli also set out for the East via Malta but he sailed from Falmouth via Gibraltar\footnote{Robert Blake, \textit{Disraeli's Grand Tour} [London, 1982]}. This was a perfectly feasible route as "packet" ships plied this route. However, the Montefiores - and particularly Judith - suffered severely from seasickness and so the shortest sea route possible was needed. Thus they went to Naples which was as far as they could go by land [South of Naples there were very few usable roads] and from there to Malta, although sea-sickness still intervened to change this relatively short sea crossing.
By 1827 the Montefiores had already been as far as Naples [in 1818] and to Rome three times. In 1823 they had gone to Rome, via the Low Countries, Munich, Innsbruck, the Brenner Pass, Verona, Mantua and Florence. It was very much a journey of the "Grand Tour" type - a holiday and an adventure. In 1817/18 their route had taken them via Paris, Lyon, Turin, Milan and Leghorn. By 1827 they had experienced at least two routes\textsuperscript{130} and it seems most likely that the reading of guide books and magazines on these journeys and in between would have made them very aware of the options before setting out in 1827.

One of the features of the Grand Tour had been the desire to be in special places at certain fixed times, like spending Easter in Rome and being in Venice for the Carnival\textsuperscript{131}. There might be particular buildings or works of art one wanted to see or friends or relatives along the way you wished to visit. However, these motives seemed to have played no part in the Montefiores' choice of route in 1827, at least on the outward journey. On their return the Montefiores did make a detour to Leghorn to visit the family, but not on the outward leg; they were keen to get to their destination as quickly as possible. Their route took them to places like Rome and Florence and Judith recounts their joy at returning to such places, but they had already completed three "Continental Tours" and so the outward route in 1827 had to do with getting to their destination rather than stopping at places of interest along the way. When forced to stay in places like Naples, Malta and Alexandria, waiting for ships or, because of the

\textsuperscript{130} For the 1816 journey Loewe's "Diaries" do not give even a hint of a route and for this and more details of the 1817/18 journey Judith's Diary for these journeys is sorely needed!

\textsuperscript{131} For these and other factors mentioned in this chapter, an excellent introduction is found in Jeremy Black, \textit{The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century} [London, 1992]
Sabbath or Jewish Festivals, not being able to move on, they did sightsee but, compared with their earlier journeys, they moved on as soon as they could.

In 1823 it took them two months to reach Rome and in 1827 just over a month. In 1827 they stayed only four days in Florence owing to the coinciding of the Sabbath and Shavuot [Festival of Weeks]. They stayed six days in Rome to include the Sabbath and also an extra day, perhaps because it was their wedding anniversary. These stays also had to do with "catching their breath" and recovering a little after the rigours of the previous stage of their journey, and occasionally waiting for carriage repairs. They reached Naples [the furthest they could get to before being faced by the vagaries of hiring a ship] in six weeks from leaving home. Compared with their earlier journey, this was not a "tour" but a journey with a purpose.

If the desire was to get to Naples as quickly as possible, which route should they take through France? In 1990 my wife and I took a Sabbatical journey to Israel, tracing as closely as possible the route taken by the Montefiores in 1827. At the time the only information I had on their route was from the places mentioned in Judith's Journal. From these, using an ordinary motorist's map, it was soon obvious which roads to take and later, when Moses' Account Book for 1827 was discovered, it was clear that we had chosen the exact route, and that many of the hotels and post houses actually used by the Montefiores were still in existence, though often now private dwellings. Through France the roads were usually the Routes Nationales, often, as in Italy, following the route of the old Roman roads. Sometimes these 'old roads' were paralleled by two generations of motorways and the railway. The routes were the obvious ones chosen in Roman times. Travelling the Montefiore route made it clear how easy were the gradients with only one real descent into, and climb out of, the valley of the Seine. It was mostly relatively flat all the
way until the route turned east and the Alps came into view, between Lyon and Chambery.

In the first "modern" guide book to France - "Murray's Guide", published in 1843 - there is a large fold-out map showing the 'through' routes across France. The Montefiore route of 1827 stands out as if it were a modern motorway cutting across the countryside. The road from Calais to Lyon is marked a Mallepost Road, the key saying "the Mallepost was the equivalent of the English mail coaches and kept up at the expense of the Government; travel along the great roads of France" [p.xxiv]. The time given for the Mallepost from Calais to Paris is eighteen hours, and Paris to Lyon thirty-four hours [according to Montefiore's Account Book in 1827 it took them thirty hours "on the road" from Calais to Paris].

That the Montefiores took maps with them in 1827 is not only obvious but clear from an entry in Judith's Diary for Saturday, 5th May. They were spending their first Sabbath of the journey in Abbeville and she says: "The maps have been accordingly spread on the table". Unfortunately, the maps are nowhere identified. The actual maps the Montefiores used on their first visit to Russia in 1846 still exist, marked with their route, that is Schropp, European Russia 1844 and Lapie, Ottoman Empire, Russia, 1846\(^{132}\).

By 1816 the Montefiores had a number of maps from which to choose; between 1816 and 1827 the British Library Map Catalogue has thirty-five titles of general atlases.

\(^{132}\) In the possession of Mrs. Myrtle Franklin. See Barnett [n.24], pp.11-22. The Schropp map is reproduced in Myrtle Franklin and Michael Bor, Sir Moses Montefiore 1784-1885, p.58.
A few examples of what was available in 1827 can be mentioned.

**Carte Des Routes de Poste de France**

dressée par Pierre Tardieu graveur, published 1827

A diagrammatic map that shows the routes as straight lines with the post houses marked. [Using this map in 1990 the author was able to trace the exact route of the Montefiores and found that it agrees exactly with the information in Montefiore's Account Book of 1827.]

**Carte Routière de L'Italie**

dressé en 1820 Par A.H. Brué

Published by Charles Simmeau - Paris 1824

Again a diagrammatic map with contours and rivers etc. shown but roads drawn on straight lines with post houses marked by large dots. Again very easy to follow. Opens out to 74 x 56cms. [Also used by author in 1990.]

These examples are folding maps. They have canvas backing and fold down to pocket-size. Another type of travelling map was the combined guide-book and fold-out map. Two of many examples are quoted.

**Atlas des Routes de la France ou Guide Des Voyages**

dressé PAR A.M. PERROTT Paris 1826

This small book [10cms x 16.6cms x 1.3cms thick] contains many strip maps of the routes showing main roads, side roads with directions where they lead. However, it also adds a host of information, eg. distances between posts and between major towns, prominent features along the road, eg. forests, with details about facilities at the Post Houses. In the

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133 See Sir George Fordham, *Les Routes de France ...Etude Bibliographie sur les Cartes-Routières et les Itinéraires et Guides-Routiers de France* [Paris 1929] and, for example, the British Library Maps Catalogue under "France" and "Italy" and the Catalogue at the Royal Geographical Society.
key, as well as kilometers, "Milles Anglais" are quoted. There are also full details of the price of horses and an explanation of tariffs and regulations along the way. This must have been a most useful guide for planning a journey and, judging by the minute detail in his Account Book, Montefiore must have had a guide/map such as this one.

A New Map of France, Belgium, Switzerland, etc: Containing all the Post & Cross Roads with the Rivers & Canals.
Published by Samuel Leigh No. 18 Strand London.

Opened out, the map measures 76cms. x 81cms. and, when folded, 12.5cms. x 20cms. It is canvas-backed and was obtainable [as were most travelling maps] in a stout cardboard cover measuring 14cms x 21cms. It is a large coloured map drawn to scale, with several different colours used to denote grades of roads and topographical features. What is fascinating about this map is that, printed on the box, is a long list that indicates the range of maps available in 1827:

"Books Maps etc. For the Use of Travellers
Published by Samuel Leigh. 18 Strand"

"Panorama of the Rhine 10s 6d. coloured £1.1s.
Vasis' New Picture of Rome 12s.
of Naples 10s. 6d.

Travelling Map of France Canvas & Case 9s.
Germany & France - " - 15s.
Italy - " - 15s.

Blagdon's French Interpreter half-boxed 6s. 6d.
Bernardo's Italian Interpreter - " - 6s. 6d.
Genlis' Manuel du Voyager English, French &
Italian 6s. 6d.
Tourist's Pocket Journal half-boxed 2s. 6d. to 10s.
Leigh Road Book of England & Wales etc.
Reichard's France " etc. etc.
As well as maps, it is likely the Montefiores would have taken guide books with them. Although in 1827 they were travelling though Europe as quickly as possible they still found time to visit churches and art galleries and other sites of interest. They hired guides at various places, but such is the detail given by Judith in her Journal that it seems most likely they had with them a guidebook. Again, it cannot be said which book[s] they favoured, but details are given of one of the most popular guides as an indication of the information available. Although the book was in its 9th edition in 1787 and thus from before the Napoleonic period, the Montefiores also travelled through France in 1815, 1816/17 and 1823, so could well have used it on earlier journeys, and had it with them in 1827.

"The Gentleman's Guide in his Tour through France with a correct Map of all the Poste Roads etc." by Thomas Martyn runs to 310 small pages and would be easy to slip into the pocket. It has a large fold-out map of France. It opens with explanations of how the hotels work [eg. "the table d'hôte or ordinary ... at 40 sols for supper, but if you eat in your own appartment 40 sols, 3 livres ... a head" p.6]. The coinage is explained with exchange rates given ["a pound sterling is worth 231.7s French" p.7]. There follow brief instructions as to the clothes to take: "In a small trunk I would have you put a dozen shirts, they ought to be much coarser than the English in general wear them, otherwise their slovenly manner of washing ... will soon oblige you to buy others..." [p.11]. Section II deals with how to travel from London to Calais, where to stay in Dover ["the Ship Inn"], and at Calais ["The Silver Lion"].

It tells you that while in Calais "buy le nouveau voyage de France...extremely necessary and entertaining upon the road as they furnish maps..." [p.20]. The likely costs of posting are given. A table lists the Posts from Calais to

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134 The Montefiores stayed at the latter but not the former.
Paris, the distances between and reasonable hotels, eg. "Boulogne: Red Lion: good eating and beds" [p.24]. There are frank comments about the places along the way, "Abbeville ... the French language ... is most corruptly spoken there ..." [p.50]. Details are given of last times for posting letters, "letters for London and any part of the kingdom ... are sent on Monday and Thursday at ten o'clock in the morning ..." [p.287]. And so on.

A compact and yet comprehensive guide to Italy was "Galignani's Travellers' Guide through Italy" which was in its sixth edition by 1822. However, there were many others - there was no reason to get lost on the Continent, or to find wanting information about the various sights.

Examining the "Petty Cash" pages in Moses' 1827 Account Book there is only one reference to purchasing a travel book along the way. On the second morning [2nd May], still in Dover, it says "A General Gazetteer by R. Brooks 13.0d". It seems likely then that any maps or guide books were purchased before leaving London or were in their possession from earlier tours.

A reference is quoted above to the Montefiores discussing their route while pouring over maps with their travelling companions. It seems most likely that such discussions were also held before setting out, and that conversation with others would provide valuable information about the adventurous tour to the east on which the Montefiores were embarking.

Information from Conversation
John Carne "resolved to visit the holy places" and left England on 26th March 1821. On that day he wrote to his father who was a merchant banker in Penzance: "Dr. Clarke, who was in London during my first week or two's stay ... has been a warm friend in aiding my enterprise ... The Rev. Mr. Jowett the chief director of the Church Missions abroad, who
has travelled in the East, and with whom I spent an evening, told me the expenses of travelling there would be about £500 a year ...". It may have been to impress and reassure his father that he "drops names" of two foremost travellers but it is understandable that a would-be traveller should seek out previous travellers to learn from their experiences.

Other travellers are less revealing about the contacts they made before setting out, but most of the travellers speak at length of the people they met while on their travels and from whom they learned information to help them on the next stage of their journey; this indeed is the case with the Montefiores. For instance, while in Sicily they obtained information from the Captain of their ship who was "very conversant about Alexandria, where he had repeatedly been". In Alexandria they met Dr. Madden "who was lately returned from visiting the Holy Land". However, there is no direct reference to the Montefiores seeking out advice from previous travellers before setting out, but a number of sources suggest themselves.

Surely they must have exchanged experiences with their own families. Regarding the first stage of the journey to Naples, they had themselves travelled the route at least three times before, as had others in their family and circle of friends. The Rothschilds, though none of the brothers had been out of continental Europe, must have had information to pass on from their vast network of agents and contacts all over Europe and the Mediterranean. The Rothschilds were able to furnish the Montefiores with letters of credit and introduction to bankers and merchants in the East and it is quite likely Montefiore had met them or their agents on visits to London.

135 Joseph Carne Ross, ed., Letters of John Carne 1813-1837, [privately printed by J.C. Ross, 1855], p.19
136 Private Journal, p.72
137 ibid., p.81ff
One of Montefiore's positions in Bevis Marks Synagogue was Parnas da Terra Santa, to be in charge of giving hospitality to Shelichim [emissaries] sent from the Holy Cities to raise money to support the scholars and the poor residing there. As thoughts evolved of his own journey to Jerusalem it is surely likely that he would have sought first-hand information from such Shelichim

Montefiore probably discussed his plans with Christian friends and fellow travellers, the Medleys and Blouts in Ireland in 1825 and the Italian Mr. Mazzara in 1823 and 1827. As well as practical details it is likely they discussed with them and others references in the Bible that gave purpose to their journey.

Travellers who had become well-known through their writings, particularly in the literary magazines, gave public lectures. It is known that the Montefiores attended Buckingham's lectures [but cannot be certain if this was before or after 1827]. The Montefiores might well have attended other lectures and asked questions or talked with the lecturers afterwards.

It has already been noted that Moses may have first got the idea of going to the Holy Land when he saw in Leghorn in

139 See Judith's Manuscript Diary of 1825
140 See p. 79 following
1818 two ships about to sail for Jaffa\(^{141}\). In the nine years that followed it seems likely that he would build up a conscious or unconscious store of information to help him plan his actual journey of 1827.

**Conclusion**

The contemporary newspapers and magazines would have been of little help in planning the journey. Maps were certainly taken on the journey and consulted but it is not possible to identify the actual maps or guidebooks used.

However, the books of Clarke, Henniker and Buckingham were consulted and taken with the Montefiores on their actual travels. One further reference [quoted later\(^{142}\)] proves that Buckingham was used as a guide book while visiting the actual sights in Jerusalem. That they found Buckingham more than acceptable is shown by the fact that on the 1838/39 visit to the Holy Land, in Tiberias Judith observed a man who had numerous wives: "and a confirmation was hence given of the opinion expressed by Mr. Buckingham in his lecture that a plurality of wives was agreeable to Turkish ladies"\(^{143}\). On their return in 1828 the Montefiores, having had Buckingham's Tour as the guide for the trip, went to hear the man himself at a lecture on the subject in England.

\(^{141}\) See n.102

\(^{142}\) Private Journal MS Saturday 16th February, see pp.312-313 below

\(^{143}\) Notes from a Journal, p.253
CHAPTER TWO
TRANSPORT

The Travelling Carriage

In the title page to his entertaining and popular, "The Traveller's Oracle or Maxims for Locomotion", William Kitchiner lists the methods of transport available to the Continental traveller: "on foot, on horseback, in stages in post-chaise and in private carriages" and in the book details the comparative costs, burdens and advantages of each method. In the first edition of "Murray's Handbook for France", published in 1843, a variety of horse-drawn vehicles are still listed as options for travel but by this time the railways were beginning to make their appearance and regular journeys by inland river and canal were detailed. However, in 1827 the private travelling carriage was at the height of its popularity and such was the Montefiores' mode of travelling from London to Naples.

Cecil Robertson states: "statistics of carriages paying duty in this country show ... in 1834 there were 49,000 four-wheeled carriages in Great Britain; 62,000 in 1844; 68,000 in 1854; 102,000 in 1864 and 150,000 in 1874". He then lists the figures for two-wheeled carriages and concludes: "Carriages of every description had increased from 60,000 in 1814 to 432,000 in 1874". The Middle Class was expanding rapidly and the vast improvement in the state of the roads and comfort of the carriage made travelling for business and pleasure an increasingly popular and feasible activity.

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144 William Kitchiner, Traveller's Oracle or Maxims for Locomotion [London, 1827]
145 Cecil Robertson, Coachbuilding - Past and Present, pp.44-45
On their honeymoon, leaving on the 25th June 1812, the Montefiores used the Chatham Coach [for which Moses had booked two places the day before] from London to Chatham and then a postchaise to Sittingbourne. They used hired postchaises for the rest of this excursion. In a later trip in their honeymoon period they visited Portsmouth and it appears they used their own one-horsed carriage [see under Sunday 20th September 1812]. Later in the "Honeymoon Diary" they went on holiday to East Anglia and on Sunday 25th December 1825 they used their own "chariot" to "convey us to the Spread Eagle, Bishopsgate Street, where the stage departs for Yarmouth, in which Mun had engaged two places on Friday". They returned on 3rd January 1826 "left Angel Inn, Bury in the one o'clock stage... Our journey to town pleasant. The Stage superior to a Post Chaise. Thomas met us with the Chariot at 6 o'clock in Bishopsgate Street". So, in the years before their first trip to the East they were still using "public transport" although they clearly owned a number of carriages of their own.

In 1814 on their first short Continental journey there is no indication of how they travelled, although an existing letter showed they crossed to Dunkirk. In these very early days, after the first defeat of Napoleon and the reopening of France for British travellers, they probably travelled in some form of public or hired coach.

For their second Continental excursion in 1816 Loewe records in the "Diaries" "A beautiful and comfortable travelling chariot, procured in Paris from Beaupré, a famous coach builder, at the price of 4072 francs, and abundant provisions for themselves and friends, making them

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146 All references loc.cit. in "Honeymoon Diary"
147 Letter from Paris 9th May 1814. Moses and Judith to Nathan Meyer Rothschild in London in Rothschild Archives Fam C/30/1
independent of inferior hotels for food, make their travels most agreeable to themselves and to all who accompany them"\textsuperscript{148}. Henry Sass said "If a party determines to travel post, the best way is to purchase a new carriage at Paris..."\textsuperscript{149}. It is clear that the Montefiores followed this advice [though from the current wisdom of the time as Sass was published later].

Though some may have sold their carriage before returning to England, it seems that such was the glowing description of the newly-purchased Montefiore carriage that they brought it home and used it for their second Continental tour, setting out on 13th October 1817 and not returning until May 1818.

In 1827 William Kitchiner wrote about a specific carriage that could have been an inspiration to the Montefiores: "the completest machine we have seen was BUONAPARTE'S TRAVELLING CHARIOT, of which the following description may furnish hints to those who wish to have a convenient Carriage .... The very curious and convenient Chariot of the late Emperor of France, which I examined when it was exhibited at the London Museum, Piccadilly, in 1816, was built by Symons of Brussels, for the Russian Campaign, and was adapted to the various purposes of a Pantry and of a Kitchen; for it had places for holding and preparing refreshments, which, by the aid of a Lamp, could be heated in the Carriage: it served also for a Bed room, a Dressing Room, an Office, &c; - there was a separation rising about six inches, dividing the Seat. The exterior of this

\textsuperscript{148} Loewe "Diaries" I:21.
ingenious vehicle was of the form and dimensions of our large Modern English Travelling Chariot - only that it had a projection in front of about two feet, the right-hand half of which was open to the inside"150.

As keen travellers it is likely that the Montefiores would have gone to see the exhibition of the Buonaparte Travelling Chariot, and that this exhibition influenced the design of subsequent carriages and imparted the idea of a carriage that acted also as "Bedroom, Kitchen and Office". Their 1816 Carriage came from Paris - but by 1823 there were several English coachmakers, eg. Adam & Horner of the Haymarket, though it is reported that the French examples inspired British refinements.

To return to the Montefiores' carriage, in 1823 they set out on their third visit to the Continent, and Judith in her Diary151 says that on Saturday 4th October, the day they set out from London "we proceeded in our New Travelling Carriage ..." Unfortunately, there is no evidence of where and when it was purchased. A month later in Augsburg they were delayed when the "pole of the Carriage was broken, in turning it round it Split in two"152. Even in those days buying a new vehicle was no guarantee of complete road-worthiness. However, in this Diary there were no more untoward incidents with their carriage, nor any further information as to its origin and construction. Of course the "New Travelling Carriage" of 1823 could be the same one purchased from Beaupré in 1816. There is no way of knowing, but in the following pages it will be assumed the "New Travelling Carriage" of 1823 was indeed a new one.

On 8th May 1825 the Montefiores left for Paris, and in July

150 Kitchiner [n.144], p.123ff
151 Judith Montefiore's Diary 1823/28: 4th October 1823
152 ibid., 5th November

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to Oxford\textsuperscript{153}, and the "Diaries" record, "at the end of the same month we see them in Ireland"\textsuperscript{154}. Fortunately, Judith's Diary exists for this tour of Ireland that was part pleasure and part business, to open branches of the Provincial Bank of Ireland of which Moses was a founder/Director. They travelled with another Director – Mr. Medley and his wife. The Diary records them setting out on Thursday 14th July, "found our travelling Carriage in readiness at Connaught Place"\textsuperscript{155}. The assumption is that it was the carriage purchased new for the 1823 journey. The two couples travelled in this one Carriage with "John and Mrs. Medley's maid"\textsuperscript{156}. On the 18th July: "I rode outside with Mun as far as Shrewsbury ... Mr. & Mrs. Medley outside until Oswestry". Often one couple rode outside, but the carriage was big enough to take the four adults inside when needed since the two servants sat outside and there were another two seats outside for the travellers.

What of the journey that is the focus of this thesis? Moses records on 1st May 1827: "In our Travelling Carriage with four Post horses"\textsuperscript{157}. Judith noted, "I started from Park Lane in our comfortable travelling-carriage"\textsuperscript{158}. The carriage required few repairs, the only major one being to its springs in Lyon\textsuperscript{159} and it does appear to be the same travelling carriage purchased in 1823 and used in 1825. On this first visit to the Holy Land it was used to get to Naples, stored there while the Montefiores sailed on and used for the return journey in early 1828.

\textsuperscript{153} Loewe "Diaries" I:31
\textsuperscript{154} ibid.
\textsuperscript{155} Judith Montefiore's Diary 1825/28: 14th July
\textsuperscript{156} ibid.
\textsuperscript{157} Moses' Account Book, p.2
\textsuperscript{158} Private Journal, p.2
\textsuperscript{159} See Moses' Account Book, p.129 headed "Carriage Expenses"
Later in 1828 the Montefiores took a holiday in Yorkshire. Moses' Account Book for 27 November 1828 records "My dear Judith and myself left in a very handsome Travelling Chariot which we had hired of J. & B. Waller of Long Acre at Ten Guineas per month, we took John Poto [or Pete] our coachman with us". Judith's Diary for this holiday records, "having engaged a handsome travelling Charriot at the rate of 10 guineas per month". Returning to Moses' Account Book, it is clear that this chariot was pulled by only two horses and was thus a smaller vehicle than their own "Travelling Carriage" that the Account Book makes clear needs at least four horses.

The pattern is set - their "Travelling Carriage", purchased new in 1823, is used for long overseas journeys; for the shorter "home" journeys a variety of vehicles were used, either ones owned by the Montefiores or hired for the occasion.

On 1st November 1838 they set out on their second journey to the Holy Land. Moses' Diary opened, "We set out from Park Lane in our travelling carriage with four post horses ...". Judith's diary is more explicit, "we found our old re-embellished travelling carriage replenished with whatever tends to comfort and enjoyment, and extremely easy and spacious". The travelling carriage first purchased in 1823 was specially overhauled and modernised for this latest gruelling tour. This time it was left at Civitavecchia while the party sailed on. The carriage had had a lift along the way as it had been put on board a river boat from Lyon to Avignon. Although there were cabins on the boat, Judith and Moses preferred their own "cabin" and sat in glorious splendour in their travelling carriage on

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160 Moses' Account Book, p.51
161 p.2 where the charges quoted are for "Four Horses"
162 Repeated by Loewe in "Diaries" I:150
163 Notes from a Journal, pp. 1 and 2

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deck throughout the voyage. Occasionally they would drop the window to talk to other passengers parading on the deck.\textsuperscript{164}

A year after their return from their second journey to Palestine they returned to the East in 1840 in connection with the Damascus Libel. Again they travelled by coach this time as far as Marseilles, and again for the leg from Lyon to Avignon the carriage was placed on a river-boat. On the outward journey from Marseilles they went by ship, calling at Leghorn, Civitavecchia and Naples, and it does seem that the carriage went with them on board ship, or else was taken to Naples independently, for on the return, on 20th December, Judith records: "We entered our good old carriage this morning", Sir Moses writes in his diary, "at eight; the weather mild and pleasant. We had four horses to our carriage and only a pair to the carriage for Mr. Wire and Dr. Loewe"\textsuperscript{165}.

The carriage saw valiant and dangerous service in 1846 when it took them to St. Petersburg. The great weight of the carriage caused concern as it had to be taken across the ice of a frozen river: it was partially dismantled, the wheels removed and replaced by sledges.\textsuperscript{166} In 1848 the carriage took the Montefiores as far as Marseilles on their third visit to the Holy Land, and again it was pressed into use in 1855 when disaster struck. The Loewe version is, "Sir Moses' carriage having been very much injured by the rolling of the ship, it was found dangerous to use it, and to his great vexation no coach-maker in Calais could repair it; he was therefore obliged to send it back to London"\textsuperscript{167}. According to Mrs. Guedalla, "A great consultation regarding the advisability of taking or leaving the carriage: the reason

\textsuperscript{164} Notes from A Journal, pp.34-38, 5th, 6th December 1838
\textsuperscript{165} Loewe "Diaries" I:284
\textsuperscript{166} Loewe "Diaries" I:327
\textsuperscript{167} Loewe "Diaries" II:40
Sir Moses thinks of leaving it is the impracticability of taking it on the express train"\textsuperscript{168}. Quite different reasons - Loewe's seems the more likely of the two, considering the nuisance Sir Moses claimed it entailed unloading the coach and putting all the luggage on the train. Much to Sir Moses' annoyance [at the inconvenience and added expense] they had to transfer to the railway and make for Trieste by a long, roundabout route. Perhaps the lack of coachmaker illustrates the changing times with large coaches becoming less popular.

The use of the railway clearly did not fully convert them for in 1859, though Judith was not at all well, they journeyed to Rome on the so-called "Mortara Case". On their return in May: "They left Lille for Calais, where they arrived in safety, and had great cause to be most thankful to Providence, for on reaching Calais they found that the truck on which they had been travelling in their carriage was nearly in flames and smoking to such a degree as to require the immediate application of several buckets of water. It appeared that the great weight of their travelling carriage had forced its wheels nearly through the bottom, in fact, had done so to such an extent as to cause the iron at the bottom to press on its wheels"\textsuperscript{169}. The "new-fangled" railways might speed up their journey but the comfort of their thirty-six year old carriage was welcome for the ageing and ailing travelling couple. After that journey it seems that the remaining long journeys [by then on his own, since Judith had died in 1862], to Morocco in 1863, Palestine in 1865 and Romania in 1867, were by train and boat.

\textsuperscript{168} Mrs. Haim Guedalla, \textit{Diary of a Tour to Jerusalem and Alexandria in 1855 with Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore [London 1890]}, Tuesday May 15th

\textsuperscript{169} Loewe "Diaries" II:101-2
The reactionary nature of the Montefiores' love of their carriage - using it still in 1859 - is shown by the fact that in Britain mail coaches had ceased running in 1841 and the mail had been transferred to the railways, by 1842 most of the stage coaches had been withdrawn and by 1847 even the short-lived "steam coaches" had had their day[170]. It might also be recorded that in 1841 Thomas Cook arranged his first Conducted Tour [from Leicester to Loughborough] by railway train - the trend was set.

The Fate of the Travelling Carriage

Sir Moses developed an abiding attachment to the old Travelling Carriage and preserved it at East Cliff Lodge long after he had ceased using it for his Continental journeys. During the celebrations for his 100th birthday in October 1884 processions of dignitaries and floats depicting "Illustration of trades" paraded past Sir Moses at East Cliff Lodge in Ramsgate. Dr. Loewe quotes from a local paper: "One of the most interesting features in the procession was the travelling carriage in which Sir Moses rode when on his philanthropic missions in Russia, Poland, France and Italy in the old-stage-coach days. It was drawn by six horses"[171].

Sir Moses died on 28th July 1885. He left in his will long lists of bequests. To his coachman: "Coachman Welden, carriages, contents of Stables, etc. whether at East Cliff Lodge or in London [except travelling carriage]"[172]. He could not bear to part with the travelling carriage and clearly wanted it to remain in the family's possession.

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[171] Loewe "Diaries" II: 331 [the six horses were for this ceremonial procession]
[172] Rothschild Archives R Fam C/30/53
What did the Carriage look like?

If, as the above section claims, the carriage in the centennial procession was the same one used for most of Sir Moses’ life and was the one used in 1827 - then there is a photograph of it.

Figure 2:

The coach is based on a standard pattern\textsuperscript{173} - but with several clear additions. The original forward-looking window is obscured by the addition of a forward-facing seat for two which is added on top of the front extension, called a dormeuse. The Duke of Beaufort, a noted expert on coaching, wrote in 1889: "A dormeuse - ie. a travelling chariot with a long boot in front into which one could, by letting down the front of it, put one's legs, the front fixing under the seat - made a good bed. A rolled up mattress was carried in the boot, and this joined the cushion the traveller sat on."\textsuperscript{174} The Montefiores often

\textsuperscript{173} Good descriptions of contemporary carriages and coaching are found in Thomas Burke [n.170], p.127ff and James Arnold, All Drawn by Horses [Newton Abbot, 1979], pp.46-47 incl. illustrations

\textsuperscript{174} Article by Duke of Beaufort in "Driving" [Badminton Library 1889]
had occasion to let down the bed in their "dormeuse" and so travel on through the night\textsuperscript{175}.

A close inspection of the photograph shows that the additions are hinged and so provide storage space. The chain and drag shoes, used as primitive brakes, especially on steep hills, are evident. The carriage seems to be mounted on elliptical springs not the older C-springs. The servants would have sat on the rear "dickey" or "rumble" which, unlike accounts of contemporary vehicles, does not seem to have a hood [perhaps the front hood was moved forward as the Montefiores got older]. The Montefiores often "sat outside" and that would be on the front seat. There was no driver as such - the postilion or postilions on the left-hand horses did the "driving" and they stayed with their own horses which were changed at each stage.

The photograph has been reproduced in several books\textsuperscript{176}. The source is never quoted. There are original glass slides and sepia prints of this picture in the Shandel/Lipson collection made by Rev. H. Shandel - but whether he took the original photograph or copied it from an existing print is not certain. In any case it does seem to show the carriage in the stable yard at East Cliff Lodge [one can see other coaches under cover in the background]. The Rev. Harcourt Samuel, a frequent visitor to East Cliff Lodge between the Wars, does not know the fate of the Carriage. However, Mrs. Hazel Carner says the Carriage was broken up some time in the 1930's and that her oldest brother, Harold Sebag

\textsuperscript{175} For example, on Saturday 16th July 1825 they left Warwick after the Sabbath was [almost] out and made for Birmingham, sleeping on the way \textit{[Judith's MS Diary 1825]}

\textsuperscript{176} For example, Ruth Sebag-Montefiore [n.94], following p.28, Dr. S.U. Nahon, \textit{Sir Moses Montefiore} [Jerusalem 1965]
Montefiore, has a door from the Carriage with the coat of arms on it.

The Travelling Carriage or Chariot belonging to Nathan Meyer Rothschild can still be seen at the Museum at Gunnersbury Park, the former Rothschild home. It exhibits the features mentioned in the articles by Kitchiner and Arnold, although it seems not to be as large as the Montefiore carriage and does not have the dormeuse extension nor the two forward seats. The coat of arms is small and painted directly onto the door. It is dated about 1820 and perhaps represents the basic vehicle the Montefiores purchased in 1818 or 1823, before the additions over the years of the extra seats and storage extensions.

Beyond Naples
At Naples they had to travel on by sea, but was it possible to arrange the Mediterranean leg of the journey in advance? In the regular newspapers of 1827 there were advertisements for ships on the cross-Channel runs and on longer voyages [for example, to the West Indies or Australia]; but there were no advertisements for Mediterranean voyages.

Two specialist journals were also of little use to the Montefiores in 1827. Lloyds List and Lloyds Register first appeared in 1734 and since the Rothschilds and Montefiores were engaged in Marine Insurance, it is almost certain that Moses was well acquainted with these journals. Lloyds List gave news of registered vessels' sailings, cargoes and safe returns or otherwise. However, in the months leading up to May 1827 there is no reference to regular commercial shipping in the Mediterranean. Montefiore would know he had to wait until he got to Naples before finding a suitable boat willing to take him onwards. From Lloyds Register he could have discovered what vessels were potentially available, their seaworthiness, etc. but this information was only of use once he found a ship to hire. [The actual ships used will be dealt with in a later chapter.]
CHAPTER THREE
WHAT YOU WOULD TAKE WITH YOU

Having established the modes of transport chosen before setting out, the Montefiores would also have needed to decide what to take with them for this journey of indefinite length.

Baggage

In a letter from his Park Lane home dated 27 March 5615 [1855] Montefiore wrote to Dr. Loewe:
"I am anxious to consult with you before I order the tents, bedsteads etc. and indeed to arrange all the requisites for our comfort while in the Holy Land all the heavy luggage must be at Southampton by the 12th of April and up to this time I have done nothing being in daily expectation of seeing you in London. Shall I order the Tents &c without waiting for your going with me to the Shops to give direction for their being made, if so, I hope you will not be dissatisfied with them, have you a Saddle? pray let me know __“177.

The journey to the Holy Land in 1855 was Montefiore's fourth [in addition he had gone as far as Alexandria and Constantinople in 1840 and Russia in 1846]. He was by then much more established and older and took far more baggage compared with the first journey. The extent of this is indicated by the problems of unloading the coach in Calais, when its damage on the crossing had proved irreparable, and putting the luggage on the train. When they had gone as far as the train could take them, to Laibach [Lubljana] it took two carriages and "a van for luggage" to take them to Trieste178. But did the luggage include the tents? One suspects not; for why would the tents and "heavy luggage"

177 Holograph letter in possession of Professor Raphael Loewe f.102/81 [Schwadron Collection]
178 See Mrs. H. Guedalla [n.168], Friday 1st June
need to be "at Southampton by the 12th April"? [The party left via Dover-Calais on the 13th May. The indication is that the heavy luggage went on by sea direct to Alexandria or Constantinople ... but still they had enough luggage to need a separate van when they had run out of railway.]

In 1827 it is clear they had far less luggage. There is no indication that they took tents with them, and even in the Holy Land they stayed in a monastery and private houses. It will be seen that a saddle and other equipment were purchased along the way. In 1827 all the luggage must have fitted on to their travelling carriage and there was some convenience in this, in 1855 after the forced switch from coach to railway the luggage had to be labelled¹⁷⁹ and on changing trains at Brno two cases were left behind and, two days later leaving Vienna, all the luggage was nearly left behind¹⁸⁰.

G.N. Hooper, writing in the 1880's, wrote: "The contrivances for comfort, safety and conveyance of luggage had obtained a perfection that was greatly appreciated by well-to-do travellers. Capacious and neatly-fitted boxes with covers to exclude the rain and dust were carried on the roofs of closed carriages; some were placed under the cushions, others in and on the front boot. At the back of the rumble that carried servants behind a capacious cap-case contained ladies' bonnets and head gear while a row of hat-boxes was attached behind the upper post of the rumble; two wells, secured to the bottom of the carriage, contained provisions, accessible from trap-doors in the carriage flooring ..."¹⁸¹

It is clear from the photograph on p.89 that in later years Montefiore's carriage had gained the addition of a variety

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¹⁷⁹ Loewe "Diaries" 2:40
¹⁸⁰ See Mrs. Guedalla [n.168], 28 and 31 May, loc.cit.
¹⁸¹ Quoted by Hugh McCausland in The English Carriage [1948], p.87
of boxes and chests sufficient to carry a huge amount of luggage and equipment. In earlier days the luggage may have been simpler, but it would also have been carried in leather or canvas-covered "boxes" made by the coach-makers to fit exactly their place on the roof or platform on the carriage. In her 1823 Diary Judith talks of the "unmaid [sic.] dress in her box" [8 Oct] and in her 1839 Diary [16 November] "the box containing Montefiore's uniforms". So it seems likely that they each had their own boxes for their own clothes.

Kitchiner advised the taking of "carpet bags or Sacs de Nuit, Portable Writing and Dress Cases in Russian leather &c" 182. He also advised: "make an Inventory of what each Trunk contains" 183. Montefiore's Account Book shows how methodical he was and it seems likely he would have made an inventory and with only one travelling servant in 1827 they travelled relatively lightly. The boxes on the carriage were taken down only when the stay in a place was likely to be longer than a day, and light travelling cases were used for their overnight stops. In 1840 on the 8th July in Calais, Moses discovered that he had lost his carpet bag "should it be lost I know not what I shall do" 184 - it must have had in it essentials for travelling.

Equipment
In 1812 Lord Byron was about to set off for the "East" and wrote to Dr. Clarke: "I trust your third [volume ed.] will come out before I sail next month; can I say or do anything for you in the Levant? I am now in all the agonies of equipment ..." 185

From the letter Sir Moses wrote to Dr. Loewe in 1855 quoted above we get a glimpse of the "agonies of equipment" he went

182 Kitchiner, [n.144], p.99
183 ibid., p.97
184 Loewe "Diaries"
185 Otter [n.46], p.679
through and the help he needed. Several travellers had published lists of equipment necessary for a long journey. For instance, William Kitchiner's comprehensive list included: "Paper, book and Pens ... A Hunting Watch ... A Thermometer ... Barometer ... A Night Lamp on its top a tin cup that will hold half a pint of water ... Tinder Box ...". Sadly, there is no list of the actual equipment the Montefiores took with them in 1827.

**Medicine Chest**

On his later journeys to the East, Montefiore had a physician in the party, for example, in 1840, Dr. Madden and in 1857 Dr. Hodgkin, but in 1827 he set out without medical help, although he was joined by Dr. Madden on the return journey. Any wise traveller takes a first-aid kit and as Montefiore turned out to be something of a hypochondriac, it seems most likely that he would not have travelled without taking precautions. Typhus, cholera and malaria were well-known to be endemic in the East and the Montefiores would know that on their return they would have to enter quarantine before being allowed back into Europe. Fortunately, they did not encounter a major epidemic on this tour, but they certainly did in 1839 and on later visits. Nowadays travellers can get vaccinations before travelling to danger areas, but in 1827 these were not available against the three diseases just mentioned, so at least an adequate medical chest was a likely requisite. [Vaccination against smallpox had been "discovered" by Edward Jenning in 1796 and his findings published in 1798. Compulsory vaccination against smallpox was demanded by 1807 in Bavaria and by 1814 in Sweden, but only in 1853 by the United

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186 Kitchiner [n.144].

187 There are several references in Judith's Manuscript Diary for 1827/28. See below pp.198ff and 327.
Kingdom. So on their first three visits to the Holy Land, it is unlikely that the Montefiores had protection against even this disease.

There is only one clear indication that the Montefiores carried a medicine chest and that is in Judith's Journal for 14th August 1827. Having had a long and frustrating delay in Malta, they were now about to set sail for Alexandria. It says "Mr. Mellin also called, and on examining our medicine-chest, directed us to obtain an additional quantity of bark and soda powders, which he thought might be useful, both by sea and land." However, no other details are found about the contents of the chest and Judith does not talk of medicine being purchased. In Moses' Account Book for 14 August is an entry: "Chemist & Druggists; Bill $20"; he obviously took Mr. Mellin's advice and topped up the Medicine Chest. Sadly, although Moses' Account Book for 1827 is meticulous in recording most details of expenditure along the way, there is no account of the money spent before setting out on purchasing the variety of medicines needed for such an adventure. It may be assumed that they had taken advice as, although they were seasoned travellers, they had not gone beyond Italy, and so not to countries with serious contagious diseases.

During the journey there is mention of purchasing medicine on just four occasions, but no exact details.

"Thu 3 May At Calais ... Medicine 1 [franc]  
Sat 7 July Syracuse 3 + 3  6 "

"[Egypt] 14 Sept. Tamarinds $1.00"

"17th February 1828 At Lyon: Medicine 0.18"

Tamarind is a medicine made from the red-black pulp of the seed pod of the fruit. But, as can be seen, no other

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188 Private Journal, p.115
190 Moses' Account Book, pp.123/4, 132, 136 respectively
details are given as to the actual medicine. On the return journey according to the handwritten notebook of Judith's Journal, Moses was treated for a neck infection with "Cassia" [for example on the 9th, 17th, 18th Feb. etc.]. Was this one of the medicines purchased on the 17th February in Lyon or did they [or Dr. Madden] have it with them?

The probable contents of their medicine chest on their second journey can be surmised, for on their first journey they met, on October 9th 1827 in Alexandria, Dr. Richard R. Madden MD, and they quickly became good friends. He agreed to wait for them while they went to the Holy Land and he returned with them to Malta and then on to England. He also joined their party to the East in 1840 and it seems most likely that Montefiore would have taken his advice in medical matters. For example, on 1st August 1840 Moses "took a blue pill on retiring, by Dr. Madden's advice". There is no note of Montefiore's medical complaint.

Dr. Madden was in the Eastern Mediterranean 1824 to 1828 and in 1829 published the first edition of his "Travels". In it there is a full discussion of the likely diseases one faced in the "East" and his remedies for them. In the first edition [but not repeated in subsequent editions] he detailed his "AFRICAN TRAVELLERS' CHEST":

"Sulphate of Bark 2 oz
Powdered Bark 2 lbs.
James' Powders 8 packets
Calomel 3 oz.
Rhubarb 2 oz"

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192 R.D. Barnett [n.43], p.162
193 R.R. Madden [n.191]
194 ibid., p.276ff

- 97 -
Powdered jualp       3 oz  
Sulphate of Zinc    2 oz  
Sugar of Lead       4 oz  
Blistering Plasters 6 oz  
Spermaceti ointment 3 oz  
Citric ointment     2 oz  
Mercurial ointment  4 oz  
Balsam capivi       4 oz  
Extract of colocynth 3 oz 
Ipecucuanha         2 oz  
Opium powdered     1 oz  
Laudanum            3 oz  
Diluted sulphuric acid 4 oz
Effervescing Seidlington powders in bottle  1lb.
Lint, bandages and adhesive plaster
Lancets and a stomach pump
Scales and weights, and
Johnson or Tropical Oxali"

In addition, his remedies recommended the use of castor oil, "decoction of Marshmallow", "colocynth pills" and an "infusion of tamarinds", "bathing with vinegar"195. Maybe these were to be purchased locally. Of course, the medicines mentioned above were well known in 1827 and so must have formed the basis of the Montefiores' medicine chest even before meeting Dr. Madden.

Dr. Robert Richardson travelled through the Near East in 1816-18 and published his account in 1822. He says, "Doctors should take with them surgical instruments and a medicine chest well stocked out with: Calomel, Jalap, Bark, liqur [sic] of Ammonia, powder for soda, spirit of nitrus oxide, opium, ointment of nitrate of mercury. Other medicines you can buy along the way"196.

195 Madden [n.191] [2nd edition], pp.287, 282, 285, 286 respectively.
196 Richardson [n.92], p.393
Irby and Mangles record that in 1817 in Acre they give first aid to an injured Sheik's son and add: "A *small medicine chest, with Reece's or some other book on the subject would be a truly valuable article in the trunk of a traveller in these countries, and could be their surest means of conciliating the native."\(^{197}\). As well as a medicine chest, a book on first aid was recommended.

Dr. Richard Reece [1775-1831] was the son of a Herefordshire clergyman. He qualified at a young age as a doctor of medicine and at twenty was physician to Hereford Infirmary and at twenty-one he was a member of the Royal College of Surgeons. His popular medical book was most successful; it was first published in 1802, by 1828 was in its fifteenth edition and the seventeenth edition was published in 1850\(^{198}\), nineteen years after Dr. Reece's death. It was regularly advertised in the *Times* newspaper in 1826/27 and it seems most likely that by 1827 the Montefiores would have known of it, and it is probable that they took a copy of "Reece's" with them on their travels and had one in their home. The book lists common drugs, how to dispense them, their doses for adults and children, and for which illnesses.

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\(^{197}\) Irby and Mangles [n.100], p.393

\(^{198}\) In 1847 the first modern Guide Book, "Murrays" Handbook for Travellers in Egypt had appeared, and in 1858 a companion volume dealing with Syria and Palestine. Both contain advice on health and medicines, but the sections in each are surprisingly short. The book on Egypt deals with medicines in one short paragraph [p.5]. Two pages [6-7] suffice for a description of diseases in Egypt and their treatment. The section starts "Diseases of Egypt are few". Yet many of the early travellers succumbed to them and several died, eg. Burkhardt and Belzoni, during their travels.
Gifts
The gracious traveller will take presents to repay kindnesses during the journey. Some will have been taken from home, some purchased along the way. William Rae Wilson, who set out from London in October 1818 to travel to Egypt and the Holy Land, mentions in his "Travels" purchasing coins and watches in Paris to give as presents when he reached the East\(^{199}\). While travelling through Palestine he declares that presents are there held in "great estimation" and recommends "cutlery, pistols, and telescopes of English manufacture"\(^{200}\). Robert Richardson MD had travelled during 1816 to 1818 and, when going from Jaffa to Jerusalem, visited the "Sheik of Abougosh" who proudly showed him a telescope given to him by Sir Sidney Smith in 1799\(^{201}\). Edward Clarke had travelled through the East in 1812, and he describes visiting "Djezzar Pacha" in Acre and giving him "an ornamental telescope", as a present from Sir Sidney Smith [who had of course helped him in 1799 defeat Napoleon]. The Pacha "said he had a plain one already that was better!"\(^{202}\). Later, Lord Byron wrote to Clarke, "I have sent my copy to Sir Sidney Smith who will derive much gratification from your anecdotes of Djezzar, this 'energetic old man'"\(^{203}\). There is no record as to Sir Sidney Smith's reaction to the Pacha's less than gracious reaction to the present he sent out from England via Clarke!

Telescopes were not the only recommended gifts. Buckingham mentions that Dr. Bankes had met an Abyssinian prince near the Dead Sea and had given him as a present "a piece of

\(^{199}\) William Rae Wilson, *Travels to Egypt and the Holy Land* [London, 1823], p.3.
\(^{200}\) ibid., p.231
\(^{201}\) Richardson [n.92], p.231
\(^{202}\) Clarke [n.122], p.371
\(^{203}\) Otter [n.46], p.627
white linen large enough for a turban and a pair of English scissors [sic.]")204. While Mrs. Belzoni was still in Cairo many Egyptian women came to see her and she gave them glass beads "and a large looking glass" as presents205.

When the Montefiores arrived at Jaffa on Tuesday 16th October 1827 the captain of the ship, Captain Jones, was sent to get permission for them to land. The Governor of Jaffa objected but, "the scruples of the man in power having been overcome by the expostulations of the consul, and the present of a telescope..."206. On the 20th October, Moses was received by the Governor of Jerusalem. "Mr. Montefiore sent him a valuable telescope as a souvenir of the pleasant interviews"207.

In 1839, after visiting Jerusalem, the Montefiores made for Hebron and tried to enter the Cave of Machpelah. They were prevented by fanatical Muslims despite having written permission from the Governor of Jerusalem. Riots ensued and, fearing for their safety, the Governor sent troops to protect them. Even so, they decided it was sadly not prudent to enter and, when leaving Hebron for Ashdod, "M____ returned a letter of thanks to the governor, with a present of a valuable telescope"208. Montefiore had joined the Englishmen bearing gifts of telescopes! It seems most likely that these and other presents were purchased in England to be used when necessary. Their welcome reception on the first trip encouraged him to take another supply on the second.

204 Buckingham [n.47], p.184
205 Belzoni [n.87], p.443 and see p.93
206 Private Journal, p.188
207 Loewe's "Diaries" 1:42
208 Notes From A Journal, p.312
Religious Requisites
Having investigated the equipment and baggage that any traveller would need to take, the thesis now considers the specific religious items the Montefiores, as Jews, would need to take.

On Thursday 17th May 1827, after a perilous climb to the top of the Mt. Cenis pass, Judith records: "Montefiore and myself wrote a few sentences in our Prayer book and Bible, in gratitude for our safe passage to the summit of this Alpine barrier". On their return journey, at the same spot Judith records, "wrote a Psalm in the Bible and something in the Prayer Book." From this it is clear that the Montefiores took with them at least a prayerbook and a bible. A photograph of these two books shows them to be Hebrew/English editions. Myrtle Franklin, who today owns the books, writes, "his Bible, given to him by his mother with 'her kind love' on the occasion of his marriage was plainly in frequent use, as was his Prayer Book. Both are heavily annotated; particularly moving were his notes above the 84th verse of Psalm 99 about his entering the Holy City of Jerusalem. 17 October 1827." [In the 1887 Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition was "SMALL ENGLISH BIBLE, formerly belonging to Sir Moses Montefiore. Certain notes in the handwriting of Sir Moses". It was exhibited by Josephine H. Lublin. Did Sir Moses have a second bible - or was this the same as the one mentioned above?] There are many references to the Montefiores on the Sabbath "saying our prayers" - so clearly the prayerbook was regularly used and not just for making pious notes.

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209 Private Journal, p.24
210 Private Journal MS, 13th February 1828, Printed p.316
211 Franklin-Bor [n.132], facing p.97
212 ibid., Foreword
213 See n.229 below
In the photograph just mentioned there is also his "Tefillin case", a velvet bag inscribed with Hebrew [not legible]. Moses must have taken with him in 1827 his Tefillin [phylactories] for weekday morning service and his prayer shawl [tallit]. A modern photograph also shows his tallit though whether this is the one used in 1827 is unlikely. He clearly had more than one, and is recorded as being buried in the one given him by his wife on their wedding day.

Did the Montefiores have with them in 1827 any other religious requisites? It seems likely they would have travelled with candle-sticks for the Sabbath [and Festival] Eve. On Friday, 7th December, on their return journey they were in quarantine in the Lazaretto in Malta when Judith's printed Journal records "we passed a delightful evening" and the hand-written original continued, "with wax candles". The implication seems to be that on board ship or while in the East they did not have wax candles for Friday evening. Perhaps they made do with an oil lamp? Moses mentions on the return journey, under Petty Cash, "31 January 2lb. Wax Candles". When they were leaving Poggibonsi and elsewhere he notes paying for candles in hotels. Why purchase candles? Could they be for Sabbath use? But then, when they are only two or three Sabbaths from home, why would they need 2lbs? [However, at this point they were travelling by night, so the candles might have been for the carriage lamps.]

On several of their journeys they were away over Chanukkah [the Festival of Lights]. On the 1st December 1828 on their Yorkshire holiday Judith's Journal records: "2d night Hanukah". And a year earlier on Thursday, 13th December, while still in the Lazaretto, Judith records: "First

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214 Franklin-Bor [n.132], p.112
215 Moses' Account Book, p.131
216 Judith's Manuscript Diary 1825/28, ad.loc.
evening of Hanuka"217. Loewe's Diaries puts it this way: "This being the 1966th anniversary of the victory of the Maccabees, Mr. & Mrs. Montefiore celebrated it by special prayers and thanksgivings, an additional number of lights being burned in honour of the occasion"218. As this is not in Judith's Journal it must have come from Moses' lost diary. These references imply that they took with them the special Chanukkiah or Chanukkah lamp with eight places for lights plus a ninth light used to kindle the others. Most likely it was the type that burned [olive] oil rather than candles and there is an illustration of one in Myrtle Franklin's book; she labels it, "the travelling lamp used to light the candles for Chanukah"219, although it does seem to use oil and not candles.

On the same page is a photograph of "Travelling Scrolls and Tefillin in Italian velvet-lined box". Illustrated is a substantial and beautiful box with a small parchment Torah scroll and a slightly larger scroll below it. Sir Moses commissioned many scrolls to be written and specific mention is made of taking one with him on later journeys. A different, and more ornate, "Travelling Sepher and Case"220 appeared in the 1985 Memorial Exhibition catalogue which also mentioned other "religious items of reduced size for travel purposes"221. It seems likely, however, that on this first trip to Jerusalem he did not take with him an actual Torah scroll. In places without a Synagogue, where he celebrated the Sabbath privately, he could have read the week's portion from his Bible. On this first trip to the Holy Land the Montefiores probably had with them the most

217 Private Journal, p.267
218 Loewe "Diaries" I:49
219 Franklin-Bor [n.132], facing p.97
221 ibid., p.40
basic religious items. In time, as their religious observance grew, and the party included Dr. Loewe who could have read the scroll, the range of religious articles expanded.

On the 22nd April 1816, the day before Lord Byron left England to go into "exile", friends arrived with gifts. He records, "Nathan, the Jewish composer, who has set Hebrew Melodies to music, supplied a touch of Oriental romanticism in the form of a gift of Passover bread"; a puzzling gift until one reads one of the few surviving snippets from Moses Montefiore's diary of 1827/28:

"Since Friday last we had encountered continual gales of wind with a heavy sea. This morning the sky again assumed its most threatening aspect, dark clouds arising in all directions, Captain Anderson foretelling a repetition of the late dreadful weather. At this awful pause, a little before noon, I threw into the sea a small piece of my last year's Passover cake laid by on the evening of the Agada, supplicating the Almighty to protect us and to avert the coming tempest, likewise to tranquilize the still-troubled Ocean. Between 7 and 8 o'clock in the evening. It is with the warmest gratitude I humbly acknowledge the Almighty's kind interposition on our behalf. The clouds which appeared to everyone on board so dreadfully threatening during the morning, have as it were by a miracle, dispersed, and instead of pouring their fury upon us the sea also became every hour more and more tranquil."

The snippet survived because Sir Moses used to read it out on subsequent Seder evenings of Passover. The late Eric

\(^{222}\) Peter Quennell, *Byron: The Years of Fame/Byron in Italy* [London, 1974], p.246

\(^{223}\) Franklin-Bor [n.132], p.39; copy of original in Appendix 2

- 105 -
Lipson thought it a Maltese custom to keep a piece of Afikomen [a special bit of the Passover unleavened bread] as an anti-storm device, linking it to the crossing of the Red Sea.

Mrs. Hazel Carner, a collateral descendant of Sir Moses, has been interviewed. She reads out each Seder night the page quoted above from Sir Moses' Diary. She affirms [as does Dayyan P. Toledano] that it is a Sephardi custom to keep a piece of Afikomen, presumably as a "good luck charm". Rabbi Abraham Levy has also heard of the custom and the belief that it can quell storms. Philip Goodman says "Moroccan Jews believe that during a voyage the tossing of the Afikomen into a strong sea will ensure a calm and safe journey, for it is written Mikol Tzarah Hitzilani - 'For he hath delivered me out of all trouble' [Psalm 54, verse 9] and the first letter of these words spell matzah". Sir Moses, when travelling over Passover, did send pieces of matzah to non-Jewish friends; as well as its power to quell storms, matzah was clearly considered generally a good luck charm.

The final requirement before setting out, but really the most important, was to arrange for the financing of the journey and also the necessary passports and letters of introduction.

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225 Loewe "Diaries" II:91
Passports
Passports grew out of the needs of the bearer, rather than the absolute requirement of the state or government. They were a means of identification and a request for safe passage. As such, you sought to get your passport signed by the person in greatest authority, possibly royalty or, more usually, government ministers. Up to the reign of Charles II all British passports were signed by the Sovereign, but increasingly they were signed by the Secretary of State. The last "Royal Passport" issued was in March 1794 to "Robert Lister Esquire, Ambassador to the Ottoman Ports". However, by the 17th century ordinary travellers could purchase a "passport" in, say, Dover signed by a notary. There is an entry in Moses' Account Book under "Petty Expenses" for Wednesday, 2nd May in Dover, "Affidavit by Master in Chancery 2/6". Was this to obtain a passport? There is no further indication given. Originally passports were issued for a specific journey and for all the members of the party including the travelling servants. It was not until the end of the 19th century that governments required passports to regulate entry across their borders.

Moses Montefiore's passport, issued on the 28th January 1858, exists in the Shandel/Lipson Collection and reads, "Sir Moses Montefiore, Baronet, British Subject / accompanied by Lady Montefiore, travelling on / the Continent with unpaid servant". It is made of vellum cardboard and is printed with the specific information written in. Several visas were then stamped onto the passport for various places they planned to visit, and were stamped over on arrival. Others were stamped on an

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226 From an article, A Brief History of Passports issued by United Kingdom Passport Agency, November 1962
227 Shandel/Lipson 1858:2 - this passport is also illustrated in Nahon [n.176] p.94
228 The word "unpaid" is uncertain
accompanying piece of paper. A copy of the passport in found in Appendix 5.

In 1887, two years after Sir Moses' death, an "Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition" was held at the Royal Albert Hall and other sites in London. It was most extensive with over a thousand items on display. The only individual to get a section in the catalogue to himself was Sir Moses. Item 689 reads: "PASSPORTS OF SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE Per I. Spielman. For the years 1816, 1823, 1836, 1857, 1859, 1862, 1863, 1867, 1868, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1875" 229

Isador Spielman owned the collection at that time, but what happened to it subsequently is sadly not known. It is possible to trace the specific journeys for which each passport was issued, eg. 1816 and 1823 for "Continental Tours" and 1836 to Frankfurt to visit the dying Nathan Meyer Rothschild. Strangely, none of the passports for the early visits to Egypt and Palestine existed in the collection - perhaps Sir Moses kept a separate collection of memorabilia specific to the Holy Land.

There are several references to the Montefiores using a passport for the 1827/28 journey, and in Moses' Account Book [p.134-135] there are two pages headed "Passports, Customs House etc." with references to the costs of obtaining visas, etc. This aspect of the journey will be dealt with in a later chapter but here note that although a passport was certainly taken in 1827 it no longer exists.

Letters of Introduction and Credit

Letters of Introduction appear to have been a much greater necessity than formal passports. John Carne set out on the 26th March 1821 to visit "the holy places". He was supported by his father, a Cornish banker and, in letters home, gives his father fulsome descriptions of his care in travelling. In a letter sent before setting out he wrote to his father:

"I have been fortunate in procuring excellent letters of introduction, partly through Dr. Clarke, and partly through other channels." "...a letter from Dr. Clarke to Mr. Salt, Consul-General for Egypt. Do from Mr. Jowett to do; Do from do to Mr. Conner, Constantinople, whose diary in the Missionary Register through the East was so interesting; Do from Mr. Jowett to P. Lee, Esq., Consul in Alexandria; Do and do to Fras. Werry Esqr., do at Smyrna; Do and do to John Barker, Esq, Consul at Aleppo; a letter from Lord Teignmouth to Lord Strangford, our Ambassador in Constantinople; a letter also from Mr. Allen to Lord Strangford; do do to Lady Hester Stanhope; [etc. etc.] ...

"Besides many other letters to various merchants in different parts." "Besides I have some commissions to execute [Mr. Allen of African Institute - Mr. Miller, British & Foreign School Society, British & Foreign Bible Society, Methodist Mission Society ..."

At the end of Moses' Account Book for 1827 there are two pages headed "Letters of Introduction and Credit". The first entry is "On Malta,

To His Excellency The Honrble Sir Frederick Ponsonby &c
&c&c/

From Lord Auckland.

" " " From Lord Strangford

James Bell & Co. From Chs. de Rothschild"

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230 Ross [n.135], p.20
According to Montefiore's Diary [as recorded by Loewe]:
"Get letters of introduction from Lord Auckland for Malta and from J. Alexander for Constantinople"\(^{231}\). He later records "At the Palace Mr. Montefiore delivered Lord Auckland's and Lord Strangford's letters to the Governor, the Hon. F.C. Ponsonby."\(^{232}\) which seems to accord with the two introductions Moses claims to have in his Account Book. The only information Judith gives is that "Montefiore went this day to present his letters to the governor"\(^{233}\).

Lord Auckland [George Eden] 1784-1849 was to become President of the Board of Trade [1830-34], First Lord of the Admiralty [1834-35] and Governor of India [1835-42], so it is not immediately apparent in what political capacity in 1827 he gave letters of introduction to Montefiore. [His father was also involved in Government, but died in 1814.] However, he was a director of the Silk Company in Malta and probably this is how Moses knew him and why he could provide introductions in Malta. Lord Strangford had been Ambassador in Constantinople until 1824 [see Carne's letter above] and presumably had connections in that city as well as Malta. Charles de Rothschild was usually known as Carl Mayer [1788-1855], the fourth son of Mayer Amschel Rothschild, "the last of the Frankfurt Five to leave his home town and establish himself in a foreign capital"\(^{234}\). He had established a branch of the bank in Naples in 1821. Charles never really settled and spent more time in Frankfurt than Naples, and the Montefiores met up with the Rothschilds as they were travelling between Mola di Gaëta and Naples; "detained by want of horses till the hour of ten; the Baron Charles de Rothschild, with his family,

\(^{231}\) Loewe "Diaries" I:35
\(^{232}\) ibid., p.37
\(^{233}\) Private Journal, p.94
\(^{234}\) Derek Wilson, Rothschild, A Story of Wealth and Power [London, 1988], pp.29f
having set off at five, and engaged all the relays for the conveyance of his suit"\textsuperscript{235}. It seems that the Rothschilds were travelling north because, once in Naples, Judith says, "Mr. Hanau called, a gentleman who has charge of Baron Charles de Rothschild's house during his absence"\textsuperscript{236}.

There is no record of meeting the Rothschilds during their long stay in Naples on the outward journey, but many references on the homeward visit. If the Rothschilds were not in Naples the questions remains: when did Moses pick up this letter of introduction? Did he meet Charles as their paths crossed between Rome and Naples? Did Charles leave the letter with his agent in Naples or had it been posted to Moses via the Rothschild's private mail? We can see in Moses' Account Book [p.140 "Per Contra"]: "1827 25 June Naples of Chs de Rothschild £200". This was their last day in Naples before sailing for Malta and Moses cashed some money on that day, perhaps to pay the captain of the Portia, possibly at the same time picking up this letter of introduction from "Charles de Rothschild to James Bell & Co. in Malta". Details of Montefiore's actual use of this letter of credit are found on p.140 below.

The final letter of introduction to Malta almost arrived too late. Judith recorded from Calais Thursday 5th May, "Our excellent friends, Mr. & Mrs. David Saloman, arriving at two o'clock this morning, after a tedious passage from London of twenty-two hours ... [they were travelling on with the Montefiores, but left London a day later]. They brought us a letter from Mr. D______, a friend of Montefiores, to Admiral Codrington, now commanding on the Mediterranean Station; an introduction which may prove of great service in aiding our progress"\textsuperscript{237}. Unfortunately the identity of

\textsuperscript{235} Private Journal, p.55
\textsuperscript{236} ibid., p.59
\textsuperscript{237} ibid., p.3
Mr. D_______ is not known but clearly even last-minute introductions were worth taking.

It has already been noted that it was vital to get naval protection on the voyage to the eastern Mediterranean. In fact the Montefiores did not meet the Admiral on their outward journey as he had already set sail for the Levant on the 19th June 1827. They did meet him on their return. It was the Governor himself who authorised the Montefiores on the Leonidas joining the convoy of HMS Gannet.

Moses' Account Book also lists letters of introduction for Constantinople:

"Constantinople

From Ed Lees To John Cartwright Esqr. C.G.

Geo Canning His Excellency The Rt. Honourable

Stratford Canning. His Majesty's Ambassador
Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary &c &c &c

Lord Strangford &c

Mr. Alexander &c

Lord Strangford To Monsieur Chabat. Premier Drogueman
de l'ambassade de Britanique

R.L. Elliot Esqr. Oriental Sectry. to
the British Embassy &c &c.

Prince Esterhazy Attens le Baron de Ottenfels
Intercore &c."

These letters of introduction are at first curious as the Montefiores did not go to Constantinople [nor to Smyrna though his Account Book says he carried letters of credit for there]. In the current political climate, it would not have been wise to go. However, it is clear that travellers went well armed with letters to cover eventualities ... and

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238 C.G. Pitcairn-Jones [n.19], p.xxviii
239 Private Journal, p.114
for Constantinople it was worth getting letters especially from George Canning\textsuperscript{240}.

The idea of getting more Letters than actually needed is demonstrated by Sir Moses' much later journey to Morocco in 1863/64. As well as asking the Foreign Office for letters for Madrid and Morocco, he wrote to Baron Rothschild, "leaving for Morocco in 2-3 days. Request letter of Credit for £5,000 on Paris, Bayonne, Madrid, Cadiz, Gibraltar, Malta, Naples, Beyrout plus letters of introduction to any person in these places"\textsuperscript{241}. Why Beirut and not Tangier or Mogador?

Regarding the 1827/28 journey, it is striking that he took with him no letters of introduction to Alexandria. This could illustrate the lack of British interest in Egypt, although they had a consul general and consul there. More likely it illustrated Montefiore's lack of contacts. He did pick up letters of introduction for Alexandria from Sir Frederick Hankey [First Secretary] and the Governor in Malta\textsuperscript{242}. And he was not without private contacts in Alexandria for he had with him several letters of Credit for Alexandria [see below, p.120].

The Montefiores' relatively unimportant status in 1827 is reflected by comparing the list above with the list Dr. Loewe records as being taken on their second visit to the Holy Land in 1838; "letters of Introduction from Lord

\textsuperscript{240} On 3rd August 1825 Moses went with a friend to take a letter he had from Canning for Canning's niece, a nun in Cork, indicating he had access to the Foreign Secretary. Judith's 1825 Manuscript Diary ad.loc.


\textsuperscript{242} Private Journal, p.113
Palmerston to her Majesty's Ambassador and Consul in Paris, Florence, Rome, Naples, Malta, Alexandria and Constantinople, as also to the Admiral on the Mediterranean Station ..." ... also ... "to the Governor of Malta" and for Baron Lionel de Rothschild via the French family: "to the French Admiral on the Mediterranean Station and the Ministers and Consuls". From this time on, as Sir Moses' fame and influence increased, so did the number and importance of his letters of introduction.

One final introduction of a different nature can be mentioned. According to Hyman A. Simons, the Chief Rabbi Solomon Hirschell provided Montefiore with a letter of introduction to a relative in Jerusalem. The letter was said to include a request for Moses to plead with the settled Jewish community to be more welcoming of new arrivals from Europe. Simons also claims that Hirschell asked Moses to visit a Mr. Meldel with a request to "promote amity there between the Portuguese and Polish congregations". According to Dr. Loewe, Montefiore carried out this request.

In Moses' Account Book, under "Postage of letters" [p.126] it says, "S 13 May at Lyons received from Joseph Salomons enclosing one from Rev. Meldola, with an Introduction to Jerusalem. Frs.5.8" Raphael Meldola [1754-1828] was born in Leghorn and was the Haham [chief rabbi] of the Sephardim in London. Perhaps he had heard that the Chief Rabbi of the Ashkenazim had given a letter of introduction and had one of his own posted on!

243 Loewe "Diaries" I:149
244 Hyman A. Simons, Forty Years a Chief Rabbi [London 1980], p.xx [sadly Simons does not quote his sources]
245 Loewe "Diaries" I:41
In his Account Books, Montefiore lumped together "Letters of Introduction and Credit". The latter might also have served the purpose of the former. Alexander Kinglake wrote in "Eothen": "...at Cairo. I knew no one in the place and had no letters of introduction but I carried letters of credit; and it often happens in places remote from England that those "advices" operate as a sort of introduction, and obtain for the bearer such ordinary civilities as it may be in the power of the banker to offer"\(^{246}\).

A letter from Nathaniel Meyer Rothschild, seeking help for Montefiore on his second visit to the Continent in 1816 illustrates the link between letters of credit and introduction and makes it seem most likely that Montefiore set out in 1827 with similar letters obtained by the Rothschilds.

"Sir,

My Brother in law Mr M Montefiore being about to make a Tour of pleasure through Switzerland & Italy with his Lady & sister. I shall esteem it a favor of you to give me a letter of introduction for him to any of your Friends in those Countries and likewise a Credit to the Amount of Two Hundred Pounds Sterling for which I hold myself responsible.

Your compliance will Oblige.

Sir

Your very Obedt Serv.

[signed] N M Rothschild"\(^{247}\)

\(^{246}\) Alexander Kinglake, Eothen [London 1846], p.193

\(^{247}\) Rothschild Archives R.Fam C/30/2
Money: How much to take and how

Two surviving letters from Moses to Nathan Meyer Rothschild give a clear idea of how even a financier like Moses Montefiore had to learn that foreign travel can prove more expensive than estimated. In 1818 they were in Rome. "As I shall be obliged to avail myself shortly of your kind letters of Credit, my money beginning to run short..." But even this was not enough for two days later Moses wrote from Florence, "A few days back I had the pleasure of writing to you to request you would honour two bills I had drawn at Rome amounting together to £400. I have now to entreat your protection to the following draft that I drew yesterday at Leghorn. £500 at 10 days sight Order of Senr. Gribhard & Co." and he continues, "to cover any other draft I may have occasion to draw previous to my arrival in England, I enclose a power of Attorney for the Sale of Navy 5% Com. & beg you will effect the sale of such part as will reimburse the amount you may have the goodness to advance for my account." He was already learning the unexpected expense of travel.

Thus it might be assumed that by 1827 Moses had a reasonable idea of what the Continental stages of the journey might cost him. In 1818 there had been several guide books available that listed the costs of horses, gates, hotels, etc. so even a first-time traveller could make some estimate of likely costs.

Rothschild Archives: R.Fam.C/30/4 Rome 10th February 1818

ibid. R.Fam.C/30/5

Regarding travelling to the Near East, several travel journals published by 1827 give ideas of costs, but not in a systematic way. For instance, Buckingham says that the cost to stay at the convent in Jerusalem was "a Spanish dollar per day"\textsuperscript{251}, that to purchase a horse in Jerusalem for onward travel was "400 piastres or less than £20 sterling"\textsuperscript{252}. Earlier he had described getting in Acre "supper of rice, eggs, olives and salad" and this cost "3½ piastres, little more than half a dollar"\textsuperscript{253}. John Carne, writing to his father on the 26th March 1821 said, "The Rev. Mr. Jowett, the chief director of the Church Mission abroad, who has travelled in the East, and with whom I spent an evening, told me the expenses of travelling there would be about £500 a year"\textsuperscript{254}. So, if not from books, conversation with previous travellers could give you some idea of costs.

Irby and Mangles ran out of money in Aleppo and had to borrow from the British Consul, Mr. Barker\textsuperscript{255}. They do list a few prices in Syria, eg. "2 piastres [ie. 1s 5d.] for admission to Khan, 4 paras [1d.] for lodging, 1 para for each horse ..."\textsuperscript{256}. Joliffe, in the "Instructions for Travellers in Palestine" gives some sketchy information.

"5. What wages should an interpreter receive?  
A Spanish dollar a day.

6. What are the ordinary charges per day at inns?  
There are no inns except one, at Alexandria, and there it cost for myself and servant nearly a guinea a day

\textsuperscript{251} Buckingham, [n.47], p.290
\textsuperscript{252} ibid., p.288
\textsuperscript{253} ibid. p.64
\textsuperscript{254} Ross [n.135], p.19 [NB: it cost Montefiore £550 just to hire the Leonidas from Malta]
\textsuperscript{255} Irby & Mangles [n.100], p.72
\textsuperscript{256} ibid. p.75
7. [in Cairo] ... at the Convent, you should pay about half a dollar a day for each person.

9. [in Jerusalem] Roman Catholic Convent ... about two dollars a day for each person and one dollar per diem for the whole party to the dragoman..."257

Of the works published before 1827 only Turner gives any real help for travellers preparing to travel in the Levant. For example, "Preliminary Research on the Money, Weights and Measurements of Turkey ... 40 paras make one 1 piastre" etc.258 and, "Exchange rates: when I arrived in Turkey in 1812 a bill on London procured only 17 piastres for the pound sterling, for which 30 piastres were given in 1816"259 In the appendix to Volume II he gives "Bills of Expense in the Voyage from Alexandria to Cairo" and "Expenses of Preparation for the Journey to Mount Sinai" and in the appendix to Volume III, "List of Prices of provisions in Constantinople October 2nd 1816".

From the published material available in 1827 a traveller to Egypt and Syria could have obtained only a sketchy idea of likely costs. As Montefiore did not know the details of his route or mode of transport, or length of the journey before setting out, it is obvious he needed to have available various methods of covering actual expenditure.

In Moses' Account Book for 1827, page 130 is headed "Cash Account" and two entries are of interest:

257 Thomas R. Joliffe, Letters from Palestine. Descriptions of a Tour Through Galilee and Judea etc. [London, 1819], pp.257-259

258 Turner [n.117], p.xvii

259 ibid., p.xix
"F/18 May In my Tin Box 25/2 Frs. 1000] " " S.Draw 200/1 " 4000] Total " " C.Seat 75/1 " 1500] Fr.7018.10 " " Purse 25/1 " 18.10]

"Su 20 May

S. Draw 200/1 4000
C. Seat "

etc.

Not only does it illustrate the cash he took with him but also that he divided the cash into various safe places around his Travelling Carriage. The Tin Box was probably in a well under the floor, the "Side Draw" and "C.Seat" being further places for secreting valuables. Note that only a small amount was carried in his purse.

His Account Book for the 1830 holiday in the Low Countries records "Gold etc. which I had since my last journey.

20 pieces of Frs. 40/- 1160
1 Louis D'Or 24
Silver Fr 7.10
Fr. 1191.10"  

Perhaps Montefiore set out in 1827 with, in his "Tin Box" or elsewhere, some foreign coins left over from a previous trip.

Letters of Credit and Bills of Exchange

One of the "safer" ways of having money available while travelling were "Letters of Credit" and "Bills of Exchange". They had already been common practice for travellers in the

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260 see under "Travelling Expenses to Berlin" p.7
17th and 18th centuries. A letter of credit was issued by your banker in your name and addressed to his named correspondent in another city. Usually this would be a banker or occasionally a merchant. You would present the letter of credit to this correspondent and he would advance you the money, claiming it back from the issuer of the letter, who would expect you to repay him on your return [of course, with the necessary agreed commission]. It has already been noted above how Montefiore in 1814 and 1818 advised his banker, N.M. Rothschild, that he had "cashed" a letter of credit and was making arrangements for Rothschild to be paid.

His Account Book lists the letters of credit that Moses Montefiore took with him in 1827. There were four letters of credit for Smyrna, six for Constantinople and the following five for Alexandria:

"From Ralli Brothers on Sechiare & Schilozza £500
Ed Lee & Son on Briggs & Co. £500
Jn Therps Dauburz &c £500
Briggs Brothers & Co. &c £500
Thomson & Mildred &c £500"

It should be noted that though there were five letters from five London bankers, they only gave contact with two bankers in Alexandria, whereas the six introductions in Constantinople were to six different names, a further indication of the lack of British commercial as well as diplomatic activity in Alexandria at the time. The only letter of credit for Malta is "James Bell & Co. From Chas. de Rothschild". On p.127 of the Account Book, under "Malta"

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261 For the 17th century see John Stoye [n.250], eg. p.125 and note 37 on p.344 which gives the text of a typical 17th century bill of exchange. For the 18th century, see Jeremy Black, [n.131], pp.86-107. This chapter contains many references to 18th-century Continental travel books that give precise details of costings.
Constantinople were to six different names, a further indication of the lack of British commercial as well as diplomatic activity in Alexandria at the time. The only letter of credit for Malta is "James Bell & Co. From Chas. de Rothschild". On p.127 of the Account Book, under "Malta" it reads: "30 Sunday reced of James Bell & Co 1000 Sendi and 384 Spanish Dollars". The letter of credit had been cashed in.

Bills of Exchange were slightly different, in that they were not made out to specific foreign financiers, but promised anybody who might exchange them for cash to repay them on presentation of the letter. They were not as popular as letters of credit because the financier might question the validity of either the carrier or banker. They were much like our present-day cheques, and indeed are referred to as such. In his Account Book for 1830 Moses recorded [p.8]

"23 Aug Berlin Check on Jones Loyd No.4473
  to John Peck dated 27 August 1830
9 Sept Rotterdam Check on Jones Loyd & Co No. 4474
  dated 9 Sept. to G.W. Drury for lace etc.
purchased by Judith."

Lower down he wrote, "Bills & Checks 4473-4474" showing that a Bill and "check" were similar instruments. On page 140 of Moses' 1827 Account Book there is also a record of two "Check on Jones Loyd & Co." being cashed by N.M. Rothschild. This was to ensure he had enough money readily available to cover any bills of exchange or credit he would cash in during his journey [see p.347 below].

It is clear that Moses Montefiore, like other travellers, used a variety of ways of taking and obtaining finance while on the journey. Arranging the necessary paperwork must have been quite time consuming. You had to think ahead of likely places you would visit and then get the necessary papers. However the papers could serve more than one purpose; the
letters of credit and bills of exchange could also serve as letters of introduction. Copies of actual letters of credit found tucked into the 1830 Account Book are reproduced in Appendix 7.

Having now established the material items, including money and passports, which needed to be arranged before setting out, the next consideration was who would be in the party, which languages would be needed and, finally, what thought needed to be given to those left behind.
CHAPTER FOUR
THE TRAVELLING PARTY AND THOSE LEFT BEHIND

Travelling Companions

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the age of the "Grand Tour", it was common for travellers on the Continent to seek companions. Wealthy parents sending their sons off would appoint "bear leaders" as tutors, guides and companions. Several famous travellers [for example Boswell] joined with friends for the mere companionship, but there were a number of motives for journeying with companions.

One of Edward Daniel Clarke's eleven volumes opens "Early in the Spring of 1799 when Englishmen were excluded from almost every part of the European Continent by the distracted state of public affairs, four Gentlemen of Jesus College, Cambridge left ... Prof. Malthus, Rev. W. Otter, J.M. Cripps and W.D. Clark LlD...".262 Debarred from France and Italy the four set off to explore northern Europe; they were clearly close companions although Clarke was the most experienced traveller. On his earlier journeys his companion had been his patron [eg. Lord Berwick in Italy in 1792, Hon. B. Paget around Scotland in 1794] but in 1799 the four travelled more as equals, although Cripps was also Clarke's pupil and financed his journey. When it was decided to extend the tour to the Levant Malthus and Otter returned home and Clarke travelled on with Cripps. They were stranded in Constantinople in 1800, "we cannot stir from this place until we get an answer from England; for by the mismanagement of Cripps's friend, we have not received a letter of credit ... "263. It seems that Cripps was paying the expenses.

262 Clarke, [n.122], Part the Third: Scandinavia
263 Otter [n.46], p.444
The Hon. Charles Leonard Irby and Commander James Mangles set out in 1816 to tour the Continent and then extended their travels to take in Egypt and Syria. They travelled as friends. However, Robert Richardson, who also set off from England in 1816 with a friend, Captain Corry R.N., did so as guide and courier for the Earl and Countess of Belmore and their two sons, travelling on the Earl of Belmore's yacht. The young Joseph Carne set out with a companion, largely to assuage his father's worries about the enterprise. He wrote to his father on 26th March 1821: "Dr. Clarke, who was in London during my first week or two's stay ... has been a warm friend to my enterprise... I have been fortunate in meeting with a companion ... a nephew of Dr. Clarkes - Edmund Clarke ...". Carne had to pay his companion's expenses and, while in Egypt, the two fell out and Carne even had to pay Clarke's return fare to get rid of him. William Rae Wilson reports, "I have for some time been in search, even to advertising in the public press, for persons to join me, but having found none, I resolved to prosecute it with a single servant".

The Montefiores invariably travelled with relatives or friends, the size of the party increasing as time went by. It was normal practice to select companions of the same social class and religion, but the Montefiores usually travelled with Christian friends as well as fellow Jews.

Loewe records that on the 13th October 1817 Moses, "accompanied by his wife and several of their relatives, sets out on his second journey to France and Italy". For their first journey in 1815 he makes no mention of travelling companions. In actual fact they had visited Paris even earlier, in May 1814 on what appears, from the only extant letter, to be a business trip, but Judith

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264 Ross [n.135], p.19.
265 Wilson, [n.199], p.509
266 Loewe "Diaries" 1:22
extended it into a holiday to experience the splendours of the city\textsuperscript{267}. They were then travelling on their own. Regarding the "several relatives" in 1817/18, two letters emphasise that the only family member was Rebecca, Moses' young sister\textsuperscript{268}. However, also in the party were Mr. and Mrs. Mazzara, an Italian Catholic couple whom they had met in 1816 in Marseilles.

In 1827 they had also planned for Mr. Mazzara to accompany them and they had invited "our excellent friends, Mr. and Mrs. David Salomons" to join them\textsuperscript{269}. David Salomons was married to Jeanette, Judith's niece who was eighteen years younger than Judith. On other trips the Montefiores took younger relatives, for example the Guedallas in 1855; perhaps they were substitute children for the childless Montefiores. The Montefiores took Rebecca Salomons on holiday to the West Country six months after their return from the Holy Land in 1828\textsuperscript{270}. Constance, Lady Battersea, recalled meeting Sir Moses at her grandmother's house in 1865. He was eighty at the time [she was twenty-two] and contemplating his sixth visit to Jerusalem. She showed interest in his plans and Sir Moss asked, "Why not come with me? You would enjoy the journey from beginning to end and the experience". Writing later, she regretted not taking up the offer\textsuperscript{271}.

Obviously the Montefiores did not need help with the financing of the journey, so why did they appear to need to take with them companions as well as servants? In 1868 when

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{267} Letter from Moses to N.M.Rothschild, 9th May 1814, with addition of note from Judith to Hannah. Rothschild Archives R.Fam. C/30/1
\textsuperscript{268} ibid. R.Fam.C/30/4 and R.Fam.C/30/5
\textsuperscript{269} Private Journal, p.5
\textsuperscript{270} Moses's Account Book, p.62
\textsuperscript{271} Constance Battersea, Reminiscences [London, 1922], p.6. She was a granddaughter of Hannah Rothschild.
\end{footnotes}
Sir Moses went on a mission to Morocco he travelled with a party of seven; they all seemed to have had a specific purpose for being in the party. Dr. Hodgkin was there as Moses' physician, Sampson Samuel was solicitor to the Board of Deputies of British Jews and no doubt was the legal adviser, Haim Guedalla had travelled with Sir Moses to Palestine in 1855 but, being a native of Mogador, had many connections in Morocco. All three were friends, but each had a role to play in the mission. In addition there were Charles Oliffe [his personal servant], Shalom Ferrach [a travelling servant who had already been with Montefiore on a number of tours and may also have been his shochet [ritual slaughterer] and was also a native of Morocco], and finally Albertine Muller, a female servant who perhaps had taken the recently-deceased Judith's place. Dr. Hodgkin says of Albertine, "very familiar with all that can be required either in sickness or in health, from a female attendant on travel".

On later journeys it appears as if the party was carefully made up of people who, as well as providing company, would have their particular uses along the way. However, in 1827 it seems that the Montefiores' companions were chosen for their society rather than their specific usefulness. As it turned out their choice was less than sound [see pp.152 and 296ff].

\[\text{\footnotesize \cite{Hodgkin1866}}\]

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\[\text{\footnotesize Thomas Hodgkin, Narrative of a Journey to Morocco in 1863 and 1864 [London, 1866], p.4}\]
Servants from Home
As well as companions, it was natural for people of the Montefiores' status to take servants with them. Judith's Diary for the first day of their 1827 journey records: "I started from Park Lane at a quarter past eight, in our comfortable travelling-carriage, attended by Armstrong, a servant newly engaged for the excursion."

Who was Thomas Armstrong? Unfortunately, there is no substantial information about him. In 1830 the Montefiores set off on a holiday in the Low Countries and Germany and Moses' Account Book tells us under "Expenses - page 5"

"Joseph Paris Travelling Servant. Nature of [not age written in]"

Joseph Paris at Miss Chifney
No. 5 Castle Street
Long .....Lane"

At least this entry records where Joseph Paris lodged - but unfortunately Moses did not fill in the questions, "Nature of" and "Age". The entry continued: "Engaged him from the 22 June 1830 at £10 per Month / if for less Period than Three Months, if for / a longer time, then only £8 per month". There then followed details of when, how and how much he was actually paid. The next page is headed "Ann Press" and gives details of her pay - but she is already in their employ and so no address is given and her remuneration is presumably her regular pay.

In the 1827 Account Book there are two sections headed "Thomas Armstrong" but neither gives any personal details. Page 120 details the actual payments made to him to cover his wages. Page 144 deals with money given to Armstrong to cover the expenses he has laid out, eg. for horses and post. There are, in fact, many references in the main accounts to money paid to him to cover all sorts of errands, expenses, etc. and these are dealt with below [see pp.290ff]. Nowhere in this Account Book does Moses give any more background to
Armstrong, nor does Judith in her Journal. There are references that illustrate his character, duties, and episodes in his life, but little about his previous experiences that made him suitable for the job. It has been pointed out that following the Napoleonic Wars there were many able men who had fought on the Continent in the various campaigns now seeking employment. They had acquired some French and felt at home on the Continent. Their military training and discipline would ideally suit them to be travelling servants and couriers.

In Kitchiner's "Traveller's Oracle" the following advice is given: "A Servant selected to accompany a Gentleman on his Travels should be conversant with French language, write legibly ..." and then he quotes: "Excellent Servants, Swiss, German or Italian, may always be procured by speaking to the keepers of respectable Hotels: there are many advantages in choosing a servant from his native place. Galignani's "Travellers' Guide" 1825 p.1"

Looking through the newspapers of the period, "Travelling Servants" advertise in the "Situations Wanted" column, especially in the Times and its supplement and in Galignani's Messenger. The Times and Courier for the six months of 1827 leading up to the Montefiores' departure were examined but no advertisement for a "Thomas Armstrong" was found. Of course, this does not mean that the Montefiores did not see his name in another paper - but it is likely that he came recommended by word of mouth.

On the second Holy Land tour in 1838/39 Judith's maid was Ann Flinn - and "Thursday November 1 1838. We started at two o'clock attended by Armstrong, our former courier, whose

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274 Kitchiner [n.144], p.51
services we enjoyed, encouraged by his previous assiduity and ability, to expect his continued usefulness"\(^{275}\). A travelling servant or courier was a specialist post. He was not one of the regular staff and was engaged specifically for a long journey. It is not clear why Joseph Paris was taken on the intervening journey of 1830, but perhaps Thomas Armstrong, being so highly thought of, was engaged by another traveller for a journey at that time.

In June 1829 the Montefiores went with Nathan Meyer and Hannah Rothschild on a holiday to the Isle of Wight and on the 2nd August 1829 on a holiday to Devon with Rebecca Salomons. On each trip they took with them "a woman servant Ann Press"\(^{276}\). There is no mention of a "Travelling Servant". However in November and December of 1828 the Montefiores went on a holiday to Yorkshire and "Paid John Pote our Coachman at the rate of 3/- per day extra while from home"\(^{277}\). There is no mention of a woman servant on this excursion.

In 1840, their next major long tour after the two first tours to the Holy Land, the Montefiores ventured to Alexandria and Constantinople on the "Damascus Affair". In Moses' Account book for the journey we read, "13 July Harriet Rodgers, ladies maid £10 - paid her off in Paris". There is no explanation of her misdemeanour, but on the 19th July, "At great loss for ladies maid"\(^{278}\).

It made sense for Judith to take with her a lady's maid and in 1823, 1828, 1830 she did so. Why she did not set out

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\(^{275}\) Notes from a Journal, Judith Montefiore, ad.loc.

\(^{276}\) Moses' Account Book for 1827/28, pp.23-29

\(^{277}\) ibid.

\(^{278}\) Moses' Account Book for 1840 [Spanish & Portuguese Jews' Congregation Archives]
with one in 1827 is not clear, although she engaged one in
Malta for the leg of the journey onwards to the Holy Land. Their planned travelling companions, David and Jeanette
Salomons did bring with them a lady's maid, but they left
the party at Naples. Perhaps they had planned to share the
one maid and her departure with her mistress forced Judith
to obtain her own in Malta. However, she left her in Malta
on her return journey and returned from Malta to England in
1828 without a lady's maid, only the ever-present Armstrong.

Languages
Any traveller in a foreign country who can speak the local
language has a distinct advantage. In 1827 you could buy
phrase books as we can today. Often they are the same
source of amusement as the present ones, especially in their
selection of phrases to travellers. "The Gentlemen's Pocket
Companion for Travelling in Foreign Parts" printed in 1772
by Thomas Taylor had a section, "Three Dialogues in Six
European Languages" and included such gems as: "I have had
five or six fits of an ague which have much weakened me and
taken away my stomach", "Use us well for we are weary and
half dead", "Sweetheart is my bed made?", "Pull my stockings
off and warm my bed". The only one that looks of immediate
and universal interest was "Where is the privy?/If you see
it not you will soon smell it". As modern travellers know,
such phrasebooks are rarely of much help in out-of-the-way
places.

Volney had written: "Without possessing the language, it is
impossible to appreciate either the genius or character of a
country. Interpreters can never supply the defect of a
direct communication"279. Volney, like other key travellers
to the Middle East, set about learning Arabic before
seriously travelling in the region. Seetzen spent years
learning Arabic before venturing to the East; Burckhardt

279 Volney, [n.49] iv and p.85 where he also refers to
difficulties of travelling without the local language.
spent a year in Aleppo before feeling confident to move on. Richardson, once in Egypt, voiced his inadequacy, "O for the gift of tongues ... if only I could speak Arabic and Turkish". What of the Montefiores' ability to speak foreign languages?

There are mixed messages about their fluency in various languages. Loewe says about Judith, "her studies in foreign languages were most successful. She spoke French, German and Italian fluently and read and translated correctly the Hebrew language of her prayers, as well as portions of the Pentateuch, generally read in synagogue on Sabbaths and Festivals". During their Continental Tour of 1823, Judith recorded: "The little I know of German I now find very useful as little French is spoken here". She then continued, "it appears to me in these last few weeks somewhat like it must have been in Babel with the confusion of the tongues. What with English, French, Dutch and German, the yes, oi, jah and ja take place of each other". The latter quote neatly describes the difficulties the English particularly experienced in travelling [fairly] rapidly through the Continent. The former indicates that Judith may have been fluent in French, but less so in German.

Two weeks later, in Munich, she went to the theatre. "Much delighted with the performance of Nathan der Weise 'Lessing'. I was happy to have understood the principal part of this fine play which I attribute to the distinct pronunciation and good acting.". So she had enough basic German to follow a play. Moses, in writing to his wife, referred to her affectionately as "my lieber [sic.] frau".

280 Richardson [n.92], p.53
281 Loewe's "Diary": I:3
282 Judith's 1823 Manuscript Diary, 21st October, Bonn.
283 ibid. 6th November Munich.
284 Letters in Shandel/Lipson Collection, eg. S/L 1837:1
Judith may subsequently have improved her German because in 1855, on their fourth visit to the Holy Land, Mrs. Jemima Guedalla [who accompanied them with her husband Haim] records that in Hanover "Lady Montefiore visited Madame Pepys and kept up with her an animated conversation in German"\[285\]. However, Jemima was so in awe of her aunt and uncle that she would have been impressed if Judith's German was only basic! Yet in 1838 on their second Holy Land tour, Judith recorded in her Journal, in Mayence, "My German has obtained a compliment from the waiter, who says that I speak it like a native. At least the little I know is found useful\[286\]. Perhaps the waiter's compliments had more to do with a tip and Judith's honesty shows her German to be fairly basic. However, Judith seems to have tried to use what she knew and six days' later she writes, "Surely the German saying is true, Getheilte Freud ist gonze Freud; geheilter Schmerz ist halber Schmertz!"\[287\].

It is also clear that Judith's Italian was far from the "fluent" claim of Dr. Loewe. In Rome in 1823, visiting Abraham, Moses' sick brother, "greatly amused in the evening with being present during Miss Favell, Miss Pache and Dr. Hodkin's Italian lesson. They have a most excellent Master and if my mind could be entirely disengaged from the sick room I would take his instruction."\[288\]. However, in a charming passage, Dr. Loewe recorded that in 1835 at East Cliff Lodge, Judith was showing him the souvenirs she had brought from Egypt. "Mr. Montefiore had laid a wager with her to the effect that if at a stated time she would be able to pass an examination by him in Italian grammar, he would give her a cheque for £100. She was fortunate enough to

\[285\] Mrs. H. Guedalla [n.168], 18th November.
\[286\] Notes from a Journal, p.21.
\[287\] ibid. p.28.
\[288\] Judith's 1823 Manuscript Diary. Friday 5th December
acquit herself most creditably in our presence and received the amount in question."\textsuperscript{289}

The Loewe "Diaries" reproduce a facsimile of a letter Moses wrote to Dr. Loewe in 1835, thanking him for agreeing to "draw up a plan of a Tour to the Holy Land" and continues, "Mrs. Montefiore ... infinitely obliged to you ... writing for her use the Italian and German lines which she will endeavour to translate ... she fears to attempt the Turkish lines at least at present ..."\textsuperscript{290}. Three years' later, on the way to the Holy Land, on board ship between Civitavecchia and Malta, Dr. Loewe gave Judith Arabic lessons\textsuperscript{291}. While in Malta the lessons continued\textsuperscript{292} [and he also taught her some Hebrew]. Later in Alexandria, Judith and Dr. Loewe went into a bookseller to get an Arabic dictionary\textsuperscript{293}. The following week they had reached Beirut and visited the synagogue and Judith was greeted by the women. "They addressed me in Arabic, which, thanks to Dr. Loewe, I was enabled to understand, and in a few words expressed my answer"\textsuperscript{294}.

At the end of his diary for 1826, Moses had written, "By the blessings of God, prepare for a trip to Jerusalem ... Study Italian, French and Hebrew"\textsuperscript{295}. There is evidence that he never got beyond a rudimentary knowledge, despite several attempts to study it. On their second tour through France and Italy in 1817, "On the road, he and Mrs. Montefiore resume their Hebrew studies"\textsuperscript{296}.

\textsuperscript{289} Loewe "Diaries" I:101
\textsuperscript{290} ibid. I:-facing 100
\textsuperscript{291} Notes from a Journal, p.181
\textsuperscript{292} ibid., pp. 186 and 187
\textsuperscript{293} ibid., p.207
\textsuperscript{294} ibid., p.215
\textsuperscript{295} Loewe "Diaries" I:35
\textsuperscript{296} ibid., I:22 - of course, Judith's extant Diary for 1817/18 might provide more evidence
This could suggest an early decision to visit the Holy Land but it was more likely to be in order to improve their understanding of their prayers and bible readings. Two pages from Moses' Hebrew exercise book do exist\(^\text{297}\). They have the Hebrew words clumsily written out with their English translation above. The English writing looks as if by a middle aged person, certainly not by a boy. The extant pages contain Deuteronomy 34:3-4, "the South of the Valley of Jericho, City of Palm Trees with Zoan. And the Lord said to him this is the land which I swore unto Abraham, unto Isaac, unto Jacob saying - I will give it unto thy seed. I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes though shall you not go over thither" [Using Moses' translation: his low ability is shown by the fact that, for instance, he puts "I will give it" over "l'zar-a'cha" and "unto thy seed" over "etnehn-na", ie. transposing them.]

It would be dangerous to read too much into this one scrap from possibly a full notebook, but perhaps it was preserved because of its promise of the Holy Land or maybe it was the one portion of the Torah Sir Moses wanted to know very well as it forms the last portion of the Torah [Pentateuch] and is read on the festival of Simchat Torah by a man given the honour so to read. In his lifetime in his own Synagogue in Ramsgate, Sir Moses as "Chatan Torah" always read this portion.

Regarding other languages, Moses appears to have had a good knowledge of French. During the later Napoleonic Wars he was a Captain in the Surrey Local Militia and in 1814 "devoted several hours a week to the study of French ... He was very particular in not missing a lesson, and entered them all in his diary of the year 1814"\(^\text{298}\). His success is

\(^{297}\) Reproduced for example in S.U. Nahon [n.176], p.20
\(^{298}\) Loewe's "Diaries" I:15 and I:20 where again it records Moses and Judith "devoted part of the day ... to the study of the French language and literature".

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shown by the following extract from a letter written weeks later. On their first visit to France in May 1814 they visited Paris and stayed with the Rothschilds and were overwhelmed by Paris society and architecture. Judith wrote to her sister, "we have great difficulty in making ourselves understood for they speak apparently with such velocity that I can scarcely understand a word. Montefiore goes on pretty well in this respect". Clearly Moses' French was more fluent than Judith's. His lessons had paid off.

In 1827, on the first journey to the Holy Land, Moses had an interview with the Pasha of Egypt [from whom he required a *firman* to travel to Palestine] in Cairo. Moses wrote in his Diary "we remained in conversation three-quarters of an hour" Loewe adds "The Pasha speaking Turkish and his visitor French".

In 1828 on their holiday in Yorkshire Judith recorded that she and Moses, "read Chateaubriand on Egypt" and indeed the two volumes of his travels were in the East Cliff Library in French, but also in English translation. It is not made clear which version they took away for holiday reading. It should be noted that they had in this library, dictionaries in French, Italian and German.

Professor Raphael Loewe has indicated that he thinks Montefiore "commanded Italian and French" but "was innocent of Yiddish ... and did not know any German". However, Moses seems to have known some German. In 1838 in Aix-la-Chapelle Judith records, "M___ went to synagogue. He was greatly pleased with the discourse delivered after the

\[\text{References:}\]

\[\text{299 Letter: Rothschild Archives: R.Fam.C/30/1}\]
\[\text{300 Loewe "Diaries" I:38}\]
\[\text{301 Judith's Manuscript Diary 1825/28. 28th November 1828}\]
service by the rabbi ... whose address and manner were both agreeable and impressive. He spoke in German."303. Moses' business partner and brother-in-law, Nathan Meyer Rothschild, wrote all his business correspondence in "Jude-Deutsch" and clearly spoke German as well as Yiddish. It seems likely that Moses knew some German and might have spoken some phrases with Nathan Meyer and also other Rothschilds and their representatives on the Continent. However, in a letter of 1850, he admitted, "my ignorance of the German Language has caused me to make a mistake ..."304

Moses was born in Leghorn, his family were Italian Jews and several members of his family still lived in Leghorn whom he visited when he could [for example, on the way back from the Holy Land in 1828]. It has already been seen how he could, for fun, test his wife's Italian, and there are several references to his fluency in the language.

On the outward journey in 1828, in Alexandria on Rosh Hashanah [Jewish New Year] they spent time with Mr. & Mrs. Fuar who spoke Arabic and Italian305 and there is a reference to their Dragoman in the Holy Land who spoke Turkish, Arabic and Italian306. Clearly it was in Italian that Moses communicated. Later in Malta, whilst in quarantine, "Lady Stoddart sent in an Italian book"307. However, this could have been for their Italian travelling companion, Mr. Mazzara, but the inclusion of this man in their party in 1817/18, 1823 and 1827/28 must have allowed both of them to improve their Italian.

The one surprising comment on Moses' fluency in Italian is found in a letter Moses wrote on 21st December 1793 to his

303 Notes from a Journal, p.15
304 Rothschild Archives, R.Fam.C/30/30
305 Private Journal, p.169
306 ibid., p.185
307 ibid. p.265-6
uncle, Moses Racah in Leghorn. In it he apologises for not writing earlier, but had delayed, "hoping to do it in a language that would save the trouble of an interpreter"**, an indication that Moses, aged 8, had not yet become comfortable with Italian. When did he learn it? Was it indeed as late as 1826 when, in preparation for their first trip to the Holy Land, he wrote "study Italian, French and Hebrew"? Surely, with earlier visits to his relatives in Italy, he would have learned his Italian before 1826. During their second tour to the Holy Land Judith records going to various synagogues in Rome over Passover. "At one we attended to hear a discourse delivered in Italian and it was certainly of a most impressive character."** On the last day of Passover, "after the service an excellent sermon was delivered in Italian...". From these comments it is not possible to judge the relative proficiency in Italian of Judith and Moses, but it seems to be a language with which they felt comfortable.

In later life, Moses made little attempt to keep up his languages or to learn new ones. With the arrival of Dr. Loewe in his circle, all foreign correspondence was increasingly handed over to him to deal with.

When setting off in 1827 it seems that between them, Moses and Judith had a good to adequate knowledge of French, German and Italian and so were well prepared for Continental travel. For Turkish and Arabic they would have to rely on interpreters, although during their second visit to the Holy Land Judith did make an effort to learn some basic Arabic. As a footnote, it is interesting to note Judith's words on 17th April 1839 on arrival in Malta after five months on the

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308 Original in Jewish National & University Library Jerusalem. File Montefiore, Moses. Copy in Schwadron Collection I/3
309 Notes from a Journal, p.167
310 ibid., p.172

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"At nine o'clock we found ourselves comfortably seated at a nice breakfast table, and listening again to the pleasant sounds of our own language". However well travelled you are and however good at foreign languages, it is comforting to get back to the world of English breakfasts and language!

The People left Behind
When Moses and Judith set off on May 1st 1827 they had no idea how long they would be away. On their second Continental tour in 1817/18 they were away for seven months [October to May], on their third tour in 1823/24 they were away six months [August to February], their tour of Ireland in 1825 a mere two months [August to September]. As it turned out, the 1827/28 journey to the Holy Land would take ten months but they could not have known on setting out how long they would be away from home [though see next page]. From their previous experiences they must have expected it to be more than six months. Being away from home for so long clearly required a number of preparations to enable your property, business, community, family and social affairs to be taken care of in your absence.

The first consideration was the house. The Montefiores had moved in 1825 from New Court in the City to 7 Grosvenor Gate, Park Lane in the West End of London. It was a spacious house and still stands. At the same time they owned another property, Tinley Lodge Farm near Tonbridge [they did not own East Cliff Lodge in Ramsgate until 1831].

In Moses' Account Book for the 1830 holiday in the Low Countries there is: "Memorandum: Benj. Cohen to pay for me Weekly commencing Tu 13 July 1830 To John Harrington 15/- Ann 13/- Cooke 13/- Coachman 5/- Total £2.6.0."

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311 Notes from a Journal, p.182
So Moses left his brother-in-law, Benjamin Cohen [Judith's younger brother who was married to Justina, Moses' youngest sister] the money to pay his servants and to look after other practical matters whilst he was away.

In the 1827 Account Book, Moses wrote on page 145:

"Memorandums
30 April 1827 Check 4028 John Pote £6.12.0 acc. Carriage etc.
Calls on Gas Shares 5 July £1 - 5 Sep £1 or £2 Aug.
I hold 670 Shares
requested Ben Cohen to pay the Taxes etc.
to John Harrington & his Wife together 21s per Month & his wages quarterly at the rate of 26 gns. per Annum

to John Pote 16/- per month
Armstrong £5 per Month.
£400 Bill on Paris @ 215,85 dated 22 Sept. 1826 at 3 months 10,340 Frs.
gave Samson Genese £12.10.- to pay Judah Finzi and the Widow Jack Gabay each 2/6 per week from Friday 4 May 1827 to Friday 15 March 1828 which leaves 20/- for his trouble."

The day before he left for the Holy Land he paid John Pote's account for horses used in the past. He had again asked his brother-in-law to pay the servants and "The Taxes", and to put aside [pay into his account?] Armstrong's wages. He paid Samson Genese to ensure that his charitable donations to Judah Finzi and Judah Gabay's widows would be covered. [Note that the payment was to continue until 15 March 1828 - does this indicate that he calculated he would be back by this date?]

A further description of Moses' frenetic activity the day before departure is found in his Diary for 1840. By this time he had to present apologies for absence and arrange deputy chairmen for several communal bodies as well as the
boards of his business interests. They and the various family commitments are detailed in an article by Richard Barnett\textsuperscript{312}: After a full day spent making business and family visits, Moses' Diary continues, "I was employed writing letters & making out accounts, although extremely fatigued". The next day's entry says, "I was engaged writing letters, &c, till 1/2 past 3; I then reposed for half an hour on the sopha". Such last-minute preparation was Montefiore's usual practice\textsuperscript{313}. Although Montefiore had "retired", he still had many business interests, was involved in a number of communal bodies and he and Judith had a wide family circle. There was much to be done before leaving on a long journey.

So far, the practical matters. What about the family and friends that were left behind? Judith's 1827 Diary records on the 1st May: "For several successive days we have been entertained by the most elegant farewell treats. That of last evening was given by my sister, Hannah de Rothschild ... the party consisted wholly of relations..." The next morning, after leaving Park Lane at 8.15am, Judith drove round the corner to Piccadilly to see the Rothschilds for the last time before departing for the Holy Land. They were still asleep after the party - only young Hannah Meyer was awake, "who rose at the sound of the carriage".

It was an anxious time, leaving relatives and friends, not knowing when, or if, they would be seen them again. On 1st November 1838, the day of leaving on their second tour to Palestine, Judith's Journal records: "Having reached Park Lane, it was no slight comfort to see that our dear brother B______ was sufficiently in spirits to leave his bed, after a long night of suffering ... No circumstance is more painful at the commencement of a long journey than the

\textsuperscript{312} R.D. Barnett [n.43], p.153ff
\textsuperscript{313} ibid. and Louis Loewe, Diary ... July to November 1840 [Ramsgate, 1940], p.15
necessity of saying farewell to a friend bowed down with sickness, or any other species of affliction." After this visit to the sick they went to see Moses' mother in Vauxhall, and then on to Dover.

At the start of a tour of indeterminate length, it is hard to part from the elderly and the sick, who knows if they will be alive on your return. And such was the state of communication and travel in those days that there could be no quick return in case of an emergency, illness or death at home. Yet it was possible for your family to try to contact you. John Carne wrote to his father before leaving for the "East" in 1821: "Do not forget to write to me often, and direct to me either to:— Fras. Werry Esq., Consul at Smyrna or John Barker, Esq., Consul at Aleppo or Henry Salt, Esq., Consul at Cairo. Should I not be on the spot at the time these letters come, it is easy for me to give directions to have them forwarded to me."  

If you could not be precise about your whereabouts, at least you could try to send word, even if you had moved on by the time the letter got to its destination. In Europe, communication was more hopeful and the Montefiores did get letters during this stage of their journey [see below, pp.316ff].

Finally, a prudent traveller setting out on a long and potentially dangerous journey makes sure that an up-to-date will is drawn up before leaving. Although there is no record of this being done by the Montefiores before the 1827 or subsequent long tours, Loewe notes that in 1817: "On October 7th he signs his will; and on the 13th of the same month, accompanied by his wife and several of their relatives, sets out on his second journey to France and Italy."  

314 Ross [n.135], p.22
315 Loewe "Dairies" I:22
It seems highly unlikely that Montefiore, a man of wealth, property and with a variety of business interests, would have set out on such a hazardous journey without ensuring his will was in order. His actual final will and testament exists in the Rothschild Archives\textsuperscript{316} and was published in full in the newspapers of the day\textsuperscript{317}.

The preparations having been completed, the Montefiores were ready to set out. Judith's Private Journal opens, "Tuesday, May 1st, 1827 - we have at length commenced our long-contemplated tour, and are on our way to Egypt and Palestine."

\textsuperscript{316} R.Fam.C/30/53
\textsuperscript{317} Loewe "Diaries" II:349
PART THREE

THE JOURNEY
Tuesday May 1st 1827:
Moses & Judith [with Thomas Armstrong] travel in their own carriage from London via Dartford and Canterbury to Dover.

2nd  Dover to Calais

3rd  Mr. & Mrs. David Salomon [and Jeanette's maid] join them in Calais and travel with them in their own coach. Travel to Boulogne

4th  Abbeville, Beaumont, St. Dennis, Avallon, Autun, [Fri] Macon, reaching Lyon on 11th [Fri]. Rest in Lyon for three days.

12th  Depart Lyon, via Bourgoins, Chamberry, St. Michel, Lanslebourg. Cross the Mt. Cenis pass on 17th May, arriving Turin Friday 18th

21st  Having rested 2 days in Turin cross the River Po and, via Vercelli, reach Milan on 22nd, where they are joined by Mr. Mazzara. Spend three days in Milan.

25th  Milan to Piacenza – [rest for Sabbath] via Bologna, to Florence; arrive 30th May

June

3rd  Four nights in Florence, via Sienna, Radicofarni, Viterbo, arrive in Rome on 6th June.

12th  Depart Rome, and via Mola di Gaêta arrive Naples on 14th June. The Salomons leave them in Naples.

26th  After only twelve days in Naples, leave for Malta on board the Portia

28th  Land at Messina, Sicily due to seasickness. Spend Sabbath in Messina.

July

1st  By lettiga and donkey south across Sicily via Catania to Syracuse, arriving on 4th July

8th  Leave Sicily for Malta in a speranaro and, after eighteen hours, arrive Malta 9th July.
August
15th Leave Malta aboard Leonidas after six weeks in Malta. Now accompanied by Maltese servants, Margaret and Paolo.
26th Arrive Alexandria
30th Leave Alexandria, up Nile for Cairo, arriving back in Alexandria 9th September

October
11th Leave Alexandria on board the Henry William [Mr. Mazzara stays in Alexandria]
16th Arrive Jaffa, land and, by donkey, to Ramleh.
17th Ramleh to Jerusalem, arriving Wednesday 17th October.
21st Depart Jerusalem, arriving Jaffa on 22nd
23rd Depart Jaffa on Henry William, reaching Alexandria on 26th.

November
7th Leave Alexandria on Leonidas with Mr. Mazzara and are joined by Dr. Madden. Do not reach Malta until Saturday, 1st December [ie. 25 days cf. 12 days outward!]

December
1st to 20th: in quarantine in Lazaretto
21st to 2nd January: in Malta.

1828
January
2nd Malta to Naples on HMS Mastiff arriving 12th January.
21st Naples and, via Rome, Leghorn, La Spezia, Genoa, Turin, Mt. Cenis, Lyon, they reach Calais on 27th February and arrive back in London on Friday 29th February 1828. They have been away exactly ten months and spent seven days in the Holy Land and only three full days in Jerusalem, the goal of their tour.
CHAPTER ONE
PLANS and CHANGE OF PLANS

After all the preparation before leaving the first two legs of the journey required little planning as they had done them before. The only decision on the Dover Road from London was where to stop for meals and at Dover and Calais where to stay for the night: and in both places they stayed at their usual hotels [details about choice of hotels will be dealt with fully in a later section on accommodation].

The Dover to Calais crossing was the most convenient, being the shortest and with the most ships and they had already done it at least three times before [in 1816, 1817 and 1823], although there is evidence that in 1814 they crossed to Dunkirk318. Finding a ship was no problem as by 1827 there were regular steam-assisted packet boats between the Channel ports. Moses wrote in his Account Book [p.2]: "We left Dover Harbour at £ p 12 in about two hours we were close in with the French Coast but could not find Calais harbour for an hour more from the density of the fog". The actual crossing took little longer than today but, without radar, finding the port was a problem.

Once in Calais, however, decisions had to be made about their onward route. Their Continental destination, Naples, had almost certainly been fixed, as had the main intervening towns. On the 11th May they arrived at Lyon and found two letters awaiting them at the Post Office319. Judith had written home from Calais on the 2nd and so could conceivably have given their route, but it seems more likely that their main stopping-off points were known in advance. They received letters from home in Rome and Naples, and although these places could have been detailed in letters sent once

318 Letter in Rothschild Archives. Moses to Nathan Meyer. R.Fam C/30/1
319 Private Journal, p.15
on the Continent, most likely the family knew in advance their proposed route.

Lack of letters from home could cause a possible change of plan. On the 1838/39 journey we read, "Sunday December 2nd. Lyons ... Armstrong is returned from the post without letters. We are very anxious to hear from home. It is most perplexing to be on a journey in a state of anxious uncertainty with regard to sick friends. We know not whether to proceed or return."[320]

It is clear, however, that the exact route to be taken from major town to town was not decided in advance. On May 5th 1827 in Abbeville "the maps have been ... spread on the table, plans proposed and laid aside"[321]. Two days later, while breakfasting in Charenton, "we learnt that it would not be necessary for us to enter Paris, but that we might pass to St. Denis, along the outskirts of that city."[322] Moses noted this point in his Account Book. "Instead of going through Paris we went round the Walls"[323]. It seems that they did not know of this early version of the "Périphérique" until on the outskirts of Paris. Both Judith and Moses refer to the "excellent road": clearly a new road not on their maps. In her entry for that night [7th May] in Villeneuve la Guyard, Judith says: "Montefiore, according to his usual caution, has taken the pains of noting down the route for the following day. But in all the details of the journey, our manservant, by his indefatigable attention and personal knowledge of the country, greatly demonstrates the trouble we should otherwise have experienced."[324]

[320] Notes from a Journal, p.32
[321] Private Journal, p.8
[322] ibid. p.9
[323] Moses' Account Book, p.4
[324] Private Journal, pp.9-10
Although the Montefiores had travelled through France and Italy three or four times before, Armstrong was clearly most experienced and was consulted on the details of the journey.

On a number of occasions evidence is given of when Moses planned his journey. On the 17th May, having endured a perilous fifteen-hour crossing of Mt. Cenis, they arrived at Susa at 9.30 in the evening. They had a light meal and the Salomons went to bed, "leaving us, more experienced travellers, to note down the circumstances of the day and make arrangements for the morrow, which have occupied us till past eleven". Even after such an exhausting day the Montefiores had energy to write up their journals and make plans for the next day's journey. This would seem to have been their regular practice. Three days later in Turin they spent the evening at the theatre and "on our return to the hotel we had tea and commenced preparation for the morrow's journey". On the 1838/39 journey they were in Aix-la-Chapelle. "We are debating whether to take the way to Lyons by Strasbourg, or to retrace our steps to Belgium and thence proceed to Paris. Maps, books, and opinions have all been severally consulted, and at length we have decided upon proceeding to Strasbourg". In 1838 the Montefiores were extremely experienced travellers yet were still flexible in their planning, often making up their minds the night before.

On 16th May 1827 they left Chambéry and were planning on reaching Modane but "on arriving at St. Michel we learnt that horses could not be obtained for four hours, which obliged us to determine on remaining the night". As it

\[^{325}\text{Private Journal, p.24}\]
\[^{326}\text{ibid., p.27}\]
\[^{327}\text{Notes from a Journal, p.17}\]
\[^{328}\text{Private Journal, p.28}\]
turned out Judith was not unhappy, "being much fatigued, I was far from expressing regret"[329] [they had travelled eleven-and-a-half hours that day]. The next morning they were up extra early and faced the crossing of Mount Cenis and a fifteen-hour journey.

Lack of post horses would often force them to stay overnight, short of their desired destination. This was particularly upsetting if the place was uncongenial but it was not just lack of horses that led to change of plans. On Friday, 25th May they left Milan at 5 o'clock in the morning, clearly hoping to reach Bologna for the Sabbath. But opposite Piacenza they found the river Po in flood and it took Armstrong two-and-a-half hours to get the carriage over [even though the Montefiores and Salomons had crossed in another boat in fourteen minutes]. "This detention obliged us to determine on remaining tomorrow in Piancenza [sic.], a dull town, not in the least assimilating with its name"[330]. To make matters worse "the Hotel d'Italia is not the best, nor the most to be esteemed for its provision"[331].

During the journey south through France and Italy, as can be imagined, their conversation was often on the ultimate stages of the journey and whether or not it would prove possible. As early as the 5th May David Salomons had expressed doubts as to "the practicability of the ladies' performing so difficult a tour ..."[332]. Judith's comment to this was, "I cannot determine yet; but my inclination becomes strengthened by distance and change of climate"[333]. On Saturday, 2nd June in Florence it was too hot in the morning even to go for a walk and so "we were obliged to

329 Private Journal, p.28
330 ibid., p.36
331 ibid., p.37
332 ibid., p.7
333 ibid., p.8
content ourselves at home with Henniker's Notes on Egypt"\textsuperscript{334} Two days later, travelling through the volcanic area beyond Radicófani, Judith recorded "circumstance which made us think of what we might expect in the deserts of Egypt"\textsuperscript{335}.

Just over a week later, on the 11th June, doubts were again expressed: "it was observed that it was most likely we should not get beyond Malta in our intended tour"\textsuperscript{336}. It was their last evening in Rome, at the home of Mr. & Mrs. Mazzara, but still next morning they pressed on to Naples. Wednesday, 13th June found them again delayed in Mola di Gaëta, again by lack of horses. Their kinsman, Baron Charles de Rothschild, had set off very early [5 o'clock] and "engaged all the relays for the conveyance of the suite"\textsuperscript{337}. This time it was no great burden as they could enjoy walking on the seashore and they had only to get to Naples by the evening.

As far as Naples the Montefiores only had to "fine-tune" their plans. They had established maps and guidebooks and had travelled in France and Italy before. Beyond Naples the real adventure began. At first they were full of enthusiasm. On the 17th June Mr. Mazzara got an interview with the Duc de Richelieu who was staying in their hotel, having arrived "two or three days since from Egypt". "The Duke informed our friend that he did not encounter any difficulty or unpleasant circumstances in his Egyptian tour"\textsuperscript{338}. Three days later "The gentlemen were busily employed all the early part of this day in making purchases and preparations for the tour ... Musquito-netting, leathern flasks, military saddle, portmanteaus etc."\textsuperscript{339}. Advice had

\textsuperscript{334} Private Journal, p.44
\textsuperscript{335} ibid., p.47
\textsuperscript{336} ibid., p.55
\textsuperscript{337} ibid., p.55
\textsuperscript{338} ibid., p.60
\textsuperscript{339} ibid., p.62
been taken and now they were equipping themselves with items not available in London, or else they knew they could purchase in Naples.

Their hardest task was to find a ship to take them on the next stage of their journey to Malta. The second day in Naples Judith wrote, "we have begun to entertain thoughts respecting a vessel to convey us to Malta. Mr. Lampton's yacht is lying in the harbour, and from its handsome appearance, and admirable manner in which it is fitted up, seems in every way adapted to our purpose". The private yacht was not uncommon. Robert Richardson had sailed in one with the Earl of Belmore and his family to Palestine in 1816. Though the Montefiores had the luxury of their private travelling carriage, their resources did not extend to the ownership of a private yacht. And so they had to go in search of a vessel that would take them as passengers. No evidence has been found of regular advertised services at that time.

While walking around Naples on the 15th June, "Mr. Salomons and Montefiore made an acquaintance ... with a Captain Skinner, whose vessel, The Good Hope, they went on board". It turns out, "he had repeatedly made the voyage to Alexandria, and gave us some useful information respecting the city." Useful information, but clearly the Good Hope proved unsuitable. Later the same day Mr. Hannau, "an aide to Baron Charles de Rothschild, appeared to offer his assistance, the Baron being absent from Naples at the time" [having delayed them by taking the post horses on the 13th June].

340 Private Journal, p.58
341 ibid., p.58
342 ibid.
343 ibid.
Monday, 18th June and still "no vessel has yet been procured"³⁴⁴. Friday, 22nd and from a British ship, the Jasper, on her way to Leghorn from Malta, they learned that from Malta to Naples "to our no small discouragement, occupied twelve days"³⁴⁵. The very next morning, "Mr. Hannau sent word that the Rover had just arrived"³⁴⁶, but that if they wished to take her to Malta, they had to be ready in twenty-four hours. The problem was that it was the Sabbath, so Mr. Mazzara was sent to inspect the Rover, but he could not board it due to quarantine restrictions. However, he discovered that it would be unsuitable, "the cabin too low to allow of a person's standing upright". "Montefiore regrets the unfitness of the Rover; and is inclined to engage her..."³⁴⁷ but the others persuade him otherwise. A clear indication of Moses' impatience, but also that he alone did not make all the decisions.

It was at this point that Mr. & Mrs. Salomons left the party. Their decision to proceed no further is recorded on 23rd June, "It is now arranged that Mr. Salomons is to accompany his lady to Rome, where Mrs. Mazzara will travel with her to Milan, where she is to remain till his return from the East; it being his intention, should God permit, to join us at Malta and proceed to Jerusalem"³⁴⁸. The Salomons left on the 25th June, the day the Montefiores boarded the ship Portia for Malta. On the 24th Mr. Salomons had gone with them to inspect it, so he clearly was still keen to journey on. However, on the 12th July in Malta the Montefiores got a letter telling them that David Salomons was not coming with them and would return to England with his wife.

³⁴⁴ Private Journal, p.61
³⁴⁵ ibid. p.64
³⁴⁶ ibid.
³⁴⁷ ibid.
³⁴⁸ ibid., p.65

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On his return from viewing the Rover, Mr. Mazzara had seen the Portia, a brig of 176 tons and they set sail on 25th June, bound for Malta. They had been twelve days in Naples waiting to find a passage and their preparedness to travel is illustrated by the brief time between finding the ship and setting sail.

Before leaving Naples in 1827 they had one last thing to plan and that was the storage of their carriage. They could have left it at their hotel [de la Victoire] to which they returned on their way back from the East. However, there is no reference in Moses' Account Book of payment for parking the carriage at the hotel, whereas in his Account Book for the 1830 journey in the Low Countries there is an entry, "Standing of Carriage at Rotterdam 5 days Hotel du Pays 2.50". They had done a side tour to the Hague and left their large Travelling Carriage behind.

Another possible place for storing the Carriage might be indicated by an entry in the 1827/28 Account Book on p.129, headed, "Carriage Expenses": "M 25 June At Naples to Martin & Co. for sundry trifling repairs [abominably dear] Neapolitan Dollars [of 12 Caroline each]". The tone of the entry, however, makes it unlikely that Montefiore would have left his carriage at such an expensive place. And the fact that he settled the bill the day he left for Malta, indicates that after the repairs the carriage was taken away, perhaps back to the hotel. Another alternative was that it was left with the Rothschilds, but since the Montefiores stayed in hotels in Naples on each occasion, and not with their relatives, this seems unlikely.

Wherever their carriage was kept, it is obvious that Montefiore planned on returning via Naples and this he would do.

349 Moses' Account Book for 1830, p.67, 25 July 1830
Change of Plan at Sea
At first the voyage from Naples on the Portia went well. Judith wrote, "I passed a more comfortable night than I ever anticipated enjoying on board a ship" [26th June].
"Thanks to the Almighty, another good night" [27th June]. But later that morning waterspouts appeared and a storm built up. By the next day Judith had suffered enough and although the captain was keen to take the high winds south to Malta, Montefiore paid him extra to stop in at Messina. Judith said the detour cost them "20 pounds for this deviation". Moses, in his Account Book says, "To land at Messina instead of Malta, Judith being ill, 70 to the mate & men 12 Neapolitan Dollars." The detour cost 82 Neapolitan dollars on top of the initial fare of 200 Dollars - quite a surcharge. It would be interesting to know if Moses told Judith the full cost of this change of plan or of his mood at the delay. As it turned out Captain Ebbage of the Portia earned his bonus as he was "detained by the dilatory port regulations of the country". However, it did give the Montefiores the opportunity to dine with him that night which greatly helped them with their later plans as he was "very conversant about Alexandria, where he had repeatedly been".

Even though it was the Sabbath [29th - 30th June] the Montefiores were making plans for their onward journey to the South of Sicily whence they would take the short sea journey to Malta. The problem was there was no road and so

350 Private Journal, p.67
351 ibid., p.68
352 ibid., p.71
353 Moses' Account Book, p.128
354 Private Journal, p.72
355 ibid., p.72
Judith had to use a *lettiga*\(^{356}\) while the men were on mules. It was quite a party and clearly took some planning [Moses gives all details of the costs on p.19 of his *Account Book*]. Yet they set off at five-thirty in the morning across the rocky foreshore of Eastern Sicily.

Early afternoon they again had to change plans. The *lettiga* and all the belongings\(^{357}\) and the travellers were put on board a small boat to go by sea round a cape too mountainous to cross by land. Once clear of the land, the waves increased and Montefiore again had to use his authority to order the boat back to land, and so they had to climb the cape previously thought impassable. It took them four very long and tiring days' travelling to reach Syracuse, although along the way they had the unexpected bonus of seeing wonderful sights like Taormina and Mount Etna.

To digress at this point, part of a manuscript diary exists that allows comparison. Robert Hay [1799-1863] was one of the early travellers and archaeologists in Egypt. He had been to the East in earlier years, but travelled out in 1824 on his way to major excavations and explorations. He did not start exploring until 1826 and continued until 1838. The first folio of his illustrations was published in 1840 and subsequently many volumes of drawings and a vast amount of antiquities were passed on to the British Museum. Some

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\(^{356}\) A curious contraption, like a sedan chair but with shafts carried on one mule or donkey at the front and one at the rear. It must have given a very uncomfortable ride, stifling in the confined space. It is also called a "*takt-trivan*" See photograph in Franklin-Bor [n.132], pp.74 and 79

\(^{357}\) A question remains unanswered: did the *Portia* take the bulk of their baggage on to Malta when it dropped them at Messina? It seems most likely.
pages of his handwritten diary exist\textsuperscript{358} which cover the period immediately before and after the Montefiore's first visit, and are most valuable in a comparative sense.

An entry in Robert Hay's diary of the 3rd September 1824 tells that he had travelled directly from Naples to Syracuse in a speranara. Why he stopped off in Syracuse is not clear though he and his party [including Bonani, another famous Egyptologist] spent some time examining the same sites as the Montefiores, for example, Archimedes' tomb, etc.

Having arrived in Syracuse late on Wednesday, 4th July, the Montefiores quickly got down to planning the next stage. Initially, they planned to leave on Friday morning [though it is unlikely that if they had done so they could have made Malta by the Sabbath]. However, "Montefiore's ankle was much swollen and inflamed"\textsuperscript{359} and they also found out there was much to see in Syracuse and so they "propose remaining here till Saturday night"\textsuperscript{360}. One site of interest that Judith did not visit [or comment on] was noted by Robert Hay - it was the public bathing place and he was surprised at "how much flesh the women exposed of their legs" [2nd September].

On Thursday they made the arrangements to hire "a speranara [sic.], or two-masted Sicilian open bark"\textsuperscript{361}. In the Account Book [p.22], Moses says, "at Syracuse agreed with Raphael Cassia the master of the Speronara [sic.] St. Gaetano, a small boat of less than 6 tons to take us from Cape Passaro to Malta for 50 Piastres to include all charges". Then they visited the sights of the town. They

\textsuperscript{358} British Library manuscript: Additional Manuscript 31054, hereafter referred to as "Robert Hay"

\textsuperscript{359} Private Journal p.85

\textsuperscript{360} ibid.

\textsuperscript{361} ibid., p.84
left Syracuse as soon as the Sabbath had ended—at ten o'clock on Saturday night, 7th July. As Judith recorded, this entailed making special arrangements as the gates of the city were closed at 8.00pm. The night journey to Cape Passaro, the nearest point to Malta, was very fatiguing and they covered forty miles. Robert Hay also "engaged a sparinaro [sic.]" for Malta but he went directly from Syracuse harbour. Presumably the Montefiores could have done the same but Judith's aversion to the sea made them undertake the uncomfortable overland journey to Cape Passaro to save a few extra hours at sea. It took Hay three hours to sail from Syracuse to a point off Cape Passaro.

Malta and the Onward Journey

Both Hay and the Montefiores had to get health clearance: "we lay of [sic] the Pratique office for some time waiting for the proper officers to attend, but after more than an hour's delay were set at liberty". Quarantine regulations and customs took the Montefiores only half-an-hour.

The first full day in Malta [10th July] was spent visiting "the British, Irish and Colonial Silk Company's establishment on the island" of which Moses was a director. The next day Moses started the preparation of his onward journey by going to present his letters of introduction to the Military Governor, General Ponsonby. He was in a meeting but his private secretary made an appointment for the next day. The interview brought good and bad news. First, "His excellency ... offered to exert his influence with the captain of any man-of-war that should arrive, to procure us a passage according to our desire." But he also learned of the "combined force gone against the pirates: a strong proof of their formidable character."
Judith added, "I have little inclination to encounter such foes"\(^{366}\). [A later chapter will deal with the dangers presented by these pirates.]

Later that day they heard of a speranara arriving from Messina, "with a gentleman on board"\(^{367}\). They thought it might be Mr. Salomons but were disappointed. Later the same day a letter from the latter, brought by the Jasper, dashed all hopes. Since Mrs. Mazzara could not arrange to stay in Naples with Mrs. Salomons, her husband "must relinquish the journey to the East; a circumstance we much regret."\(^{368}\)

Saturday 14th July: "We had as yet heard of no ship that would suit us, except a very neat government yacht - but would not be spared"\(^{369}\). And so they started to fill in their days of waiting by touring the places of interest on the island and also seeing to business at the Silk Company. Wednesday 18th July: "We were not yet able to overcome the difficulties which oppose our departure for Alexandria..." and Judith continues: "the idea of our sailing in a merchantman without convoy in these times of piratical danger being very properly overcome by the prudent counsels of our friends."\(^{370}\)

They were anxious to travel on and were exploring all possibilities, but they had to go either in a naval vessel or with naval escort. Meanwhile Mr. Mazzara used the time to learn some Arabic. By Monday 23rd July they still had no news of available ships and so took up the Governor's [Sir John Stoddart] invitation to visit Gozo.

\(^{366}\) Private Journal, p.95
\(^{367}\) ibid.
\(^{368}\) ibid., p.96
\(^{369}\) ibid., p.97
\(^{370}\) ibid., p.100
They did not return to Valetta until Friday 27th July and next day on the Sabbath they returned to thoughts of the East by reading, "Buckingham's Tour". Two days later, 30th July they heard the Leonidas, "a well-reported merchant vessel ... was likely to suit our purpose"\(^{371}\). Next day on a boat trip around the harbour the boatman told them, though he had frequently been to Alexandria, he wouldn't go at this time: "Because der be gret danger from di Greek! and he no like to lose his ears." [Judith's words]\(^{372}\). And the next day [1st August] they are told that political events made it most unwise to travel. However, "Montefiore seems bent on going ..."\(^{373}\).

Robert Hay arrived in Malta on the 3rd September 1824, and though the political situation in the eastern Mediterranean was less critical, he also had great difficulty in finding a ship for Alexandria. He too had introductions to the Governor [then Marquis of Hastings] and went to his weekly party, and to the Military Governor, Sir Thomas Maitland. Like the Montefiores, he toured Malta, Gozo and Commino, but was constantly on the look out for a ship. On the 8th October he points to one problem: "The continued anxiety one is helpless in from the falsehood of Captains of ships to entice one to close a bargain is most annoying, always telling one that in the course of a week they will certainly sail - John's great object in setting off to find me was to communicate the humble offer of a ship to Alexandria for the small price of 400 dollars!" Next day [9th October] "Went on board an Austrian brig that proposes going to Alexandria and Zante ... the modest demand of 300 hundred dollars!" and then he adds, "Ships were never known to be so scarce owing to the number of traders now employed in transporting the troops of the Pasha of Egypt in their expedition against the Greeks..."

\(^{371}\) Private Journal, p.110
\(^{372}\) ibid.
\(^{373}\) ibid., p.111
Thus there is an explanation for the high cost of shipping, which Hay was not prepared to pay. And so he stayed on, occasionally meeting people who would help him with his journey to Egypt. For example on the 20th October, "Met Mr. Sollet ... a Smyrna merchant and has travelled a good deal in the East and in the parts I am about to visit ..." But often he was left whiling away time. "13th, 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th A life of monotony - ". But then, "26th Preparing with all speed to sail in the Adolphe, the very one who kindly offered to go to Alexandria for 400 Dollars, apparently on my account was now going there on that of her owners and any passage for myself and suit was to be 60 dollars". Eventually he set sail on the 31st October. His waiting had saved him over 340 dollars but he had been in Malta since the 3rd September, almost two months.

The Montefiores' difficulties in obtaining a ship were no less tiresome; however, on the 3rd August 1827, their onward voyage was fixed: "Captain Anderson came ... and entered into an agreement with Montefiore to carry on to Alexandria; to wait there twenty days for us, or till convoy should arrive; then proceed with us to Jaffa, to remain there till the 16th October; and then to pursue the voyage to Constantinople."\footnote{374}{Private Journal, pp.111-112}

This again indicates that the Montefiores did originally plan to go to Constantinople on their return and hence the need for the letters of introduction and credit for that place [see pp.112 and 120]. The Journal entry continued: "Should Captain Anderson and ourselves find it preferable to proceed from Cairo to Jerusalem by land and return from the Holy City to Alexandria, the same way: it is then agreed that the vessel shall wait our return at the latter place."\footnote{375}{ibid., p.112} It is not clear if Captain Anderson intended to journey to Jerusalem, presumably not, rather that he be
party to their discussion. However, this entry shows that at this stage their plans were not fixed, and they did not know their route from Egypt to Jerusalem. The implication is that they knew they would have to go to Egypt for a firman to travel to Palestine, but beyond that they would have to wait and see.

They set sail on the Leonidas in convoy with four other vessels plus HMS Gannet on Wednesday, 16th August: they had been in Malta for five weeks, compared with Robert Hay's two months. In 1838 the Montefiores took only seventeen days to find a suitable vessel, reflecting the improvement in the political situation and the availability of shipping.

While on board the Leonidas there was little planning to be realistically done, although no doubt conversations within the group and with fellow travellers led to future tentative plans being devised. The voyage was delayed by the convoy having to wait for a slower [French] boat and they arrived in Alexandria on the 26th August - a voyage of ten days. It had taken Robert Hay seven days. In 1839 the voyage took only five days, but this time the Megara had the benefit of being a steamship and, with no pirates to fear, no convoy was necessary.

Recalling Robert Hay's payment of 60 dollars for "himself and suit", having rejected an earlier offer of 400 dollars, Judith's Journal says, "the sum agreed for the whole voyage being five hundred and fifty pounds"\textsuperscript{376}. Presumably this means the outward voyage to Alexandria, onward to Jaffa and return. Unfortunately, Moses' Account Book fails to include the cost of the Leonidas [or subsequent ship, the Henry William] but on page 130 he does record the exchange rate of "1 Spanish Dollar equal to £1.24, thus 5 Spanish Dollars equals £6". On this basis, the agreed cost of the return

\textsuperscript{376} Private Journal, p.112
voyage for three people plus three servants was 458 Spanish Dollars. This might be compared with the 400 dollars initially quoted to Hay for just the outward journey - no wonder he rejected this offer.

Egypt

The alarums and changes of plans occasioned by emergencies at sea are dealt with later [see pp.183ff] but once in Alexandria a new phase of planning was started. There were three aspects to this planning: obtaining the necessary permissions to visit Palestine, arranging transport and the necessary stores.

The Montefiores landed at Alexandria on Monday, 27th August and found two unwelcome pieces of news. First, that the possibility of war was just as grave as when they left Malta and secondly that "the Pasha and Mr. Salt, the British consul-general, to whom we had letters of introduction, were both in Cairo"377. The British consul in Alexandria, Mr. Barker [to whom they had a letter of introduction from Sir Frederic Hankey in Malta] came to see them and filled them in with information "about Egypt and Syria"378. Next day Captain Brace and the Gannet returned to Malta, so they were now without naval protection and could not sail on until they found a substitute. It is clear from Judith's entry for the 28th August that they discussed at length the possibility of travelling on without escort or the Pasha's firman. In the end, "the more safe and cautious plan was adopted of going to Cairo, in a cangia, up the Nile"379. The firman was deemed necessary.

At once they engaged a cangia - a boat - for travel up to Cairo, and also the agreement of Captain Anderson and two of his sailors to accompany them [on top of the eight Egyptian

377 Private Journal, p.130
378 ibid., p.131
379 ibid., p.132
At this stage Captain Anderson and the Leonidas were clearly intending to sail on to Jaffa with the Montefiores once he had the correct papers; this had been the agreement made in Malta. The next day [29th August] they set off expecting the journey to take five days but they did it in four. On the 1st September they reached Boulec, the landing place for Cairo and two hours later the messenger they sent with their cards to Mr. Salt the consul-general had returned with transport and an invitation to stay in Mr. Salt's house. Despite his serious illness [he died during their stay in Alexandria on the return journey], he arranged for Montefiore to see the Pasha on the 5th September, although he had to send a deputy, a Mr. Maltasse, to accompany them. Judith writes glowingly of her husband's visit, which, although she does not say so, resulted in Montefiore's receiving the firman, the passport to go to Jaffa and Jerusalem.

The next day they planned a visit to the Pyramids of Sacchara and ordered a boat to take them, but then there was a sudden change of plan. News reached them, via Mr. Salt, that "an English brig of war was arrived"\textsuperscript{380} in Alexandria and Mr. Salt intended returning there immediately. Moses' version was "I found him [Mr. Salt] much alarmed at the non-arrival of a despatch which had been sent by an English sloop of war. The Porte had refused the mediation and the English Admiral had orders to act. Mr. Salt was to see the Pasha in the morning and would then set off for Alexandria"\textsuperscript{381}.

Although Mr. Salt did not tell them to go, Judith says "prudence said ... do not extend your tour: the chances of war menaces your safety"\textsuperscript{382}. So next morning [6th September] at 2.00am they preceded to the cangia, making as

\textsuperscript{380} Private Journal, p.154
\textsuperscript{381} Loewe "Diaries" I:38
\textsuperscript{382} Private Journal, p.155
if to go to Sacchara but secretly setting sail north to Alexandria. Then one of the servants remembered the laundry they had left behind and went back for it "this detained us near two hours"383. They felt in some danger, but retrieving their still wet linen was more important than a swift and totally secret departure! Why they did not go to Alexandria with Mr. Salt is not clear. The secrecy was no doubt due to the fear that if war broke out they would be in danger. Maybe they were wary of being in too close contact with Mr. Salt owing to his illness. Going downstream it took them only two days to get back to Alexandria where they returned to their accommodation on the _Leonidas_. As on the upstream journey they were tormented by mosquito bites and now Montefiore developed rheumatism. Judith recorded, "this cangia ... was a proper antidote against the mania for an Egyptian tour"384.

Back in Alexandria, they had their firman and after the cangia, the _Leonidas_ was luxury but "Montefiore was in despair about Jerusalem; the chance of going there declining as that of war with the Porte increased"385. That day [11th September] the captain of the _Pelorus_, the English brig of war, came to see them and promised to convoy them to Jaffa, if the war was abated, "but I feared the result would not be favourable"386. Next day Montefiore visited Messrs. Salt and Barker "who both considered it would be highly imprudent to proceed to Syria"387. It was not just the impending war that still prevented them sailing on, for on the 17th September, a ship arrived from Malta reporting "fresh outbreaks of Greek piratical enormities ... even

383 Private Journal, p.155
384 ibid., p.157
385 ibid., p.159
386 ibid.
387 ibid.
nailing [the captains] down by the ears"\textsuperscript{388}. Despite such reports Moses was prepared to go without naval protection: "I have still every desire to proceed to Jerusalem but cannot find any person willing to go with me. Although the plague was at Acre, the whole of Syria in revolt, the Christians fleeing to the mountain for safety, the questions of peace or war still undecided ... I am nevertheless determined at all risks to proceed to Jaffa and Jerusalem"\textsuperscript{389}.

In fact the Montefiores were to be detained in Alexandria for over a month and again found themselves frustrated and whiling away time. \textit{Rosh Hashanah} [the New Year] came and brought no better news. Indeed, on that Eve [21st September] Judith recorded more bad news, that "Abdallah, the Pacha of Damascus, was inimical to all Europeans and that he was also on bad terms with the Pacha of Egypt"\textsuperscript{390}. So even their \textit{firman} was no protection, "a Frank, by going to Syria ... would run the risk of being massacred - no very pleasant result of a tour of amusement and pleasure"\textsuperscript{391}. So they were stuck. "Abdallah forbade our advance, and the pirates prevented our return"\textsuperscript{392}. On the 27th they heard of Abdallah's latest dispute with Lady Hester Stanhope, although the doughty Englishwoman had got her own way.

By the 5th October "having been more than nine weeks in Egypt, without the chance turning in our favour of visiting Syria"\textsuperscript{393}. Montefiore gave Captain Anderson permission to

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\textsuperscript{388} Private Journal, p.164
\textsuperscript{389} Loewe "Diaries" I:39
\textsuperscript{390} Private Journal, p.167
\textsuperscript{391} ibid: this last phrase is assumed to be a glimpse of Judith's sense of humour and not a reflection of her view of the nature of their journey.
\textsuperscript{392} ibid., p.177: Abdallah being the Pasha of Sidon.
\textsuperscript{393} ibid., p.177
\end{flushleft}
begin loading a cargo of beans to return to Leghorn as soon as a convoy arrived. It looked increasingly as if the Montefiores would be forced to return home short of their destination. But then, on the 7th October, Mr. Barker, the consul, came to show them a letter saying that "Ibrahim Pacha had passed the English and French squadron ... without any act of hostility"\(^{394}\). Perhaps war had been averted.

The Montefiores were now regretting having allowed Captain Anderson to start taking on a cargo, for with the more positive news from Constantinople they would have risked leaving for Jaffa. Then next day [8th October] a French convoy arrived "which was to sail early the next day" but as the Leonidas was part-way loaded, "we could go with her neither to Italy nor Jaffa"\(^{395}\). The entry for the day lists their reasons for disappointment and frustration. To make matters worse, next day Captain Anderson came to see if Montefiore would intercede with the French captain to ask him to wait until he was fully loaded, but "Montefiore's patience had been tried to the utmost"\(^{396}\) - and so the Leonidas missed the convoy. Maybe this further disappointment shook them out of their despair because the same day [9th October] "a plan was now proposed to engage the Henry Williams [Captain Jones] to take us to Jaffa, to remain there while we visited Jerusalem for a few days and return with us to this port, when Leonidas would be ready to sail for Malta"\(^{397}\). According to Moses, "the Henry Williams" was a "brig of 167 tons", and the agreed cost was £50\(^{398}\).

\(^{394}\) Private Journal, p.179  
\(^{395}\) ibid., p.180  
\(^{396}\) ibid., p.181  
\(^{397}\) ibid.  
\(^{398}\) Loewe "Diaries" I:39
Suddenly things looked better. That night they met Dr. Madden "who was lately returned from visiting the Holy Land" and he encouraged them to go. Mr. Mazzara thought it too risky and stayed behind. Mr. Salt thought they should not go [Judith put his pessimism down to his illness], but Mr. Barker now encouraged them. Montefiore persuaded Captain Anderson to accompany them; perhaps an insurance that Leonidas would not sail without them. Montefiore had developed an abscess on his neck but this did not prevent them setting sail the very next day, 11th October in the Henry William. Indeed he wrote in his diary: "I find my health and strength failing me so fast in this country that I deem it now prudent to flee from it, even at the chance of encountering the 'Greek Pirates'". After all the delay it was forty-four days since they had first arrived in Alexandria, their departure on the ultimate leg of their journey to Jerusalem happened very quickly.

In 1839 on their second journey to the Holy Land, they spent only one night in Alexandria, staying at "Hills hotel, filled up with Eastern luxury". This time there was no threat of war but they did hear disturbing news of the plague around Jaffa and Jerusalem. But next day they set off in their paddle steamer, the Megara and just over a day later they were in Beirut. How times had changed.

Why by Sea to Jaffa?
Why did they not go overland to Jerusalem; why go by sea which Judith hated? Napoleon's army had gone overland and proved it feasible. Irby and Mangles travelled this route in 1817, having agreed to pay an Arab thirty dollars to guide them through the desert to Jaffa. Beyond El Arish they describe an easy journey with no problems, finding food

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399 Private Journal pp.81-82
400 Loewe "Diaries" 1:39
401 Notes From A Journal, p.206
402 Irby & Mangles [n.100], p.52ff

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along the way. Around Gaza they describe the country as "richly wooded with olive, sycamore, mulberry, cedar, fig and other trees". Reading their account certainly spelt out no dangers. Six months earlier Richardson had taken the same route from Egypt and included in his party was Lady Belmore. So women travelling by that route had no special problems. What is more, Dr. Madden, whom the Montefiores met in Alexandria just before setting out for Jaffa, had just returned from touring the Holy Land: and he had gone overland including a visit to Mount Sinai. So too did Henniker whose book they read in Egypt. It is noted above that, in making the agreement with Captain Anderson of the Leonidas they entertained the possibility of travelling overland from Cairo to Jerusalem [see p.160]. Did the possibility of meeting hostile Bedouin tribes or bandits make the overland route less attractive or did the Montefiores now fear the desert? Their reason is not given, but the deciding factor most likely was the length of journey. It was a longer journey overland compared with a favourable sea crossing [it took Richardson and party sixteen days to get from Cairo to Jerusalem overland.] And it seems clear that time was of the essence; the Montefiores had to get to Jerusalem and back as quickly as possible in case the political situation boiled over.

Why head for Jaffa? Again, time was probably the factor. Jaffa was the nearest seaport to Jerusalem and contemporary maps clearly showed the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, eg. Buckingham, Wittman, etc. and for centuries most pilgrims for Jerusalem had landed at Jaffa. The Montefiores in 1839 did land at Beirut which had a much safer harbour; but this was probably dictated by their desire to visit Safed and Tiberias. On none of his seven visits did Montefiore travel overland from Egypt.

403 Irby & Mangles [n.100], p.55
404 Richardson [n.92], p.173ff

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While the Captains were negotiating and delivering the Montefiores' letters of introduction and *firman*, the Montefiores packed "*the few essentials we had procured for the journey*". They were clearly travelling light on this leg of the journey. At first the local governor objected to British subjects landing "*in the present state of politics*" ... but, as already noted, the gift of a telescope and persuasion by the consul, overcame the objection and, on the 16th October, the Montefiores landed on the Holy Land. It had taken them five-and-a-half months to get this far.

Mr. Damiani, the British consul who welcomed them, regaled them with stories of previous famous visitors [for example, Napoleon and Caroline of Brunswick]. Arrangements for their journey to Jerusalem were quickly made. They were accompanied by Mr. Damiani's janissary, as the soldier the governor of Jaffa had promised as a guide failed to turn up. Judith rode a donkey and Moses a mule, but soon had to change to a donkey. Just out of town the promised soldier galloped up, seemingly a most impressive figure. They retained the janissary as well as the soldier. They must have planned on staying overnight at the Greek convent in Ramleh where they shared a room with Captain Anderson and fellow traveller, Mr. Bell. The next day [17th October] they set off at 7.00am and reached Jerusalem, without mishap, ten hours later. The rest of the party went to the Latin convent, but the Montefiores had planned ahead on staying with Mr. Joseph Amzalak: though it took them some time to find "*our friend's house*". When they got there he was ill in bed, but his wife looked after them.

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405 Private Journal, p.188
406 ibid.
407 ibid., p.192

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Judith's Journal then contains several pages on Jerusalem: its present state, its history and the emotion it evinced. This may well have been "padded out" once she got home, before sending her text off to the printers. At the end comes an interesting reflection: "The obstacles ... the dangers ... the detentions ... the vexations ... all race in my mind as I gave way to the feeling of delight with which I at length saw the fulfilment of my dear husband's long-cherished wish. Nor was my satisfaction a little increased at the recollection that I had strenuously urged him to pursue the journey, even when his own ardour had somewhat abated and when I had to oppose my counsel to the advice and wishes of our companion."

Other indications seem to support this as a true reflection of the position: it was Moses who first had the dream of visiting Jerusalem, but it was Judith who often had to encourage him to continue.

Jerusalem

It cannot be said whether they had worked out in advance what or who they wished to see in Jerusalem and its surroundings. Travellers before them had described Jerusalem in great detail, in both historical and touristic terms. Judith's long excursus on the city certainly sees parallels with several other accounts the Montefiores had read.

On their first day they visited the Wailing Wall and viewed the Dome of the Rock. On their second full day in Jerusalem they followed different itineraries, Moses visited the various Jewish establishments and sites of interest, while Judith went to Bethlehem. It seems as if they had planned this in advance.

408 Private Journal, pp.202-203
409 eg. Henniker [n.125], pp.275ff & Buckingham [n.47], pp.175ff

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Saturday was naturally spent in synagogue and then after the service they visited the respective Chief Rabbis of the "German and Portuguese community, Rev. Rabbi Mendel and Rev. Haham Moses Soozin"410 and tried to impress on them both the need to live and work harmoniously with each other and be more welcoming of Jewish newcomers to Jerusalem. This mission had been given them before setting out by the Chief Rabbi of England, Rev. Dr. Hirschell. It is not clear if "Rabbi Mendel" is the same as the "Mr. Meldel" they were also asked to visit, but seems likely411.

When they went to deliver Dr. Hirschell's letter to "Mr. Meldel" they found themselves taking an early dinner. They then returned to Mr. Amzalak "and found ourselves obliged to partake in a second dinner"412. Fortunately it was Judith's birthday and so the second meal helped mark the coincidence of celebrating in Jerusalem. It was only after this double dinner that Moses got round to visiting the Governor. Why he had not gone earlier is curious and indeed, "his excellency expressed some surprise that Montefiore had not called on him before"413. Perhaps Moses had yet to learn the etiquette of life in the Levant. He had gone to see the Pasha in Cairo because he needed a firman; he required no favours from the governor in Jerusalem and so did not go soon after arrival. The visit of an Englishman was clearly known to the governor and Moses would learn that a courtesy visit on arrival was required and on his next visit in 1838/39 he was more adept at satisfying local custom.

410 Loewe "Diaries": I:40
411 Private Journal, p.205 and see n.244, and p.114 above
412 ibid., p.214
413 ibid., p.215

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Leaving Jerusalem

They had arrived at sunset on Wednesday 17th October and they left early on Sunday morning the 21st October. Why after such a long journey to visit the city of their dreams did they stay only three full days? Earlier travellers had stayed longer [Buckingham used over a hundred pages to describe his stay in Jerusalem]. The truth was there was not a great deal that a Jew would feel it vital to see. Between them Moses and Judith did visit or see the most important places. Although Judith describes her visits to the Church sites in Bethlehem, neither of them visited the Holy Sepulchre. Henniker [whom they read in Alexandria] wrote, "The Jew may not presume to enter even the courtyard of the temple; I once saw one unfortunate wretch dragged in and, before he was kicked out, he was severely beaten by both Christians and Turks. These outcasts are so thoroughly despised, that an angry Arab will sometimes curse a man by calling him, 'you Jew of a Christian'". Having read this, the Montefiores would be unlikely to push their luck, even though they had frequently visited Christian places of worship on the European leg of the tour.

The "Mosque" of Omar they saw, but no non-Muslim was allowed to enter. In 1855 they did gain entrance, and for this were put under a cherem [excommunication] by rabbis in Jerusalem. They visited the Wailing Wall and the synagogues, but that was all of note. On their next visit in 1839 they could not even stay inside the city as the plague was about - they camped outside. They made a brief sortie into the city and visited only the synagogues and the Wall. Outside they visited the cemetery on the Mount of Olives and viewed other sites in the mountains.

In 1827, in touristic or pilgrimage terms, there was not much to see of importance to Jews. However, the overriding factor in their short stay was most probably the need to

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414 Henniker [n.125] pp.278-279

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return to Jaffa and Alexandria in order not to miss the boat home. They did not know what dangers yet awaited them in Egypt and the Mediterranean; it was not the time to linger in the Holy City or Land.

Little planning was needed for the first leg of their homeward journey as they knew the way and had the transport. The night before leaving, Moses had only two hours sleep before joining the seventeen rabbis who sat up all night praying for their safe return home. Going downhill, it took them only nine hours to reach Ramleh and next day [22nd October] just under four hours to travel on to Jaffa. They saw the Henry William in harbour and expected to leave immediately. However, Captain Jones came to tell them he had lost an anchor and as a new one cost £60 he would have to retrieve it: they were unable to sail until the next day. Judith remarks: "to the no small anxiety of Captain Anderson, who feared the convoy might sail without him" - a reminder that the convoy onward from Alexandria was the cause for their haste. They slept overnight on the floor in consul Damiani's house, set sail on Tuesday 23rd October and arrived in Alexandria early morning on the 26th - in a day and a half shorter time than the outward voyage. There was great surprise to see the Montefiores, "What, only fifteen days to go to Jerusalem and back".

The Return Journey
Having returned to Alexandria, the Montefiores again took up residence on the Leonidas and keenly hoped for its departure to Malta on the next step of their journey home. A French corvette had arrived and the Montefiores hoped the Leonidas could sail under its protection to Malta. It was not that easy as Captain Auvray of the La Dauphine said he had

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415 Private Journal, p.216
416 ibid., p.218
417 ibid., p.218
418 ibid., p.224

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authority to provide protection only to French vessels. Whereupon the owner of the cargo on the Leonidas refused to let it sail without protection. Mr. Salt had just died, but his deputy, Mr. Barker, went to plead with the French captain who eventually agreed to let the Leonidas sail with the convoy, but he would not slow down and if it could not keep up he would have to leave it behind. But then Mr. Barker advised the Montefiores to leave the Leonidas and sail on a French vessel in the convoy – Moses wrote "They had the conscience to ask 10,000 francs. Capt. Anderson, however, has resolved to go, and we shall go with him". The danger in the air in Alexandria must have made the days of waiting both frustrating and anxious. Such was the danger that Dr. Madden decided to leave with them: and he turned out to be a very welcome addition to their party. They set sail on the 7th November. It was to be a long and frightening voyage to Malta.

Malta
The first part of their stay in Malta was fixed by the law – having returned from the East they had to enter quarantine. However, the first step was delayed as the Leonidas had finally reached harbour on a Saturday and so, though the servants went ahead to get rooms ready for them, Moses and Judith had to wait until after sunset. Although Judith says, "I could not quit the Leonidas without sentiments of regret..." – it had become like a home – there was much to enjoy in their new situation. "Bread never appeared more welcome than it was this morning ... with some delicious pears, grapes and oranges". They were also cheered to see Admiral Codrington's fleet in harbour, fresh from its victory at Navarino.

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419 Loewe "Diaries" I:46
420 Private Journal, p.234
421 ibid., p.251
422 ibid.
The period in the Lazaretto will be described below [pp.226ff] but their story continues here after their release from quarantine and transfer to the Beverley Hotel. After the last towns they had visited in the East the experience of being in Malta reminded them of England and also that they had safely visited the "Holy City" at a time of "warlike reports and piratical enormities"\(^{423}\). That very night Judith celebrated by going to the opera with Lady Stoddart, the Governor's wife. Moses was too ill with his neck abscess to go. Although the next few days were taken up in the social whirl [especially for Judith, Moses still indisposed with his neck ailment], plans were being made for the journey to Naples. On the 22nd the Governor and his wife dined with them together with a Captain and Mrs. Copeland whom the Montefiores appear to have befriended. On the 23rd Admiral Codrington and his wife [the hero of Navarino and commander of the Navy in the Mediterranean], "left their cards"\(^{424}\). Presumably the Montefiores had earlier left theirs with the Admiral. On the 25th December, "Admiral Codrington honoured us with a visit"\(^{425}\). Did he come on Christmas Day out of cordiality - or were they now famous having just returned from a perilous trip to the Holy Land? Or did the Admiral, anxious to get his version of the Battle of Navarino back to London, seek out the Montefiores, knowing they were travelling home? The Admiral "informed us that in case we could be prepared by tomorrow ... there would be a ship ready for us. We then mentioned the desire of Captain Copeland of the Mastiff to take us to Naples, to which the Admiral acceded most willingly"\(^{426}\).

Judith's handwritten Journal then adds something not in the

\(^{423}\) Private Journal MS for December 20th
\(^{424}\) Private Journal, p.273
\(^{425}\) ibid., p.276
\(^{426}\) ibid., p.276
They were delighted to be sailing in a "ship of war" and Moses' haste the night before to go and tell Captain Copeland of the permission for him to take them to Naples illustrates his eagerness to get started on their voyage home. The next couple of days were spent, especially by Judith, socialising, buying presents and saying farewell to Marguerite and Paulo, the Maltese servants who had travelled with them to Palestine. It appears they would leave at any moment, but on the 30th December, Captain Copeland came to say they would be delayed by contrary winds, but if the wind changed he would come and fetch them. On the 1st January 1828 their luck changed and they were taken aboard the HMS Mastiff at 8.30pm.

Four days later, after going through frightening storms, they were set to land at Messina in Sicily, but the wind prevented a landing so they sailed on to Naples. However, the very next day the wind blew them backwards and they landed at Messina on Sunday, 6th January, a reminder that in a sailing ship, one's plans were subject to the vagaries of the weather. It was not until Wednesday, 9th January that "the wind being favourable ... we ... again set sail for Naples". After another day's storms there was a day of calm on Friday, 11th, so they did not reach Naples until Saturday 12th. Again, they had arrived on a Saturday and so the Copelands went ahead and they had to wait until the Sabbath was out before landing.

427 Private Journal, MS 25th December
428 Private Journal, p.276
429 ibid., p.278
430 ibid., p.218
The Last Leg

Having reached Naples it might be expected that the Montefiores would quickly head north for home. In fact they showed no signs of being in a hurry. Captain and Mrs. Copeland sailed back to Malta a week later [Saturday 19th] but in the meantime they and the Montefiores, together with the Rothschilds, filled every day and evening with visits and entertainment. The handwritten original of Judith's Journal gives even more details of such a social programme than she eventually had printed.

The Montefiores left Naples on the 21st January. Little planning would have been needed as they had travelled the route before. They reached Rome at 3.00pm on the 23rd but had great difficulty finding a hotel, "till at last we succeeded at the Hotel de Paris"\(^{431}\). Again there is no indication of a rush to get home as they spent the next four days visiting galleries, paintings, sculptures and revisiting many famous sights they had seen at least once before. Even the Sabbath [26th January] was spent sightseeing with no mention of a visit to Synagogue, even in the handwritten version.

They left Rome early on Tuesday, 29th January, retracing their steps of the outward journey through Viterbo, Radicófani and Poggibonsi. It was there that they parted company with Mr. Mazzara: Judith records, "we pursued the Leghorn road, Montefiore desiring to revisit his native city, after having been gratified by seeing the holy city"\(^{432}\). The Montefiores were making a detour but Mr. Mazzara, with whom they parted company, was glad to see them.

\(^{431}\) Private Journal, MS for 23rd January

\(^{432}\) ibid., 31st January: does the use of "the holy city" instead of Jerusalem imply a connection in his mind between two cities special to him - Jerusalem and Leghorn.
Mazzara was "in haste to be in Paris"\textsuperscript{433}, presumably to meet his wife. Judith's handwritten journal tells of the circumstances of Mr. Mazzara leaving them. "A lady and gentleman were finishing their supper in the sitting room ... they travelled by Viterine and are going to Florence tomorrow morning early, a most opportune circumstance for Mr. Mazzara who immediately proposed to join them which they acceded to. Thus how soon foreigners become acquainted"\textsuperscript{434} [a perceptive comment on the sociability of foreigners compared to the correctness of the English].

Having decided to divert to Leghorn, the Montefiores at last seem in haste to proceed. In order to get there for the Sabbath, they left Poggibonsi on Thursday night, travelling onwards overnight, sleeping in their words, "after the first post we had both sides of the bed arranged and when permitted by Morpheus..."\textsuperscript{435}.

Arriving at Leghorn at 2.30pm they settled into Thompson's hotel and soon learned of two coincidental connections with earlier parts of their epic journey. "We set to enquire about the Leonidas and learnt she was in harbour"\textsuperscript{436}. It will be remembered that when she left Alexandria with her cargo of beans she was, after visiting Malta, bound for Leghorn. The Montefiores had caught up with her. Two days later they met Captain Anderson again. Next day [2nd February] they heard that the seven-year-old daughter of the late Mr. Salt was living in Leghorn with her grandmother. They sent for them and were able to tell them of the last days of the former consul general in Alexandria. Saturday they attended Synagogue, "Accompanied Mun to Synagogue, which we had some difficulty in finding"\textsuperscript{437}. This is

\textsuperscript{433} Private Journal, p.304
\textsuperscript{434} Private Journal MS, 31st January
\textsuperscript{435} Private Journal, p.305
\textsuperscript{436} ibid.
\textsuperscript{437} Private Journal MS, 2nd February
curious since the synagogue was prominent in Leghorn and Montefiore had been there before [in 1818]. They visited and were visited by friends and relatives and inspected the Jewish school.

They left Leghorn on the 5th February and took the shortest route north via Pisa, Lucca and Massa. They diverted to Carrarra and spent two hours looking around the galleries and purchased some statues before continuing to La Spezia. The difficulties of travelling and perhaps the newness of the route are illustrated by a reference in Moses' Account Book: "the New Road for the first few miles is not yet finished and the old one is extremely rough, we were also obliged to go through a considerable body of Water, the bed of a torrent - no doubt a bridge will be built here."\(^{438}\). This short extract shows that in 1828 one travelled with a great deal of uncertainty. Indeed, the next day [7th February] between La Spezzia and Chiavari Moses remarked: "This journey should not on any account be performed in the night. I think it would be attended with some danger and the traveller would be deprived of most charming mountain scenery. Wild but grand."\(^{439}\)

From Genoa they travelled, via Novi and Alessandria, to Turin and so they were back on their outward route. In Turin they met by chance Mr. Mazzara [who suddenly had slowed down in his desire to get to Paris]. On their outward journey it had been May when they crossed the Alps, now it was the 13th February that they left Susa to cross Mount Cenis. It was freezing cold and yet still they had "the side windows down out of fear"\(^{440}\) and though the hotel was very poor in Landslebourg they were forced by the

\(^{438}\) Moses' Account Book, p.30
\(^{439}\) ibid., p.31
\(^{440}\) Private Journal MS, 15th February
dangers of proceeding at night to stay there, "it not being prudent to proceed"\textsuperscript{441}.

They were now in a hurry to get home and night-time travelling was on their agenda. Beyond Lyon, "we set out at four in the afternoon, and intended travelling through the night, but owing to the bad state of the roads, Montefiore's weariness and the fall of one of the horses with the postillion, which compelled us to walk some distance over a muddy road ... we deemed it expedient to repose ourselves till the morning"\textsuperscript{442}. Yet next day [19th February] "we resolved to have the carriage bed prepared, which was accordingly done; and having a small lamp lighted inside...we travelled on through the night"\textsuperscript{443}.

The next day, 20th February, Judith's Journal [both handwritten and printed] ends, but Moses' Account Book details a different route to Paris from the outward journey, that is Arnai, La Palisse, Nevers, Neuvry, Fontainbleau and Paris. There is no reason given for the different route: was it reckoned quicker or did the Montefiores, even though exhausted and in a hurry, ever wish for new experiences? Like Judith, however, Moses was running out of literary steam. Although his Account Book continues to give the costs and timing from Lyon onwards he misses out for a few days running the remarks on the scenery and journey. They stayed in Paris for the Sabbath and set out on Monday, 25th, arriving at Abbeville on the 26th February and Calais the next day. They crossed to Dover on the 28th and got as far as Sittingbourne that night, finally reaching Park Lane and home on Friday, 29th February 1828.

\textsuperscript{441} Private Journal, p.320  
\textsuperscript{442} ibid., p.321  
\textsuperscript{443} ibid.
CHAPTER TWO
WHAT DANGERS & DIFFICULTIES DID THEY FACE?

The Montefiores faced a variety of dangers during their many journeys but in 1827/28 the greatest danger they faced was getting caught up in the Greek/Turkish war or encountering pirates that roamed the coasts of the Levant at that time. They had close shaves with respect to both these dangers, and yet escaped; the various warnings given them not to venture to the East were indeed well-founded. That they still ventured on is a mark of their courage and determination.

The Greek Wars and the Pirates
The history of the Greek Wars of Independence which came to a climax during the Montefiore voyages in the war zone has already been outlined. The Montefiores left England on the 1st May 1827 and on the 27th July England, Russia and France agreed to send ships to enforce an armistice between the Turks and the Greeks. The Montefiores arrived in Malta on the 9th July; the tension was great on the island that was the base for the British Mediterranean Fleet. The Turkish/Egyptian fleet was destroyed at the battle of Navarino on the 20th October 1827 while the Montefiores were in Jerusalem. They were in great potential danger of reprisals once they arrived back in Alexandria.

The Greek seamen had always been unruly, especially in the islands which were ideally suited for piracy. There were many isolated harbours and inlets, approachable only by sea, and even a strong government would have found it difficult to control such independent bandits. What is more, the Turks often tolerated such a state of affairs, as long as these brigands paid their taxes and did not cause wider

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for examples of warnings given see Private Journal, pp.110, 182
troubles. In addition the leaders and instigators of the Greek revolution were often themselves outlaws! Once the Revolt had started, the Provisional Greek Government wished to prevent equipment and arms reaching Turkish troops in the Morea by sea. They therefore gave semi-official permission for Greek ships to stop and search neutral vessels. The Allies would protest when such violations happened to innocent vessels, and the Provisional Government issued "papers" to the Greek captain - but this was often no guarantee of their goodwill or lawful authority. What is more, the Provincial Government was in such disarray that official protests got nowhere. And at the same time the Allies had sympathy with the Greeks against the Turks and did not wish to weaken their position.

In 1825 Stratford Canning, the British Ambassador in Constantinople wrote to George Canning, the Foreign Secretary. The Greeks were "in general ill-qualified to perform the delicate duty of examining ships ... and not over nice in their manner of executing their duty" 445

The British Government protested, British merchants whose ships were plundered protested and the Greeks said the pirates preyed on their vessels as well. When the Greek Government tried to take action Greek captains felt aggrieved, feeling action was taken only to pacify foreigners and so upright Greek captains would protect the rogues. To add to this there were also genuine, independent pirates who roamed the Aegean Sea, the coast around Smyrna, the south coast of Crete and it was these pirates who particularly threatened the shipping from Malta to the Eastern Mediterranean.

445 Quoted in Pitcairn Jones [n.19], p.2ff, from which much of the information has been obtained - together with the texts of the actual dispatches seen in the P.R.O. eg. Co 158:55 Despatches 18 February 1827, 18 June 1827, 22 August 1827.
The British response was to increase its naval presence in the Mediterranean, and yet even so the Mediterranean Squadron was thinly spread and this explains the long wait the Montefiores had in Malta, waiting for a naval ship to guard their convoy of merchant vessels sailing east. At the beginning of 1826 there were only thirteen fighting ships in the Mediterranean Squadron, and by 28th February 1827, when Sir Edward Codrington had assumed command, only another eight ships had been added. On the 19th June 1827 Codrington sailed to Greece, to lay down the law and to stop piracy - and this led, almost by accident, to the Battle of Navarino. This did, however, put a stop to Greek piracy because the Greeks realised the British were serious and there was no longer a Turkish naval threat, and the Greek Provisional Government would now begin to establish real authority. The final end to the threat of piracy came with the introduction of steam ships which started to sail the eastern Mediterranean in the early 1830's. The pirates under sail were no match for the new steam merchantmen.

This lengthy background has been given to explain the very real danger the Montefiores faced on the journey from Malta to Alexandria and the Holy Land [and as shown above, Constantinople may also have been on their initial itinerary]. There is also evidence of pirates attacking ships between Cape Passaro in Sicily and Malta.

When Robert Hay sailed into Valetta he recorded in his diary: "3rd September 1824. To the left of the harbour we observed four men hung in chains for piracy and I am shocked to say English men about four years since " The Montefiores do not mention this grisly sight, but had several reminders of the dangers of pirates. Judith's 1827

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446 Pitcairn-Jones, [n.19], p.233; in a letter from Gen. Ponsonby to Sir Edward Codrington: 21st October 1827

447 Robert Hay [n.358], ad.loc.
Diary entries of 18th July record the impossibility of sailing for Alexandria "without convoy in these times of piratical danger". They read the weekly Malta Gazette which was "wholly occupied with local intelligence" and indeed had regular reports of the ships recently attacked by the various pirates. And Judith's entry for the 31st July has already been quoted, when their Maltese boatman said he wouldn't make the voyage to Alexandria "because der be gret danger from di Greek!!". The pirates were clearly identified as Greeks.

The Montefiores set sail from Malta on the 15th August and Judith's Diary records their vessel the Leonidas sailing in convoy with four other merchant vessels - "the Mary of London, La Victoire of Marseille, a Genoese and an Austrian" and all five vessels were in the care of HMS Gannet [Captain Brace]. By the 18th August the convoy was already suffering difficulties as a couple of the vessels were slow and so held up the convoy. La Victoire had to be towed. On the 22nd August Judith writes: "We were awoke this morning at five ... by a strange sail in the distance. 'A pirate! A pirate!' was the word." The Leonidas was called to take the lead of the convoy while Captain Brace went off to investigate the "suspicious schooner". The Gannet fired a warning shot, and only then did the ship raise the Austrian flag. It is an ill wind .. and by coincidence, the next day Captain Brace reported that the Austrian ship had been carrying a letter for him. Again, on the 25th: "A strange sail next came in sight; and the

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449 Private Journal, p.102
450 ibid., p.110
451 ibid., p.117
452 ibid., p.123
commodore hoisted his signal to close while he went in chase"453. In fact they saw a French brig and a Greek vessel. The former was quickly allowed to sail free. The Greek, however, needed closer inspection and even after Captain Brace had examined her papers she gave considerable cause for concern. The examination of these vessels cost the convoy five hours. Later, while waiting in Alexandria a "vessel arrived to-day from Syria which had been pillaged of her cargo by the Greeks who with infinite politeness offered the captain four Greek ladies by way of indemnification"454. Judith goes on to lament the situation where defenceless women could be so cheaply treated - and clearly the incident must have given her, a woman about to travel to the coast of Syria, cause for great concern.

On the journey from Alexandria to Jaffa, though sailing solo on the Henry William, they saw no sign of other ships. But on the return journey on the 25th October, near to Alexandria, "Two strange sails then presented themselves and our thoughts were instantly turned to the Greeks"455. But the vessels turned out to be traders from Cyprus and not pirates. Next day on their arrival back at Alexandria, they were frightened by a huge explosion. It turned out to be a Turkish frigate, the captain of which had had an argument with the Pasha of Egypt. He had been threatened with being put in chains and so he blew up his ship, seven or eight sailors perishing. In the harbour they saw "A Greek schooner" that had been captured by a French warship and the two Cypriot vessels which had been plundered by pirates just after they had passed them. So the Montefiores were left in no doubt that the threat of pirates was very real and they were lucky to escape.

453 Private Journal, p.127
454 ibid., p.170
455 ibid., p.221
On the 2nd November, they were confronted by another dangerous situation - for only that day the news arrived of the Battle of Navarino [on the 20th October] "in which the Turco-Egyptian squadron was totally annihilated"\textsuperscript{456}. A local Jewish contact, Mr. Fuor, was so scared he talked of leaving immediately with the Montefiores on the Leonidas. Fortunately, the next day the Pasha sent troops to stop any rioting against "the Franks".

There were no British naval vessels to guard a convoy back to Malta and it took some persuading to get the Leonidas included in a French convoy. They left on the 7th November, and the very next day became detached from the convoy and were blown north towards Beirut. On the 8th Judith records much talk of being attacked and, when asked if they would resist pirates, Captain Anderson replied, "Do you think I should tamely consent to have my ship pillaged, when I have the promise of Captain Montefiore's assistance, and four loaded guns on the vessel!"\textsuperscript{457}. Dr. Madden, their new-found companion, was clearly not so impressed by Montefiore's bravado for he adds, "Then we have a chance of having our throats cut!"\textsuperscript{458}

It was to be a long and frightening voyage to Malta. The next day [9th November] they rejoined the convoy which had four French, one Austrian, one Russian and three English ships [including the Henry William]\textsuperscript{459}. The weather alternated between calms and storms. They lost the convoy in fog and on the 15th November they saw a light on a ship coming towards them off the coast of Crete. They were convinced it was pirates, and the sailors ran below to hide their few miserable belongings - but it proved to be the long-lost French naval vessel, the Dauphine.

\textsuperscript{456} Private Journal, p.230  
\textsuperscript{457} ibid., p.235  
\textsuperscript{458} ibid.  
\textsuperscript{459} Loewe "Diaries" I:47
Judith's Journal graphically describes the storms, the seasickness, injuries due to being knocked over and falling furniture, and the gradual lack of food. On the 28th November they were in sight of Malta, but a contrary wind blew them away. It was not until the 1st December that they entered the harbour at Malta. Captain Jones and the rest of the convoy had arrived three days earlier. It had taken twenty-four days and the last evening was the worst: it was a Friday - ever after Moses recited on Friday evening a prayer of thanks for deliverance, and it was on that evening that the Matzah was resorted to to quell the storm.

They had sailed the Eastern Mediterranean at a most dangerous time and though they had had several frights they did not encounter pirates and though in a war zone were not threatened because of the destruction of the Egyptian fleet at Navarino.

Other Dangers: Bandits and Highwaymen
In time, as Sir Moses Montefiore grew more famous, he would become the focus of personal attack and risk of assassination, but in 1827 he was a relatively unknown traveller. However, the further south you travelled, even in 1827, the risk increased of meeting bandits on the road, especially in Italy. On the 5th June 1827 they were in Radicofani in the Appennines and they were delayed setting off so "Montefiore took a fancy to walk down the mountain for exercise, a distance of five miles." Soon he was out of sight and an hour later "a thousand vague fears of banditti and other causes of danger kept possession of my mind." Moses echoed Judith's fears in a line in his

460 Private Journal, pp.233-258
461 Loewe "Diaries" I:47/48 - and see pp.105-106
462 Private Journal, p.48
463 ibid.
Account Book, "Walked, Judith was uneasy it being so long before the carriage over took me"\textsuperscript{464}.

Four years earlier, south of Radicofani, near the lake Bolsena, Judith wrote, "We did not experience any apprehensions of Banditti. The extensive forest near Viterbo being an ambush for these dangerous intruders, was destroyed by order of the Government two years ago. There are now many of the trees lying on the ground resembling the colour of charcoal ... observed several caves on each side of the road which appear equally dangerous"\textsuperscript{465}. Though the Government had taken decisive action to clear the side of the roads where the bandits could easily attack passing traffic, the fear was clearly very much still there. On the 12th June 1827 they were just south of Rome and Moses wrote "Passed several picket stations with soldiers; on the left the forest burnt to a considerable extent to render the road safer"\textsuperscript{466}. Despite the burning, soldiers were still needed to guard passing travellers.

On their return journey in 1828 Judith mentions the cut-down trees near Bolsena, but her handwritten journal includes a passage not in the printed version: "This part of Italy is so perfectly safe. To here we took an escort on our first journey"\textsuperscript{467}. Presumably the reference is to the tour of 1816 or 1818. So the roads through Italy appeared to be getting safer, yet in 1838 again south of Rome "we had an escort of two soldiers, the road having lately been infested with robbers. Prince P__ was stopped at La Sortan ... by six men who demanded his purse and watch ... this happened

\textsuperscript{464} Moses' Account Book 1827/28, p.14  
\textsuperscript{465} Judith's Manuscript Diary 1823: 1st December 1823  
\textsuperscript{466} Moses' Account Book, p.15  
\textsuperscript{467} Private Journal, MS, 30th January 1828
only the day before our arrival ...". Then "two soldiers rode in full gallop by our carriages..." Later in the day they heard that "four of the banditti had been taken and their chief killed by the soldiers on whom he had fired". His body was exhibited in all the towns between Rome and Naples. It is no wonder that William Kitchiner in his Traveller's Oracle recommended that a traveller needed "a Sword & Tuck Stick" [p.54] "a Pair of Pistol Holsters attached to the Coach box are very good defensive furniture" [p.12]; "For personal defence: Double Barreled Pocket Pistols" [p.104].

Of course, once in the East, the dangers of being robbed or killed were even greater. When Buckingham sailed up the Nile in 1816 he wrote that he was attacked by robbers and "stripped naked, plundered of money, papers, arms and instruments". Hennicker was in Jerusalem in 1826 and talked of reading that "Chateaubriand met with a serious adventure" on his way to see the River Jordan. Undeterred, Hennicker went down to Jericho where he too was attacked by bandits, shot at and lost everything, including his clothes. The robbers were apprehended and he was able to get most of his possessions back: purchasing them in Gaza where the Bedouin had sold them. The Montefiores had Hennicker's book with them and from his accounts of the danger of attack in the Holy Land they must have known of the dangers they faced once in the East.

In fact – there is no mention of the Montefiores actually meeting any bandits on their first short visit in the Holy

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468 Notes from a Journal, p.128
469 ibid., p.129
470 Kitchiner [n.144]
471 Buckingham [n.47], p.xii
472 Hennicker [n.125], p.282
Land; Judith even talks of safely passing Abu Ghosh on the way to Jerusalem where one expected to be stopped and forced to pay a bribe. Admittedly on this first visit they did not cover much ground, but on their next visit they faced several dangerous incidents. Travelling south from Beirut on their way to Safed, and despite having hired some local guards, on 16th May 1839 they were forced to sleep in the open and so "Dr. Loewe and Armstrong remained up during the night, guarding us with pistols in hand ... in case of attack by banditti"\textsuperscript{473}. Even once in Safed they faced danger: "we have had pistols reloaded and placed in our rooms, in case of a surprise from the Druses"\textsuperscript{474}.

After 1839 and once the Turks had re-taken control of Palestine from Mehemet Ali, security improved and in subsequent journeys the Montefiores do not report great anxiety about being attacked. Indeed, they seem to have been most fortunate in their 1827/28 visit in that, despite several possibilities of attack by pirates, bandits, or getting involved in war or riots, they journeyed out and back in safety. Maybe they took the right precautions; for instance, on the 3rd September 1827 they were in Cairo and went to see the Pyramids. Judith wrote, "the Janissary, well-armed led the van ..."\textsuperscript{475}, or perhaps they were lucky.

Mount Cenis
The greatest difficulty travelling south from England to Italy was crossing the Alps. There were a number of mountain passes and the only alternative was to go "the long way round", either by sea or eastwards, skirting the Alps and down into Trieste. [In 1855 the Montefiores did this journey on the railway which had not at that time penetrated the Alps]. In 1823 the Montefiores used the Brenner Pass, having travelled via Munich and Insbruck, but in 1827, as in

\textsuperscript{473} Notes from a Journal, p.225
\textsuperscript{474} ibid., pp.243ff
\textsuperscript{475} Private Journal, p.145
1818, they chose Mount Cenis pass. It was an ancient crossing place, and was used by Charlemagne in 774.

A contemporary guide book said, "until within these few years carriages could go no further than Lanslebourg, but were taken in pieces, and transported over the mountain on the backs of mules. Their owner also followed them by the same conveyance, or in chaises-à-porteurs, rush-bottomed elbow chairs, without legs and carried by means of two poles by porters..." 476. Many descriptions of travellers in the eighteenth century using this inconvenient method are to be found, for example Boswell in 1765, "At six I mounted the Alps machine, which consisted of two trees between which were twisted some cords on which I sat ... four fellows changing two and two ... carry me over the Saevan Alps ... the snow was sometimes six foot deep ..." 477. Galignani's Guide Book continued, "The New Road on Mount Cenis, made by order of Buonaparte is practicable at all times of the year, for carriages of all sorts" 478. The carriage road had been built between 1803 and 1813, and most of its original route exists today.

It was this road that the Montefiores used in 1818 and 1827 and though in 1827 they were travelling in May, it was still a formidable crossing, "at times the snow reached above the wheels of the vehicle ... in one part we were obliged to quit the mainroad ... it having given way on the preceeding Sunday ... I would advise no person to choose this month for crossing..." 479. Moses commented: "dreadful precipices, very foggy, with heavy rain" 480. Judith describes the

478 Galignani [n.476], p.19
479 Private Journal, p.231
480 Moses' Account Book, p.8
problems being exacerbated by the melting snows causing torrents that swept away the road, and the mists making visibility poor. She reported that their previous journeys in February and November had been much easier. Indeed, in February 1828 on the return journey Judith reports a slightly easier crossing, although the carriage did get stuck in the snow and they needed men to accompany them to help dig them out of the drifts. Though it was 21°F, they kept the carriage windows open, "out of fear".481 On the return journey Moses had begun to report regularly the prevailing temperatures. There is a note on p.132 of the Account Book, while in Egypt, "A small French thermometer". This was most likely for use while travelling in the East; it is likely that his carriage had a thermometer fitted and this was the one used to record temperatures on the return journey in Europe.] As on the outward journey they recorded their thanks for safely arriving at the summit, "we wrote Psalms in the Bible and something in the Prayerbook"482.

[In the first week of May 1990 the author, in trying to replicate the Montefiores' journey, could get no further than Lanslebourg - Mount Cenis Pass being blocked by snow despite modern snowploughs. We had to resort to the Mondane road tunnel opened in 1980.]

Coach and Other Transport Accidents
On the 23rd August 1825, travelling between Wexford and Dublin, their carriage was involved in a crash - "three or four carts drove against us and broke the splinter bar and Pole and Spring"483. On December 22nd 1840 between Naples and Rome their carriage was also in a crash "through the carelessness of the postilions"484.

481 Private Journal, MS, 13th February
482 ibid.
483 Judith's manuscript Diary for 1825 ad.loc.
484 Loewe "Diaries" I:285

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It should be remembered that your own coachman did not drive the travelling carriage. Usually there were four horses, hired from the post-house, together with two postilions. The postilions changed with each change of horses and though you relied on your coachman [in 1827/28 it was Armstrong] to keep a watch on the postilions, your safety was in their hands. If they were careless or reckless, or the roads poor, or a horse collapsed, then you faced great danger.

On the 6th June 1827 in Viterbo in Italy Judith wrote, "the morning was rainy ... the postilions ascending an extremely steep street paved with lava, at full gallop". They got to the top only to find the road blocked, "undergoing repair; and we were obliged, greatly at the expense of my nerves but the profit of blacksmiths, and perhaps surgeons, to retrace our way at the same rapid pace". Two day days' earlier Moses had written: "NB The whole of the days journey over the Appenines, road difficult, requiring strong horses ... the Postilions need to be very steady and understand their business otherwise there would be great danger to the travellers".

Although in 1827/28 they escaped a coach accident, in 1840 between Genoa and Savona they were involved in a very serious accident. Their carriage careened down a hill "on one side there was a deep precipice, of at least a hundred feet into the sea; on the other a deep ditch".

Fortunately, the carriage tipped into the ditch and not the sea and the hillside rising up beyond the ditch prevented the carriage overturning. Lady Montefiore was severely shocked, "she had lost all power to help herself". Their travelling servant, Robert Buck, received a serious gash to his leg which the physician in Genoa said, "if it had been extended a hundredth part of an inch it would have cut the

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485 Private Journal, p.49
486 Moses' Account Book, p.14
487 Loewe "Diaries" I:285
artery and he would have bled to death by the time they could get the invalids back to Genoa.

Finally, one episode shows that as well as the danger of carriage travel in those days, there was also potentially great discomfort [and it should be noted that the servants had all the added discomfort of travelling in the open at the back of the coach and in all weathers!] On the 18th February 1828 the Montefiores were on the last leg of the return journey, beyond Lyon. They set out at four and intended travelling overnight. But then ... "owing to ... the fall of one of the horses with the postilion, which compelled us to walk for some distance over a muddy road ... without any other consequence than wet feet...". Moses' version describes more discomfort: "One of the wheel Horses fell with the Postilion, happily neither were hurt but it was some time before the horse could be got up. Judith and myself got out of the Carriage and were almost up to our knees in mud and water, as soon as we were in the Carriage again we took off our shoes and stockings ... it was dark and foggy".

Health and Hygiene
On top of the physical perils, an ever-present and real danger in travelling in the Levant was from life-threatening diseases. Travellers from Europe had built up no immunity and so were particularly susceptible. Several of the early explorers succumbed and their deaths were well publicised. Even minor illnesses can be more serious when travelling, especially in an inhospitable climate.

Having been beaten up by bandits near Jericho, Henniker was ill for three weeks in Jerusalem, "Jerusalem is a sorry place to be ill at; even a person in health has no reason

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488 Loewe's Diaries I: 285
489 Version in Judith's Manuscript Diary for 1827/28
490 Moses' Account Book p.40

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to complain of comfort"\textsuperscript{491}. Henniker's was one of the later journals to be published [1823]; most of the earlier men talk at length of the serious danger to health for the traveller in the East. Wittman [who published in 1803] even adds to the title of his book, "to which are annexed observations on the plague and on the diseases prevalent...". Indeed, in an appendix he lists the causes of death amongst his party exploring the Levant:

\begin{verbatim}
"Fever; Malignant, bilious, remittent    12
Dysentery                             4
Plague                                2
Drowned                               3
Pectoral complaints                   2
Diseased liver                        1
Convulsive affliction                 1"
\end{verbatim}

In his book [and in the books of others] there are graphic details of the various diseases, and the deaths of members of the party; by 1827 a traveller to the East would have been in no doubt as to the dangers they faced. However, it was Dr. Madden, who published in 1829, who provides the most extensive description of the diseases and their possible causes.

Dr. Madden lists six common diseases of the Plague, Dysentery, Ophthalmia, Bilious Remittent Fever, Intermittent Fever or Ague and Inflammatory Fever. The Plague is usually taken to mean the bubonic variety, and many instances of such outbursts occurred in the East [it decimated Napoleon's Army in Jaffa in 1800]. However, it can be used for other diseases. Dr. Madden says the plague is carried by \textit{typhus gravissimus} and so clearly is referring to Typhus. In Cairo he noted that "Dr. Marpurgo, the celebrated Jew physician here, had made various experiments with \textit{prussic acid} and \textit{nux vomica}, and had done no good: on the contrary the patients

\textsuperscript{491} Henniker, [n.125], p.292
\textsuperscript{492} Wittman, [n.5], p.515
had died. I did not wonder at it!"\(^{493}\). Dr. Madden advised gentler treatment with "brandy, wine and bark", the last being quinine. He later says, "Plague miasma, according to my opinion, originates in the putrefaction of animal matter. Malaria originates in the decomposition of vegetable matter"\(^{494}\). Such a statement is not only a reminder that it would be some time before a proper identification of the causes of diseases was made, but also that there was still a great confusion as to the exact disease - even by an eminent doctor like Richard Madden. Clarke commented, "I do not agree with Volney on the subject of the plague, which in Egypt is indigenous. It originates in the stagnant waters of the Nile"\(^{495}\). Was he also referring to Malaria, and was he closer to the cause than Dr. Madden - the mosquitoes in the stagnant water of the land? However, Dr. Madden got it right with his cure for "Intermittent Fever or Ague or Malaria" - quinine - "the sulphate of bark never fails, it is an invaluable medium in Eastern countries, and the traveller who would set out without it ... might be considered an accessory to his own fate"\(^{496}\).

Dr. Madden made many experiments [for example he performed autopsies on seven English sailors who died of dysentery in Alexandria\(^{497}\)] and his book is of great interest to anyone investigating the history of medical knowledge. In addition to the medicines he recommended, he also gives some practical recommendations to keep healthy, for instance, "to live abstemiously and not eat too much food or too much water"\(^{498}\). To cover one's head in the midday sun and not eat pork or eggs\(^{499}\). He also warned against milk and

\(^{493}\) Madden, [n.191], p.190  
\(^{494}\) ibid., p.202  
\(^{495}\) Otter, [n.46], p.487  
\(^{496}\) Madden, [n.191], p.285  
\(^{497}\) ibid., p.280  
\(^{498}\) ibid., p.376  
\(^{499}\) ibid., p.280
beef\textsuperscript{500} and says, "many Europeans fall victim to their own imprudence"\textsuperscript{501}. In other words: be careful what you eat and drink and how you dress. Finally, "in a hot climate there is the need for invigorating the physical power by means of the mood ... resisting the enervating influence of a hot climate by ... a fearless heart, cheerfulness..."\textsuperscript{502}, ie. keep up your spirits.

Although "the Plague" is the most feared and spoken of, two other diseases most commonly afflicted the traveller: ophthalmia and dysentery. Ophthalmia is obviously an affliction of the eyes and covers a number of diseases: conjunctivitis, blindness caused by the bright sun or the sand, etc. Wittman claimed that in Jaffa nearly two-thirds of the inhabitants had lost either one or two eyes and diagnosed its cause as "bad diet", "burning sands ... and their confined dwellings"\textsuperscript{503}. Buckingham recorded "I had received the first attack of ophthalmia on quitting Mr. Burckhardt, who himself labours under the disease. I became gradually blind"\textsuperscript{504}. The above references imply it was contagious and Belzoni says "unfortunately both Mrs. Belzoni and myself had been much afflicted ... with ophthalmia which was so severe ... I could scarcely see anything before me"\textsuperscript{505}. Mrs. Belzoni gave her cure and antidote, "made it a rule to wash my eyes daily with water mixed with aqua vitae"\textsuperscript{506}.

\textsuperscript{500} Madden [n.191], p.273
\textsuperscript{501} ibid., p.270
\textsuperscript{502} ibid.
\textsuperscript{503} Wittman, [n.5], 223
\textsuperscript{504} Buckingham, [n.47], p.x
\textsuperscript{505} Belzoni, [n.87], p.123
\textsuperscript{506} ibid., p.451
Giovani Belzoni, like Burckhardt, died of dysentery. Richardson found Burckhardt ill at Mr. Salt's house in Cairo and tended him daily until he died\(^507\). An indication of the imprecise knowledge of the time is shown in Henniker's words: "Fog occasioned to me a dysentery ... restricted to boiled rice and a little oil burnt on it, I was cured in three days"\(^508\).

The Montefiores were fortunate as they escaped the major diseases of the "East", although it should be borne in mind that most of the time in Egypt was spent on the Leonidas and they only spent seven days in the Holy Land. They did, however, succumb to the common maladies only to be expected on a long tour. The first problem to be surmounted on their journey was seasickness. Judith was especially prone to this, though she tried various remedies. In 1823, crossing the channel, "Mr. Mezzara's expedient did not succeed this time, that of keeping upright on one foot ..."\(^509\). To be fair Montefiore and Mr. Mazzara were also seasick; the crossing took four hours in a gale! On their second channel crossing in 1816 Judith was more graphic in her description, "...suffered dreadfully from Sea Sickness & Montefiore was not much better tho' his was not active indisposition"\(^510\). Another of Mr. Mazzara's cures for seasickness was "champagne ... strengthens the stomach, as well as grog and ... two glasses are more serviceable than one"\(^511\). This too proved little help to the Montefiores. It was Judith's seasickness between Naples and Malta that forced Moses to pay the Captain of the Portia to put into Messina. The agonies Judith [and the others] had to endure during the return voyage of a month from Alexandria to Malta must have been dire, although the worse it got, the more Judith's

\(^{507}\) Richardson [n.92], p.161  
\(^{508}\) Henniker [n.125], p.53  
\(^{509}\) Judith's 1823 Diary, Monday 6th October  
\(^{510}\) Rothschild Archives R.Fam.30/3  
\(^{511}\) Private Journal, p.286
spirit prevailed, "it is certain that my constitution has overcome seasickness: and probably the mental powers become invigorated with the physical"512. Indeed, of the two, Judith proved the fitter and, as will become evident, Moses was clearly a hypochondriac.

On the Continental journey south there is little mention of illness. In Milan Judith and Moses suffered blistered feet after a day's walking round the sights, "but this did not prevent our visiting la Scala in the evening"513. In Syracuse Moses' ankle became swollen, which delayed their departure for Malta. However, after a day's rest they toured the sights of Syracuse, conveniently using the only wheeled vehicle in town514. Bathing the foot in cold water and vinegar cured the swelling515. On Malta Judith developed "a severe pain over my eyelids", but a boat ride that night relieved the pain516. A week later Judith developed "a violent head-ache" and fever and a Mr. Melin "surgeon of the staff" examined her and advised her to stay in bed, where she remained for three days517. On the eighth day of the voyage on the Leonidas Moses complained of rheumatics and Judith of ear-ache. Perhaps the sea air was getting to them518. On the cangia up the Nile Moses got another bout of rheumatism519. This was a long-standing condition; in 1816 in Lausanne he was ill for three days with the complaint520.

512 Private Journal MS, 14th November
513 Private Journal, p.32
514 ibid., p.86
515 ibid., p.88
516 ibid., p.110
517 ibid., p.113 [Loewe identifies him as Mr. Milan, "Governor's medical adviser" Loewe "Diaries" I:38]
518 ibid., p.125
519 ibid., p.157
520 Loewe "Diaries" I:21
Towards the end of their stay in Alexandria, the first mention appears of a rash on Moses' neck, "a common disease in this country, and which may properly be considered as one of the plagues of Egypt". Mr. Mazzara developed the same complaint and this was the reason given for his not going to Palestine. Perhaps it was due to agitation because soon after leaving Alexandria Judith reported, "with renovated health my dear Montefiore ...." But most likely it was a real medical problem, the excitement of being in the Holy Land allowed him to forget his malady. On the return journey the skin complaint increasingly caused Moses to curtail his social activities. It was identified in the manuscript Diary [but never printed - presumably too indelicate], "Mun has taken a gram of Calomel by recommendation of Dr. Madden for the cure of a ring worm which for some time past has troubled him". A week later and still in the Lazaretto, "Mun continues to take a Calomel Pill ... and abstaining from Animal food and wine to remedy the irritation on his skin ...". The next day Judith recorded that Moses was finding it difficult to keep to this diet and there was a panic as Montefiore appeared to have dysentery - but Judith added in the manuscript version: "Mun made more free with the desserts than usual yesterday...".

The first night out of the Lazaretto, Judith went to the opera and next day, "I awoke with a headache, the effect of the previous night's gadding ...". The manuscript version adds, "Mun would not go on account of his neck".

521 Private Journal, p.183
522 ibid., p.185
523 Private Journal MS, 9th December
524 ibid., 14th December
525 ibid., 6th December
526 Private Journal, p.273
527 Private Journal MS, 21st December
Three days later, "I could not prevail on Mun to accompany us to Lady Stoddart ... the cutaneous affection not yet being remedied...". The next night Judith declined an invitation to a ball because Moses would not go. He was no better a month later and, in Naples, "the irritation on Montefiore's neck still continuing, he consulted a Dr. Postilioni, who is warmly recommended by Anselm [Rothschild] - this physician concurred with Dr. Madden in respect to abstaining from Wine ..."528. Again, Moses missed the ball, this time at the Rothschilds, but Judith went, as she did on the following night. Reading the manuscript diary you get the impression she was losing patience with her husband. A fortnight later in Leghorn Moses "consulted a new Doctor of the Name of Bondi ... he recommended Cassia for the Cutaneous complaint ..."529. A week later "Mun took Cassia, the complaint does not seem to be abated..."530. Clearly the medicine made him drowsy as he noted, "Having taken a dose of Cassia we did not leave Genoa till 12.15"531. Similar delays are mentioned for the 15th and 18th February. On top of the effects of the medicine, perhaps it was sheer exhaustion that was slowing him down. On Saturday, 16th February Judith noted, "I indulged Mun by giving him his breakfast au lit"532. Both Calomel and Cassia are purgatives! Calomel consisted chiefly of mercurous chloride and the chief ingredient of cassia was Senna alexandrina, together with Magnes sulphate533. [A number of other medicines mentioned, for instance in Dr. Madden's list [see above pp.97ff] were also purgatives, eg. Colocynth, Ipecavanha, Seidlitz Powders]. How it could cure ringworm

528 Private Journal, MS, 16th January
529 ibid., 3rd February. Judith recorded that Dr. Bondi was a Jew, and the best doctor in town!
530 ibid., 10th February: Genoa
531 Moses' Account Book, p.33
532 Private Journal MS, 16th February
533 For this information I am grateful to Spencer Cowan
is not certain: it surely must have made travelling inconvenient for want of toilets!

Soon after leaving the Lazaretto, Judith recorded, "Dr. Madden who since submitting to the loss of two teeth has banished pain". With dental hygiene far from advanced, it is surprising if other incidents of tooth-ache did not take place during such a long journey. Almost home, in Paris at the end of February, Moses' Account Book [p.136] says, "Pernot: cleaning teeth 100 Dyperytre : Physician 100". It is not clear who went to the dentist, or if Moses was trying yet another doctor for his neck complaint.

What about personal hygiene? There are few records of their having a bath. A month after leaving home and the first night in Florence, after visiting the opera, "I had a warm bath, in which, owing to the carelessness of my servant, I was almost boiled". Moses recorded that while in Florence he "paid for three baths". Then in Malta Judith went sea-bathing at La Florina on the 3rd August. The next mention is on the 6th August which only says, "cold bath $"; not if it was Judith or Moses, or where. At the time they were staying at Beverleys Hotel which seemed to be the best in town, yet when they returned to it on their way back, "Moses went to Paulo's to take a warm bath, with Dr. Madden, and I occupied myself in shopping...". The only other reference to bathing comes on the return journey in Lyon, "Mun had a warm bath".

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534 Private Journal MS, 29th December
535 Private Journal, p.41
536 Account Book, p.123
537 Private Journal, p.111
538 Account Book, p.127
539 Private Journal, p.276
540 Private Journal MS, 17th February

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It could be argued that they bathed more often but, if so, why is it not recorded? The fact that Moses could list the cost of fires, candles, etc. but not baths indicates that it was not a regular expenditure. There is no mention of baths at all during the months spent "in the East" - if it was shocking to our modern standards that for the many months while travelling in Europe they very rarely bathed, how much more so in the heat of the Eastern Mediterranean!

To summarise the question of the Montefiores' health, with the exception of ringworm, they and their party escaped any serious illness. The maladies they did suffer, like rheumatism and ear-ache, they could well have suffered at home. In fact in all their many journeys to the East and elsewhere they escaped serious illness and since Judith lived to be 86 and Moses to 100, they were obviously robust. It might be pointed out that on their second journey to the Holy Land in 1838/39, their servant, Ann Flinn, died in the Lazaretto in Malta, but not of the plague as was feared, "but by a pulmonary affliction"541. In 1866 Sir Moses' travelling companion and physician, Dr. Hodgkin, died in Jaffa, but it seems not from a disease picked up on the way, although the tiring journey could only have aggravated a long-standing complaint.

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541 Notes from a Journal, p.357
CHAPTER THREE
PASSPORTS AND CUSTOMS

Apart from the physical dangers and difficulties faced by travellers to the East, there was also the bureaucracy in various countries to be dealt with. Although the European leg of the journey was through France and Italy, the latter country in 1827/28 was made up of a number of minor states and at the border of each passports needed endorsing, visas obtained or customs paid. Each transaction cost money and was often time consuming542. Fortunately, Montefiore includes three pages in his Account Book [pp.133, 134 and 136] headed "Passport, Custom House &c" and from these pages it is possible to reconstruct the difficulties of frequent passport controls.

"At Calais Frs 12"543 is the only note on crossing the first border. The date is given as "Thu 4 May" although they left Calais on Thursday 2nd May. The charge could have been either for passports or customs. Judith records, "the familiar features of the custom house officer next presented themselves; and our luggage was passed with the smallest possible molestation"544. She does not mention passports, so it is not clear what the 12 francs were for. Savoy was the next country and Judith noted "Pont-de-Beauvoisin the boundary between France and Savoy, where the customs house officer proved more annoying than we had ever before found

542 Although none of the other travellers in our "era" mention this phase of the journey, graphic descriptions of the problems with passports and customs in the late eighteenth century are given in Christopher Hibbert [n.128], p.112ff; Jeremy Black [n.131] and in William Mead, The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century [New York, 1914]

543 All references are taken from Moses' Account Book unless otherwise noted.

544 Private Journal, p.4
them". She goes on to say that previously they had done a search, but this time all the boxes had to be taken off the coach and "not an article in Mr. S____'s carriage was allowed to escape unexamined"⁵⁴⁵. They were luckier as the customs men only went through the motions of "lifting the lids". Moses adds the comment on another page [7], "Detained at the Custom House - Breakfast at a Café while our carriage was being searched". Despite their annoyance they made the best of it. Moses recorded "Tue 15 May At Pont de Beauvoisin 0.15s 16 May Chambery the Bulleton 0.15s Man for getting it & Passport 0.15s" The Bulleton [modern French bulletin] was a receipt or an official certificate to allow you to stay in a town. "When any person arrives here, he must go ... or his servant to the town-house to give in his name, country, and status of life. He then receives a billet, without which the ... inn cannot ... let him lie in the house"⁵⁴⁶. The passport would be stamped with a visa and examples can be seen stamped in Moses' passport for 1858 [see Appendix 5]. Above is the first of many references to paying a man to go and get for them their correct documentation.

Judith tells of no inconvenience crossing the border from Savoy to Piedmont and Moses merely notes "W 17 May At Mont Cenis Frs. 1.0". The two provinces were in the same country in 1827; perhaps there were internal controls. The crossing point in those days was right at the top of the mountain pass at the post house [today it is on the descent towards Susa]. However at Turin, the capital of the State, they also paid "4.0 Frs. Bulletin 0.15s Card of Permission, 0.5s to the man for the Passport to the Austrian Consul 0.15". So in Turin there was additional bureaucracy with a "Card of Permission" as well as the need to obtain a passport for the

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⁵⁴⁵ Private Journal, p.17
⁵⁴⁶ The quote is from Francis Coghlan, A Handbook for Italy etc. [London 1847], pp.xx-xxi; and see William Edward Mead [n.542], pp.152ff
next border crossing into Lombardy, then an Austrian possession. At Buffalora, the border town with Lombardy, Judith reports "our carriage underwent a slight search by the custom house officer who seemed to scrutinise the books most severely, but everything escaped duty". This indicates that they travelled with a small library of reading books and travel guides. Moses recorded that at Buffalora "Degano 3.10 Plumbing Baggage 0.15". Was the latter a record of the tax paid or the tip given for unloading and reloading the luggage? He also said, "At Navara passport 0.15 Police to confirm 1.0". Navarra was the last large town before leaving Lombardy and so the office for passports was to be found there and not at the border town. The police confirming the passport was an added cost and bureaucratic process, and was presumably meant as a check against subversion as was the check on their books.

Moses also recorded a curiosity: "At Buffalora duty on Sausages 1.11". Why did Judith not know of the sausages and whose were they? Perhaps they were Mr. Mazzara's or the servants, or possibly they belonged to the Montefiores and here is another example of Judith covering up for their travelling with non-Kosher meat. Another tax was encountered in Lombardy on the same day, "At Milan the Gates 15 and 3.10". Two days later, the day before leaving Milan, "Thu 24 Tarif 1.10 Roman Consul & Porter 2.10 Valet for going to Police 1.15". After Milan they would cross the River Po into the Papal States and so the need for a new visa to cross into the new territory, "At Piacenza, the Police 10c. Dogano & Policeman & man going for Passport 0.10".

The examples noted above would be repeated as their journey proceeded through Italy: "at Moderna on entering the Pope's States ..." at Florence "Passports Roman Consul, Police Card"
Permission ... man for going ... custom house ... Roman frontier..." etc. At Naples, "Stamp at Dogana ... Passport English Consul ... Police ... Neapolitan Minister ... Man ... Passports Terracine ... Man do ... Dogana men at the hotel ... Dogana men on board the Portia" etc.

On the return journey through Europe the list is similar: a variety of official measures connected with passports, customs, gate and bridge tolls and so on. Moses' Account Book often records "Settled with Armstrong" followed by a list of expenses; it was his job to cope with a lot of the actual bureaucracy. Sometimes a "man" was sent with the documents, but from Judith's account, she and Moses were often greatly inconvenienced. On the 28th January 1828, the day before leaving Rome, the Montefiores "rode to the different offices to get the signatures to the passport. The secretary of states being at the Vatican". They were heading north through three or four Italian States and so were able to save some of the inconvenience suffered on the outward journey of constantly needing visas.

On the pages in the Account Book headed "Malta" and "Egypt" [pp.127, 132 and 140] there are charges for passports but no other charges as above. Perhaps Moses and Judith did not note down the incidence or costs of further bureaucracy, but maybe the process was simpler once out of Europe. On the 26th August, having arrived at Alexandria, Judith notes a "boat appeared with the harbourmaster who came on board ... the names and number of the passengers, with a few other questions, were then asked; and without further trouble ..." they were free to land.

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[548] for example, Private Journal MS, 12th February at Susa where Mr. Mazzara met Armstrong "at the Passport Office"

[549] Private Journal, p.301

[550] ibid., p.129

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Next day a "Turkish police officer ... came on board with permission to land..."\(^{551}\). There is no record of any cost being involved, nor for the firman which they eventually obtained from the Pasha in Cairo.

Arriving at Jaffa on the 16th October it was decided that "Mr. Bell ... should, together with Captain Anderson, proceed on shore first, in order to present our letters to the consul"\(^{552}\). Presumably the "letter" Judith refers to was Mehemet Ali's firman. When they reached Jerusalem, Moses had an audience with the governor. Judith says, "He then desired his scribe to add a handsome eulogium to our passport, to which he fixed his name and seal ..."\(^{553}\). Dr. Loewe quotes in full a translation of the "Visa ... affixed to his passport - 'We declare that today arrived at Jerusalem our friend the English gentleman, Mr. Montefiore. He has visited all the holy places and all the grandees of the town, as well as several of lesser note [etc. etc.]'"\(^{554}\). Despite the fact that it was somewhat of an exaggeration, this "eulogium" was common practice reported by other travellers of the time. It usually had the form of a proof that the person had been there and done all that was expected of a pilgrim. Pococke and Turner reproduced in the Appendices to their books facsimiles of letters of introduction and passports they used in the East. Wittman in his Appendix has a large fold-out copy of his "Turkish Firman or Passport". Spilsbury in his Plate XV has a picture of the Vizier applying his seal to the firman that allowed him to go to Jerusalem. Just as Dr. Loewe proudly quoted the eulogium affixed to Montefiore's firman, clearly the other travellers were equally proud in reproducing their firmans in their books.

\(^{551}\) Private Journal, p.130
\(^{552}\) ibid., p.187
\(^{553}\) ibid., p.216
\(^{554}\) Loewe "Diaries" I:42
It was usual for the superiors of monasteries also to give letters proving the pilgrims had visited [Henniker reproduces the one given him by the Superior of the Convent in Jerusalem555] but Moses is not recorded as visiting any Christian holy sites and, although Judith did in Bethlehem, she does not talk of receiving a certificate. Christian travellers of the time also record that the superior of one establishment would provide a letter of introduction to another. Thus Turner, in an Appendix, reproduces a letter from the Greek Patriarch in Athens to the Greek convent at Mount Sinai. Buckingham had difficulty getting into the Terra Sancta convent in Jerusalem until he produced a letter of introduction from the superior of the convent in Nazareth which he had just visited556.

It was not just letters from religious establishments; any letter of introduction was useful. The Montefiores obtained letters of introduction from England for Malta, from Malta for Egypt and from there for use in Palestine. This was a common practice; from any person of importance you met you obtained an introduction to the next. Richardson was welcomed by the notorious "Sheik of Abougosh" only because he had a letter from Lady Hester Stanhope557. Buckingham says that Burckhardt had given him a letter of introduction to "the Pasha of Acre and Damascus to secure any passage through their dominions"558.

In conclusion it can be seen that although the Montefiores travelled "in the East" during a volatile political period, since their actual route in the Holy Land was very limited they were subject to little trouble in getting the necessary permissions to land and travel. No duties or tolls were

555 Henniker [n.125], p.340 and see Clarke [n.2:8], p.605
556 Buckingham, [n.47], p.175
557 Richardson, [n.92], p.211
558 Buckingham, [n.47], p.51
exact: they even escaped the attentions of the notorious "Abu Ghosh". However, in Europe, owing to the many different borders to cross, they had constantly to pay tolls and duties, and purchase visas and passports. Having said that, the only items that Moses' Account Book [page 128] records as requiring customs dues were the sausages at Buffalaro and, on landing at Dover at the end of their journey, "Duty on Silk Apparel £3.3.6d".
CHAPTER FOUR
ACCOMMODATION: HOTELS & SHIPS

Hotels
Because of the popularity of the Grand Tour in the previous two centuries, a range of inns and hotels had been developed in Europe and several books existed listing recommended places to stay. As today, there were various types and grades of hotels. The most basic were the coaching inns that offered a few beds to travellers. Each post house, as well as providing horses, tended to offer accommodation. Sometimes they were quite primitive, especially in the countryside, but in large towns they rivalled the hotels, which had been established independent of the posting trade. These hotels were usually the most comfortable. Judith often comments on the quality of the hotel and Moses, in his Account Book, provides a grading for each place as can be seen from the sample page in Appendix 4.

Although the Montefiores had undertaken at least three previous major tours on the Continent, they followed different routes each time [as they did on their later visits to the Holy Land]. Even in 1827/28 they used a different route back from Rome compared with the outward leg. But at key stopping-off points the routes converged and they tended to make for hotels in which they had stayed before. Thus for their first night on their 1827/28 Tour they stayed at Dover, "the Union Hotel which, constant to old friends, we prefer to any other". They used it again in 1830 and on that journey stayed the next night in Calais at Quillac's Hotel which was also their usual hotel.

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560 Private Journal, p.3 & Moses' Account Book, p.82

561 Moses' Account Book, 1830, Thursday 8 July
as Judith put it in 1827, "as usual, people from the various hotels eagerly offered their services; but keeping to the old rule, we fixed on Quillac's and better accommodation could not have been desired". They stayed there on their return journey and their next night at the Union Hotel in Dover.

Sometimes they were persuaded to try another hotel. In Florence they had previously used Schneider's Hotel but this time Armstrong persuaded them to stay at the York Hotel as it was run by an Englishman. However, Judith makes it clear that it was no improvement in accommodation or food. Moses gave it only an "M" in his Account Book. On their next visit to Florence in 1839 they returned to Hotel Schneider" but found that "poor Mr. Schneider himself is no more" and that the hotel had deteriorated and so, after three nights they moved to Hotel de la Grande Bretagna which proved "excellently furnished, spacious and warm".

The previous week they had also taken Armstrong's advice in Milan and stayed at the Albergo Reale and found it a better recommendation, Moses giving it an "X", presumably meaning "excellent". A couple of nights earlier they stayed [apparently without recommendation] in Turin at the Hotel de l'Europe. "The appartments were princely, superbly furnished and in the best situation [Piazza di Castello] of the city. It is a great luxury to arrive at such a hotel: but it must be paid for". Moses gave this hotel his top

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562 Private Journal, p.4 and Moses' Account Book, p.83
563 Moses' Account Book, p.99 and p.100
564 Judith's Manuscript Diary for 1823, 27th November
565 Private Journal, p.41
566 p.86 - presumably "M" means "Moderate"
567 Notes from a Journal, pp.101-102
568 Moses' Account Book, p.85, Private Journal, p.30
569 Private Journal, p.25

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mark, "VX". Judith gives a detailed description of their room and adds it "seems too good for the rough image of travellers whose weariness often compels them to disregard the neatness and elegance of their apartments". It is interesting to note the relative charges of the hotels. For "4 persons Beds and Appartments" - the Hotel de l'Europe [VX] cost 24 francs a night, the Albergo Reale [X] 15 francs and the York [M] 12 francs a night.

Usually they were staying only one night in a hotel, but on the Sabbath it meant at least two nights and then they tried to stay at a more congenial place, for example the de l'Europe in Turin and earlier in a hotel of the same name in Abbeville "which affords in apartments in every way adapted to render the repose of the succeeding day agreeable". Sometimes delays in transport meant they had to stay for the Sabbath short of their planned destination, for example at Piacenza. "The Hotel d'italia is not the best, nor the most esteemed for its provisions".

Sometimes when they were going to arrive very late in a town "we sent a courier forward to order rooms and supper". Once Mr. Mazzara had joined their party he also went on ahead to ensure accommodation. In Cavigliajo on the 29th May, "the best apartments were obtained for our party .." even though they "had previously written for by an English family from Florence" and this was due to "Mr. Mazzara's

570 Private Journal, p.26
571 Moses Account Book, pp.85 & 86. This one small excerpt shows how valuable this Account Book would be to somebody doing detailed research into hotels during this period.
572 Private Journal p.6 - Moses awarded it a "VX"
573 Private Journal, p.37 - though strangely Moses awarded it a "VG": it cost only 11 francs.
574 ibid. p.14 - in Maçon
acquaintance with the host"575. Sometimes, though they arrived early they had difficulty finding accommodation, for example at Rome on the return journey: "it was so full of company that we had difficulty in obtaining good accommodation at any of the hotels" - and Judith's handwritten original adds, "till at last we succeeded at the Hotel de Paris"576. They had similar problems on their return journey in Turin, "owing to the presence of the court and the festival of carnival"577, even though at the penultimate post, "we judged it advisable to despatch an avant-courier to Turin to engage our appartments and have a good fire and supper prepared"578. Judith goes on to say that they tried to get into La Bonne Femme, having stayed there before but could not get the best rooms. There is no indication as to why they did not try the Hotel de l'Europe where they had stayed in such luxury on the way out. Perhaps it was fully booked, but the indication is they were going for something cheaper - the better hotel cost 6 francs a person, La Bonne Femme cost only 2½ francs579. Sonia Lipman reports on the 1816 journey "that L'hotel du Midi at Montpelier demanded an exorbitant price for an apartment, viz. 18 francs per day", they justifiably enough immediately went to the Cheval Blanc, "an hotel equally good, where we found rooms for 10 francs a day"580.

The Montefiores were always careful with their money and this trait affected their choice of hotels even in 1827/28 when their financial situation was more secure than in 1818. As Sonia Lipman points out, they were also snobs and so in Naples, staying at the Hotel della Victoria, Judith proudly records, "we occupied the rooms just vacated by Lord

575 Private Journal, p.40
576 Private Journal MS, p.298 and MS, 23rd January 1828
577 Private Journal p.314
578 ibid.
579 Moses' Account Book, p.98
580 Sonia Lipman, [n.31], p.301

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Granville"\textsuperscript{581}. However, to be fair, she also recorded the melancholy that came over them in Lyon when they realised the hotel they were staying at was the one in which Moses' brother, Abraham, had died in 1824\textsuperscript{582}. Such coincidences can make or mar your stay, and four additional factors can be mentioned that then, as now, affected your feeling about an hotel. First, it was welcoming, when travelling abroad, to find an hotel run by English or English-speaking hosts. Early on they had gone for lunch at "l'hôtel d'angleterre" in Granville because a card had arrived that English was spoken there, but found this was only "indifferent fair"\textsuperscript{583}. Secondly, it was the heating. Mentioned above is the practice of sending an avant courier ahead to ensure fires were lit in their rooms, and often Judith comments on the fire provided. In Moses' Account Book is a separate column headed, "Fire and Candles" and so there were clearly optional extras on top of the cost of the room. In winter this was especially relevant and on 14th February in the Alps at Lanslebourg Judith recorded that Moses stayed up late to keep the fire burning "with all the wood he could find in the room"\textsuperscript{584}. The next day they found that they were charged double for the fire - clearly he had used up too much wood. Thirdly, it was the cleanliness; at this same inn Judith complained of the unwashed blankets. Finally, there is the comfort of the beds. Judith does not comment on the beds during the European leg of the 1827/28 journey, but in 1823 in Germany Judith complains on three occasions "the smallness of the German beds do not suit us, nor do the feather coverlids" \textsuperscript{585}. Having moved on they found another problem, "Trent ... there was a great difference in the beds ... these being so large and lofty\textsuperscript{586}.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{581} Private Journal, p.57
\item \textsuperscript{582} ibid. p.15
\item \textsuperscript{583} ibid., p.8
\item \textsuperscript{584} ibid., p.317
\item \textsuperscript{585} Judith's Manuscript Diary for 1823, 26th October, and also similar remarks on the 23rd and 28th October.
\end{itemize}
that Montefiore could hardly step into them, even with the aid of a chair."586.

Hotels beyond Naples
On mainland Europe it was clear that with one or two exceptions adequate accommodation could always be found, but once in "the East" it was a different matter. Even Sicily was way behind in standards. Having landed in Messina after suffering great seasickness they stayed at the Albergo della Grande Bretagna. Judith went straight to bed, but "unhoped-for company ... soon made their appearance .. but even these were bearable in comparison with the torments of the last night"587. Even bedbugs were better than seasickness. A few days later, however, at Cape Pasero, waiting to cross to Malta, they were offered beds, "but alas! we found [them] too full of what impeded our rest"588. Once in the real "East" it was not just bedbugs, but mosquitoes and other insects that made sleeping very difficult.

Egypt
In his "Instructions for Travellers in Palestine", Joliffe says: "6. What are the ordinary charges per day at inns? Answer: There are no inns except one at Alexandria and there it cost for myself and servant nearly a guinea a day. Wherever you go, there is a Convent or Consul to whom you should resort"589. Henniker [1823] was told by the consul in Alexandria that there was "an inn and a table d'hôte" but having inspected it, "I returned to my birth [sic.] on board the brig"590. He went on to describe the talk of Plague and the "plague of musquito" and the general filthy state of

586 Judith's Manuscript Diary for 1823, 18th November
587 Private Journal, p.72
588 ibid. p.89
589 Joliffe, [n.257], pp.255 & 257
590 Henniker, [n.125], p.6
Alexandria "frequent mounds of rubbish ... attempting to pass the first of these filth hills, a pack of brindled wolf dogs rushed down upon us, barking furiously as if they knew me to be a Christian"\textsuperscript{591}. The Montefiores read Henniker while in Florence, so they would not have felt encouraged by what awaited them. Indeed, Judith recorded: "The first view we had of this ancient city, presented us with a scene of filth and desolation"\textsuperscript{592}.

Unlike Henniker, "Apartments were engaged for us at the inn, [the only one in the city] at two dollars per day. They consisted of one tolerable chamber, an adjoining one which scarcely deserved the title and a closet, which was to be consigned to Marguarite"\textsuperscript{593} [her Maltese maid]. No indication is given where Mr. Mazzara slept, or Armstrong, but since there was only one "sitting room ... in which the table d'hôte was served"\textsuperscript{594} Judith had her meals in her room, Moses out of politeness joining the men "at the public table"\textsuperscript{595}.

True to Joliffe's advice the consul, Mr. Barker, offered them accommodation in his house, but they refused; on his travels Montefiore seemed loath to accept private accommodation. They only stayed two nights at the inn before departing for Cairo. On arrival, Mr. Salt the consul general offered to accommodate them in his house, but Montefiore declined and they stayed in the only inn in town run by a French family. However, "the accommodation at the inn being ill-suited to English ideas and habits"\textsuperscript{596}, the next day the Montefiores moved to Mr. Salt's house, the rest of the party and servants staying in the inn. Unfortunately,

\textsuperscript{591} Henniker [n.125], p.9  
\textsuperscript{592} Private Journal, p.130  
\textsuperscript{593} ibid., p.131  
\textsuperscript{594} ibid.  
\textsuperscript{595} ibid.  
\textsuperscript{596} ibid., p.142
the consul was a widower and his house was not well kept, "it was impossible to obtain the least rest ... having been plagued most intolerably with a host of noxious insects". Judith mentions mosquito netting, but it proved worthless. Next night they returned to the inn, "Captain Anderson having politely resigned his room to us and our portable bedstead and mosquito-curtains being placed therein", they spent a better night. Joliffe had recommended "a common camp pailasse, a single blanket and a pair of sheets ... your bed should be rolled up and carried in a canvas cover". It seems the Montefiores followed this advice and travelled with their own bed and bedding.

Having arrived back in Alexandria after surviving dreadful conditions in the cangia on the Nile, they eschewed the inn and made for their cabin on board the Leonidas, the ship that had brought them from Malta; "it appeared like a palace, and was in comparison certainly like a comfortable home". They remained on the Leonidas for the next ten nights, tediously awaiting onward transport to Jaffa. But on the 21st September, it being the eve of Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year [and a Sabbath], they had to go ashore. [It is forbidden for a Jew to land or board a ship on the Sabbath]. So it was back to the inn, although "it was with some difficulty we had procured an apartment ... owing to the great number ... especially French, lately arrived". It was not a happy new year "pent up in a miserable room" and as soon as the second day of Rosh Hashanah had passed they moved back to the Leonidas. For Yom Kippur [the Day of Atonement] they had to go back to the inn [given by Judith a

597 Private Journal, p.145
598 Ibid., p.151
599 Joliffe, [n.257], p.256
600 Private Journal, p.158
601 Ibid., p.166
602 Ibid., p.167
name, "Albergo della Tre Coronne"], but next day found apartments at the Cassino, which appears to have been a merchants' and sailors' club. "It is not usual to let the apartments, but we had them by favour at three dollars per day"603. They took their own beds and bedding and "our dinners were sent from the Albergo"604.

The Holy Land
Joliffe's advice on accommodation is: "9. To whom will it be proper to apply for lodgings on arriving at Jerusalem? ANSWER: You go to the Roman Catholic Convent ... on quitting Jerusalem you make a present of about two dollars a day for each person ..."605. In 1827 there were no hotels or inns in Palestine. For centuries pilgrims had stayed in the convents or monasteries. The only alternative [but even more primitive] accommodation was the caravanserais [khans], for example in Acre606.

On arrival at Jaffa on the 16th October 1827, the Montefiores were taken, like many previous travellers [Caroline of Brunswick, Lady Stanhope, etc.] to the house of the English consul, Mr. Damiani, "whose house ... certainly exhibited no signs of consular dignity"607. However, true to his reputation, Mr. Damiani was most hospitable while arrangements were made for the onward journey. At Ramleh travellers stayed at the Convent. Henniker had noted "here there is no housemaid and bedrooms teem with five varieties of vermin"608. The Montefiores had a similar experience,

603 Private Journal, p.175
604 ibid.
605 Joliffe [n.257], p.255 and 258
606 Described in detail by Buckingham, [n.47], p.76. Irby & Mangles stayed at a Khan at Madjala, north of Tiberius, but were badly bitten by insects. Irby & Mangles, [n.100], p.80
607 Private Journal, p.188
608 Henniker [n.125], p.272

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"the holy brothers had taken the trouble of spreading a
mattress and pillows for us on the floor of their best room;
at the further end of which Captain Anderson and Mr. Bell
also passed the night"\textsuperscript{609}. But the "host of mosquitoes"
made it impossible to sleep. It seems they were travelling
light and did not have their own bedding or netting with
them. On arrival in Jerusalem, "numbers of priests came out
from different convents"\textsuperscript{610} indicating that each sect had
accommodation for its own pilgrims. The "rest of the party
and the attendants proceeded to the Greek convent" but the
Montefiores made for the house of "our friend Mr.
Amzalac"\textsuperscript{611}.

Members of the Amzalak family still live in Jerusalem and
Joseph B. Glass and Ruth Kark have written a detailed and
absorbing history of the family\textsuperscript{612}. Joseph Amzalak was born
in the British Colony of Gibraltar in 1779 and travelled a
number of times to England [eg. 1794\textsuperscript{613} and 1808] and may
have lived there for a while. Perhaps this was where Moses
first met him - in 1808 he would have been 24 and Joseph
Amzalak 29. As a Sephardi Jew he would have worshipped at
Bevis Marks and there met Montefiore who was a regular
worshipper. Amzalak spent some time in Malta before
settling in Acre by 1816 and by 1824 had settled in
Jerusalem. He may have lost a considerable amount of money
in London, but by 1824 had become very wealthy [perhaps from
the slave trade].

\textsuperscript{609} Private Journal, p.191
\textsuperscript{610} ibid., p.192
\textsuperscript{611} ibid., p.193
\textsuperscript{612} Joseph B. Glass and Ruth Kark, Sephardi Entrepreneurs
    in Eretz Israel: The Amzalak Family 1816-1918,
    [Jerusalem 1991].
\textsuperscript{613} A laissez-passer for the 1794 journey is reproduced in
    Glass & Kark, ibid., p.51

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Joseph Amzalak was well known to several English travellers and Dr. Madden speaks glowingly of his hospitality. "I had the good fortune to be on terms of intimacy with a very worthy Jew, of the name of Amslak . . I was in the habit of dining with him almost daily". Dr. Madden lodged at the convent but ate with Joseph Amzalak. The Montefiores met Dr. Madden in Alexandria shortly before leaving for Jaffa and so had recent news of Amzalak. Glass-Kark point out that the exact location of the first Amzalak house is not known, but it was "located in the interior of the city between the Armenian and Jewish Quarters. Access to the house was through a series of winding alleys" [which explains why the Montefiores had trouble finding it]. Despite appearing to be the richest Jew in the city, the conditions in the house were clearly less than perfect. Judith says after the first night, "the little rest we had been able to procure, owing to the number of insects which came forth during the night from the cushion of the divan, or sofas, that formed our bed".

The house did have its own Synagogue and Montefiore joined "the male branch of the family" for dawn prayers. Next day word had gone round and several men came to ask the Montefiores to stay in their homes, including the Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi, Mendel. It was difficult to refuse, but they remained with Mr. Amzalak. One can only presume the others were motivated by more than hospitality as a visiting English Jewish banker offered the possibility of a good donation. The Governor of Jerusalem sent word that "he regretted that Mr. Montefiore should have gone to the Jews: if he did not like going to the convent, he would have given him a house in the city". No record has been seen of the

\[\text{References:}\]

614 Madden, [n.191], p.242
615 Glass-Kark, [n.612], p.63
616 Private Journal, p.203
617 Moses' Diary, quoted by Loewe "Diaries" I:4
618 Loewe "Diaries" I:41

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Governor making a similar offer to previous visiting Englishmen, and on this visit Montefiore was not really famous. Perhaps word of his comparative wealth, and his relative Rothschild's wealth, made Jew and gentile wish him to stay with them. When the Montefiores returned to Jerusalem in 1839 he was then a knight and came with impressive credentials and was known to be bringing large sums of money to distribute to the poor. Again, Joseph Amzalak "had prepared his house for our reception" but there was fear of plague in the city and so Sir Moses and his party spent their time at the Holy City living in tents outside the walls. According to Glass-Kark the first Amzalak house had been destroyed by an earthquake and a rebellion in 1834, and he built a new, imposing house opposite the Jaffa Gate though it is not clear if this was completed by 1839. They entered the Old City once only and "we called at Mr. Amslack's and were received with great kindness and treated with coffee, sherbet, and cake." But after this it was back to their tented encampment on the Mount of Olives.

Back in 1827, the gentiles in the party stayed at the convent. That so many previous travellers had stayed there is attested to in their journals and also because they carved or wrote their names on the walls or doors! Buckingham mentions "Dr. Shaw, the Barbary traveller, Dr. E. Clarke 1801, Dr. Wittman, John Gordon 1804, Captain Maxwell and Captain Branson." In another room he says names

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619 Notes from a Journal, p.274
620 Glass-Kark [n.612], p.64ff - with excellent descriptions of the house including drawings by William Bartlett.
621 Notes from a Journal, p.292
622 Buckingham, [n.47], p.176 - the last three names are not mentioned in travellers' accounts; another indication that many more travelled to Palestine than published journals.
ranged from "Humphrey Edwin 1699 to William Turner 1815". Other travellers mention these lists and added their own names. Edward Clarke had noted, "upon the substantial door of this chamber, whose roof was vaulted stone, the names of many English travellers are carved" and added his own. Later he commented that the convent had a "small library of little value ... nothing so much worth notice as the Oxford edition of Maundrell's journey. This volume some traveller had left ...".

Although Judith calls it "the Greek convent", Dr. Clarke identifies it as the convent of St. Salvador, and this is where Western Christians were most likely to stay. In 1830 Disraeli stayed at the convent and in a letter to his sister said he need not describe the convent "for an account of which see Clarke". The Franciscan Monastery of St. Saviour [or St. Salvador] was founded in the 16th century. It was sometimes referred to as the Latin Convent and although it was the headquarters of the Roman Catholic Church in Palestine the patriarchate was still at this time in Rome. Although the Catholic monks occasionally were unwelcoming to Protestant pilgrims, the latter were more likely to stay at St. Saviour than at the Greek Orthodox Monastery. However, in 1844 William Makepeace Thackeray was in Jerusalem and he and his party stayed at the Greek Orthodox convent. This was a substantial building adjacent and interconnecting with the Holy Sepulchre and had

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623 Buckingham, p.179  
624 Clarke, [n.122] p.532  
625 ibid., p.535  
626 Blake, [n.129], p.67. This reference shows how well known were Dr. Clarke's books and indicates that Disraeli may have used them as his "Guide Book".  

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a large and important library\textsuperscript{628}. For quite some time the majority of pilgrims had been from the Levant and were Greek [or Russian] Orthodox and there were several other Greek Orthodox convents in Jerusalem\textsuperscript{629}. In addition the Armenians had a beautiful convent\textsuperscript{630} as well as the Syrian Church, Ethiopian, etc.\textsuperscript{631}. However, it was to the Franciscan Convent of St. Salvador, that the Christian members of the Montefiores' party most probably stayed in 1827. It was located in the north-western corner of the city and had views from its balconies across to the Mount of Olives and the Dead Sea.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{map.png}
\caption{Jerusalem in 1843, based on William Bartlett's map of that year. [Figure 3]}
\end{figure}

Taken from Martin Gilbert, Jerusalem: Rebirth of a City [London 1985] p.28

\textsuperscript{628} Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, [n.1], p.221
\textsuperscript{629} ibid.
\textsuperscript{630} ibid., p.243
\textsuperscript{631} ibid., p.242
As women travellers began arriving there was a problem since they were not admitted to the convent and so a house opposite was purchased for their accommodation\textsuperscript{632} and Mrs. Belzoni and the Countess of Belmore, stayed there.

After their short stay in the Holy Land the Montefiores returned to Alexandria on the 26th October. They transferred to the Leonidas where they stayed the next twelve days until the ship that had brought them from Malta set sail back to that port. Why they decided to stay on board and not go to the inn or Cassino is not mentioned, but it appears to be their anxiety to be ready to leave Alexandria as soon as possible and not to miss the boat if it were forced to sail in a hurry.

When they returned to Alexandria in 1839 they found a new hotel "filled up with Eastern luxury ... Mr. Hill's hotel furnishing us with every comfort"\textsuperscript{633}. Such was the advance in communication [and a change in the political climate] that they only had to stay one night before their steamer The Megara took them on to Beirut. On their return "we proceeded to the Hotel d'1'Europe which we found a very comfortable establishment"\textsuperscript{634}. It is not clear if this was the same hotel as Mr. Hill's but probably was. The following year the Montefiores were back in Alexandria where they stayed several days. They obtained "apartments at the Hotel"\textsuperscript{635} but the hotel is not named, although the costs are given in the accounts section.

\textsuperscript{632} for example, see Richardson, [n.92], p.238\textsuperscript{633} Notes from a Journal, p.206\textsuperscript{634} ibid., p.340\textsuperscript{635} R.D. Barnett, [n.43], p.163
Malta and the Lazaretto

On their way out there is no indication why they chose the particular hotel, "The hotel we took up our abode is a very excellent one, and is kept by an English family of the name of Beverly". Moses made no comment about the hotel, but he mentioned paying them $400 on the 9th August, although because of Judith's indisposition they were to stay another week at the hotel. However, on the next page he wrote "Memo Paid Beverleys Hotel $200 + $200 +164" and the last figure is probably for the extra week's stay. That there were other hotels and that Beverleys was the best in 1824 is shown by Robert Hay's experience. His diary recorded: "I landed and was brought to Hastings Hotel by my servant, as being the best". However, ten days later, he threw a dinner party at the hotel and it was "most infamous in all particulars". He recalls that a friend, Mr. Ward, had warned him not to stay there, and next day he moved to "Beverley's Hotel".

On their return journey, the Montefiores and their party, like all returnees "from the East" had to endure quarantine, and the place of incarceration was called a Lazaretto. Malta was not the only place with such facilities and some did quarantine in Marseilles, others in Leghorn, etc. This entailed international agreement about mutual acceptability of certificates of health, for example if a person was quarantined in Malta, would that be accepted when he landed in Marseilles? Also, what about a whole naval fleet - as

636 Private Journal, p.92
637 Moses' Account Book, p.127
638 Robert Hay, [n.358], p.25 - 3rd September
639 ibid., 15th September

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after the Battle of Navarino in 1827, alongside which the Montefiores found themselves on arriving at Malta Harbour?640

The Montefiores in the Lazaretto
The Montefiores arrived in Malta on Saturday 1st December and their servants, Armstrong, Paulo and Marguerite, promptly went ashore "to prepare apartments for our reception"641. The Montefiores had to wait until the Sabbath was over to disembark. They then found "our new temporary abode, which may be called a palace from the dimensions of the room, though not on account of their decorations, but they are perfectly clean and agreeably situated"642. On the other side of Valletta Harbour, opposite the town the buildings still stand and you can indeed see that parts of the complex were quite grand. There are rooms and suites of rooms of varying size and grandeur and accommodation was assigned according to a person's importance and ability to pay. Any servants you had slept in an adjoining room and carried out their normal duties like washing and cooking, even though they too were in quarantine. Judith records: "each apartment has a separate entrance, and you see nothing of the parties unless you walk on the terrace, or go out in a boat"643. Indeed, this boat provided a sense of release from the confinement even of the spacious accommodation in the Lazaretto. Each party was assigned its own boat and boatman and a Guardiano who had to accompany them on such excursions to ensure they did not deliberately or by accident come into contact with 'outsiders'.

640 A great deal of correspondence on this issue is to be found in the Public Record Office, eg. Co. 158:55 Despatches 6th November 1827, 8th November 1827; Co 158:57 August 4th, 1827
641 Private Journal, p.257
642 ibid.
643 ibid., p.262
Each floor had a well-equipped kitchen, and the servants did the shopping: "Paulo ... goes every morning at eight o'clock ... to La Sanita, accompanied by the Guardiano, to procure provisions and other requisites for our party" which amounted to five plus six servants. They could mix with other residents, and exchange stories of their recent voyage, and learn the latest news. Since the Navarino fleet was in harbour, Judith talks extensively of the news and gossip they picked up. Friends from the town could visit but not meet them first-hand. They brought welcome newspapers, books and titbits, for example "Lady Stoddart ... brought a box of books ... Mr. Macgill sent a chest of oranges, and Mrs. Beverly presented us with a plate of cakes". Letters were written and sent off when they heard of a boat leaving harbour for England, journals were copied up and new friendships made. There were times of boredom and the ever-present fear that symptoms of contagion would appear, yet the period also acted as a sort of convalescence. "Montefiore ... was so comfortable as to wish to prolong the term of quarantine in lieu of shortening it ... we found the Lazaretto a tranquil abode ...". Turner wrote in the Lazaretto in Trieste in 1819, "with a good wood fire, a good bed, a Turkish pipe, I defy a man to be very unhappy ... in opposition to the numerous complaints scrawled on the walls by former imprisoned countrymen of mine".

About three weeks after they entered quarantine, on Wednesday, 19th December, a letter arrived from Mr.

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644 Private Journal, p.201
645 ibid., p.260: the first was the wife of the Chief Justice of Malta [see P.R.O. Co 163.145], the second the superintendent of the Silk Farm in which Moses had an interest and the third was presumably the wife of the owner of the hotel
646 ibid., p.265
647 Turner [n.117], p.337

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Greig, the superintendent of the Lazaretto, which "announced the pleasing intelligence that we were to have pratique to-morrow, ten days' grace having been indulgently given us"\textsuperscript{648}. Clearly it helped having friends in high places! Next day the doctor arrived to inspect them and soon they were crossing the harbour to settle again in Beverley's Hotel.

The fee for the stay in the Lazaretto for the whole party came to 60 scudi [Moses indicates this is equal to £20.10.0] which seems cheap. On top of that were small payments to the boatman, officer in charge, etc. and their food - all relatively inexpensive\textsuperscript{649}.

The first modern "Handbook for Travellers in Egypt" was written by Sir Gardner Wilkinson F.R.S. and published by John Murray in 1847 - the first of the "Murray's Guidebooks". In it there is a chapter on "General Regulations to be observed by all Persons performing Quarantine in the Lazaretto of Malta". The rules are much as detailed in the chapter above. The costs in 1847 are given as follows [pp.xix-xx]: "viz. at 1s 3d. per day for the guardios who attends one passenger; and at 2s 6d. per day for each guardio who attends more than one passenger. They are to victual the guardios or pay an allowance of 7d in lieu thereof." This seems to imply that it was slightly more expensive in 1827: but perhaps "Murray's" did not take into account some of the tips.

\textsuperscript{648} Private Journal, p.272 and see Judith's Journal MS, 20th December where she makes it clear, "Mr. Grieg who had been so kind in respect to reducing our quarantine"

\textsuperscript{649} Moses' Account Book for 1827, p.139
On their second tour to Palestine, the novelty had worn off. They found that boat trips were not permitted and "this tedious quarantine must certainly prove an impediment to general travelling in Egypt". On this occasion there was great anxiety as their travelling companion, Dr. Loewe, developed a fever and was very ill. Fortunately, he recovered whereas Judith's English maid, Ann Flinn, died two weeks after their arrival. This time during their sojourn in the East the plague had been rampant and they went to the Lazaretto burial ground "to select a grave. Many were already dug!". It is easy to imagine the widespread fear in the Lazaretto. This time they were eighteen days in quarantine. They made for "Durnsford's hotel", although on the outward voyage they stayed at "Dimsford's Hotel" - presumably the same hotel. It is not clear why they didn't stay at Beverley's Hotel.

Accommodation at Sea
During their long journey in 1827/28 the Montefiores spent ninety days and nights on board ship, twenty-three of them on the Leonidas anchored in Alexandria harbour. What sort of accommodation did they experience while at sea?

The first aquatic leg was from Dover to Calais aboard the steamboat Crusader. It was the 2nd May and unseasonably foggy, preventing them finding Calais harbour, so the crossing which should have taken two hours lasted another hour. Although there were public saloons on the ship, Judith preferred climbing into their travelling carriage [which was lashed on deck] "to avoid the drippings of the steam and cold chill air". On their holiday in 1830 in the Low Countries and their second journey to the Holy Land,

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650 Notes From a Journal, p.346
651 ibid., p.357
652 ibid., p.182
653 Moses' Account Book, p.2
654 Private Journal, p.4

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their carriage was put aboard riverboats and again Judith preferred the privacy and familiarity of their own carriage to that of the public cabin\textsuperscript{655}.

At Naples in 1827 their first real sea voyage started, after experiencing great difficulty finding a suitable ship. On the 23rd June Mr. Mazzara went to examine the Rover but found it unsuitable, \textit{"the cabins too low to allow of a person's standing upright"}\textsuperscript{656}. The captain agreed, \textit{"his cutter did not allow of proper accommodation for a lady"}\textsuperscript{657}, which indicates that Judith's presence meant a higher standard of comfort than if Moses had been on his own. A couple of days later they had hired another ship, the Portia, a merchantman that would not normally take passengers. Judith talks of taking over \textit{"Captain Ebbage's cabin"}\textsuperscript{658} which she calls her \textit{"state room"}, writing the first word in italics. It is not clear if this indicates its grandeur or the opposite.

The Portia is described by Judith as a \textit{"176 ton brig"}\textsuperscript{659} and by Moses as \textit{"167 tons of Yarmouth Brig Porcia"}\textsuperscript{660}. The "Lloyds Register" for 1827 records it was a brig of 167 tons, built in Yarmouth, but based in Naples and its Captain's name was T. Cabbage! Its name was spelt Portia. From Alexandria to Jaffa and back they hired the Henry William. Neither Judith nor Moses gave any further information, but "Lloyd's Register" for 1827 records it was a brig of 167 tons, from Lowestoft, but based in Malta. Like the Portia it had an A1 Lloyd's certificate and Captain Jones had only recently taken command. It has not proved possible to find a drawing or description of these

\textsuperscript{655} For example, Notes from a Journal, p.35
\textsuperscript{656} Private Journal, p.64
\textsuperscript{657} ibid., p.65
\textsuperscript{658} ibid., p.67
\textsuperscript{659} ibid.
\textsuperscript{660} Moses' Account Book, pp.18 & 128
two ships but, from diagrams of similar contemporary ships, some idea of accommodation can be given.

A brig was a two-masted square-rigged ship [see Figure 4]. A contemporary vessel, the *Balfour*, of similar tonnage was 97 feet 10 inches long and 27 feet wide with an 18 foot 6 inch draft. It had a deep hold and low cabins at the rear [see Figure 5]. The deck was mostly flat, with the rear cabin area only slightly raised to give added height. There was a window wrapped around the stern, giving light into the rear cabin and often this area was sub-divided into two main cabins. However, from Judith's description when she occupied the Captain's cabin, this appears to be of the type that occupied the width of the stern of the vessel. Mr. Mazzara on the *Portia* and the other gentlemen travellers on the *Henry William* [for example, Captain Anderson, Mr. Bell] must have used the tiny cabins forward of the "Captain's cabin", probably without any natural light.

Figure 4:
A Brig

Figure 5:
Section of brig

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Details and drawings above from David R. Macgregor, *Merchant Sailing Ships 1775-1815*, [London], pp.135ff
Aboard the Portia the sea started calm but Judith was very susceptible to seasickness, so spent most of her time in "her cot", a fixed bunk in the cabin. On the second day a storm got up and Judith tried lying on a mattress on the deck but soon returned to the cabin. On the third day she had had enough and they landed in Messina. The voyage on the Henry William was in calmer waters and relatively restful. Judith recorded, "we breakfasted, dined and took tea on deck, and only entered the cabin for repose". Although superior to any other place on a small brig, even the captain's cabin could not have been a comfortable experience, although it must have been luxury compared with the boat from Sicily to Malta. The speranaro was an open, one- or two-masted boat, rowed by six sailors with small sails hoisted when of help. While in harbour Judith says "it was delightful to possess the free enjoyment of a mild air, unmolested by sails and ship rigging" - but once out as sea it was a nasty experience. It took eighteen hours to reach Malta where they must have arrived wet, cold and frightened!

The Leonidas that took the Montefiores from Malta to Alexandria and back was a much bigger ship. Judith says that it was "a fine ship of three hundred and eighty tons ... and carried twenty-four men". It was "well fitted up and furnished with a cabin on deck; a very desirable accommodation for voyagers in the East". The Leonidas was indeed a "ship" or "frigate" [see figure 6], a three-masted, square-sailed vessel that, according to Lloyd's Register for 1828, was built in 1825 in Quebec and was based in Malta. It had a single deck and an A1 certificate from Lloyds. Such a ship had a larger cabin area than a brig with some of the side cabins, as well as the rear cabin, having windows.

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662 Private Journal, p.222
663 ibid., p.90
664 ibid., p.112
665 ibid., p.111
Judith describes their cabin on the Leonidas as "pleasant and airy"\textsuperscript{666}, and it must have been spacious enough to contain a separate sofa. When the sea got up this was taken on deck so Judith could lie down in the fresh air\textsuperscript{667}. The captain even rigged up a tent of sails and a flag on deck, over Judith on her sofa and Moses lying on cushions\textsuperscript{668}. It seems that Judith preferred her tent to the cabin, because three days after first mentioning it she says "my situation on deck obliged me to rise early, as washing the ship took place before breakfast"\textsuperscript{669}. There were a number of cabins on the Leonidas and a public cabin, where Moses would join fellow passengers in a game of cards. Judith tended to stay in her own cabin, usually eating there [though often she was too sick to eat]. [See figure 7.]

\textsuperscript{666} Private Journal, p.117
\textsuperscript{667} ibid.
\textsuperscript{668} ibid., p.118
\textsuperscript{669} ibid., pp.119ff
The illustration is of the Charlotte Jane, a larger vessel than the Leonidas; but the diagram and the illustration give a good idea of accommodation on the Leonidas. On this vessel the two after cabins each have their own toilet, the second-grade cabin sharing one between two. The main cabin is shown and on the lower deck the cabins for the sailors [and on the 1827 voyage perhaps the three Greek women who were travelling free of charge].
In those days it was usual, on longer voyages, to furnish your own cabin. It has already been noted that Judith tried sleeping on a sofa in the cabin and on the deck. Elsewhere she talks of "her cot" on the Leonidas, i.e. a fixed bunk. The sofa we assume belonged to the ship but, on another occasion, "I had my portable bedstead placed there [on deck] ... Montefiore had the sofa, which with the help of the cushions the feather pillow and linen, I had provided at Malta, proved a most convenient couch"\(^{670}\), indicating that they used partly the ship's furniture and partly their own. The latter they took ashore with them once the Leonidas reached Egypt and they took it to use on the cangia up the Nile, but it seems they did not take it on to the Henry William, or at least not ashore for the journey from Jaffa to Jerusalem.

Their food will be dealt with in a later chapter but what about personal hygiene aboard sailing ships of this era? On the brigs there was probably one primitive closet in a partitioned-off area of the rear [and only] cabin. Although indoors, it had no exterior window and vented directly overboard; in later ships a leather flap lessened the chance of a wave washing up the vent to the obvious discomfort of someone using the closet! Presumably the passengers had the use of this closet, but the sailors probably still had "a seat of ease" in the open air on the very prow of the ship [hence, the "heads"]\(^{671}\). The larger Leonidas may have had a couple of closets shared by the rear cabins, with a private toilet for the first-class cabins.

\(^{670}\) Private Journal, p.118
\(^{671}\) Macgregor [n.661], p.108
Regular washing: one suspects it was rather perfunctory and that the passengers remained in the same clothes for long periods. One day while in convoy from Malta the captain of the HMS Gannet invited the Montefiores to join him for dinner. Judith says, "the business of the toilette was therefore commenced at twelve, an affair not of easy performance at sea". The method of getting Judith, with her voluminous skirts, from the ship to the long-boat was earlier reported when Judith first boarded the Leonidas: "a chair ... was lowered ... in which, my dress being secured by a flag, I was safely lifted on deck". This time she calls it, "the chair of state".

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672 Private Journal, p.118
673 ibid., p.116
674 ibid., p.119
The smells below decks were not pleasing, especially when the ship was battened down in a storm. Judith even persuaded the menfolk to smoke cigars, "the fumes of tobacco, the best antidote against the smell of tar and smoke from the kitchen". Often the smell of the bilges in the heat of the Mediterranean must have been overpowering, another reason to spend a good part of the time on deck. A passenger in the tropics in 1826 wrote, "this heat, added to the closeness, made our cabins very oppressive; the foul air came up the hatchway in the form of smoke, and the captain even sent some one down to see whether the ship was not on fire".

The most primitive accommodation was on the cangia - the boat that took them up the Nile to Cairo. It was basically an open boat that was hauled up river by six men. There was a small cabin in to which the Montefiores' beds from the Leonidas were placed. They also brought the mosquito netting, but it was so suffocating in the cabin that they preferred the open air and the mosquito bites. One night Judith wrapped herself in Moses' cloak and sat on deck, whereupon Mr. Mazzara and Captain Anderson took over the Montefiores' beds. This illustrates the primitive conditions they were in and how adventurous was Judith. No mention is made, for instance, about toilets; one can only

675 Private Journal, p.121
676 Quoted in Basil Greenhill and Ann Gifford, Travelling by Sea in the Nineteenth Century [London, 1972], p.14 [this book contains several first-hand accounts of life on a sailing ship]
677 David Roberts illustrated such a vessel in 1838. In his painting entitled, "View of Nile looking towards the Pyramids of Dahshur and South Saqqara" the cabin is small. In "The New Year's Chapel of Amun at Luxor" it appears larger.
678 Private Journal, p.117
679 ibid., p.118
imagine the problem that Judith especially had in this respect. Certain arrangements might have been available on the sailing ships but on the cangia and speranaro toilet provisions were either lacking or primitive indeed. The cangia that took them back to Alexandria had a larger cabin, but Judith reports that it had not been cleaned and now there were rats as well as the insects to contend with.

Dr. Madden reported on a "kangea ... belonging to Mr. Salt that overturned on the Nile with two English travellers ... luckily they were expert swimmers and only suffered the loss of their baggage, books and papers". He said that under sail it was a most unsteady craft. Getting back to Alexandria the Leonidas seemed like luxury, and indeed for the next three weeks or so Judith settled down on the Leonidas in port as they waited to sail on to Jaffa.

The last vessel they used on the long tour [except for the steam-packet, Salamander, on which they crossed the Channel from Calais to Dover] was a Royal Naval ship, HMS Mastiff. Judith was clearly excited to be in "a king's vessel, the first I had ever sailed in". It was not a large vessel: a surveying ship and not a fighting ship [although it did carry six twelve-pound cannonade]. It was a brig-rigged ship of 184 tons, built in 1813. However, she did have a crew of sixty and clearly had a number of cabins for officers and the occasional civilian passengers.

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680 Private Journal, p.156
681 Madden [n.191], Vol. I, p.292
682 Moses' Account Book, p.128
683 Private Journal, p.281
684 Information from the Catalogues of Naval Ships at Royal Maritime Museum in Greenwich, from where much of the maritime background information in this chapter was gleaned.
Judith and Mrs. Copeland [the Captain's wife] shared a cabin with the men quartered in another part of the ship. Judith records enjoying this arrangement as "we were thus conversantly situated for a chat and a laugh"685. The two ladies were troubled only once when the Naples pilot came below and mistook their cabin for that of the officers, but the two ladies arranged to keep him out by "holding it [the door] fast with all our might"686. They got a more serious shock on the fourth day at sea when in a gale, "the waves broke over the vessel with such violence as to shatter in pieces one of the boats called a gig"687. Even in a naval vessel you were reminded of the perils of the sea.

Carriage and Tent
An obvious place where a nineteenth-century traveller might sleep or rest was in a tent. Though the Montefiores did not use one in 1827 they did on their second visit to Palestine when they landed in Beirut and went cross country to Safed. In Beirut, "we have purchased Lord Lindsay's tent, and three others, one for ourselves, one for Dr. Loewe, one for the servants and one for cooking"688. It is not clear why they risked waiting until in Beirut to purchase tents, but they were to be well used on this tour of the Holy Land. Because of the plague in Jerusalem and other towns, they spent many nights sleeping in their tents outside the towns.

In the tent they had "our portable bedstead, mosquito netting ..."689 but Dr. Loewe slept on "carpets spread" to form "an easy divan"690. One night the baggage mules, carrying the tents, went on ahead too far so they spent the night of the 16th May 1839 lying on a rug in the open air,

685 Private Journal, p.281
686 ibid., p.283
687 ibid., p.287
688 Notes from a Journal, p.214
689 ibid., p.220
690 ibid.
"wrapped in the cloaks and umbrellas which we happened to have with us"⁶⁹¹ - guarded by Dr. Loewe and Armstrong with pistols in hand. So, although by 1838/39 advances in transport and accommodation made their second tour to Palestine more congenial, once they arrived there the more extensive tour they undertook and the presence of the plague meant they had far more primitive accommodation than eleven years previously. Over the years accommodation would improve, but still in 1855 they took tents with them⁶⁹².

Finally, the travelling carriage itself was occasionally used to sleep in. As has already been noted their carriage beds could be rolled down so they could sleep while the carriage travelled on and this happened on a number of occasions such as on their way to Ireland in 1825⁶⁹³. The most romantic occasion was on their return from Palestine in 1828 when, anxious to reach Leghorn for the Sabbath, and having bid farewell to Mr. Mazzara, there was "an extra space in the carriage ... and as we never experience ennui in each other's society the night passed most comfortably ... the bed arranged when permitted by Morpheus"⁶⁹⁴.

⁶⁹¹ Notes from a Journal, p.225
⁶⁹² See the letter of Sir Moses to Dr. Loewe, Swadron Collection: R.L.f102/81
⁶⁹³ Judith's Diary 1825: Saturday 30th July
⁶⁹⁴ Private Journal, MS 1st February
CHAPTER FIVE
CLOTHES

Having investigated the accommodation the Montefiores could expect and actually found during the various phases of their journey, it is appropriate to move on to the clothes worn during such an extensive tour.

In June 1855, accompanying the Montefiores on their fourth visit to the Holy Land, Moses' niece Jemima Guedalla, reported that in Trieste, after a two-week journey by rail from Calais, she "worked all morning repairing dilapidations"\(^6\). In 1827 it took the Montefiores over six weeks to get to Naples: by then the clothes they had brought with them from England must also have been in need of restoration and maybe replacement. At Syracuse, after the long overland journey across Sicily, the hotel owner came out to meet them with a chaise but Judith stayed in the lettiga "my dress not being in the best order after such a journey"\(^6\).

Along the way, Moses' Account Book has scant reference to purchasing new clothes, but several to materials for repairing them. At Calais "Black silk Apron for J." [p.123] seems to be the only item of clothes bought on the journey south. Whereas at Naples "Pair of gloves ... buttons ... ribbon ... binding shoes ... cleaning gloves ... buttons ... 1 doz. of gloves for self ... a small portmanteau ... cord ..." [pp.124-125]. In Sicily they purchased in Messina, "Travelling cap ... 2 prs. gloves for Jud" and in Syracuse, "stay lace, Buttons, Garters, shoe ribbon ... cord" [p.124].

While in Malta Judith recorded "I made several purchases of evening apparel under the guidance of Miss Macgill,"

\(^{695}\) Mrs. H. Guedalla, [n.168], Monday 4th June etc.
\(^{696}\) Private Journal, p.87
preparatory to our departure." Moses recorded this as "Sundry Petty Expenses spent by Judith $28 [p.127]. Moses also made reference to "2 pairs of Shoes for Jud... shoe makers... for altering Judith's hat... sash... Sam Hall Tailor... Mrs. Newell dressmaker $6" [p.127]. Clearly the clothes they brought from England had served them well during the journey and only in Malta did they both need to purchase a few new clothes; and these were almost certainly ones suitable for the next stage of the journey in Egypt and Palestine.

They arrived in Malta on the 11th July and on the 13th Judith says, "the hairdresser was announced this morning; a female, who I engaged for the week... she was... as deficient in taste as she was moderate in her charge." Moses lists her charges and also the purchases of "two small hair combs for Judith" [p.25]. There is no other reference to hairdressing on the outward leg. Perhaps the Salomon's maid helped Judith as far as Naples, beyond that she must have done her own hair. On the Leonidas and in Egypt Marguerite, the maid she hired in Malta, may well have helped.

Dress in the "East"

Although none of the other travellers discuss their dress on the outward journey, most comment on the form of dress appropriate for travel in Egypt and Palestine: should you travel in "oriental" or European clothes? In 1800 Sir Sidney Smith, fresh from helping defeat Napoleon at Acre, and hearing that in Jerusalem revenge was being wrought on Christians, marched with flags waving and drums beating into the Holy City. Spilsbury, the doctor and artist who accompanied him, commented, "Sir Sidney Smith is said to be..."

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697 Private Journal, p.113 - Mr. Macgill was the superintendent of the Silk Farm, presumably this was his daughter

698 ibid., p.96
the first Christian, who since the Turks had possession of Jerusalem, has been allowed to enter it in the dress of a Frank, or to carry arms in the city"[

Joliffe later said, "Sir Sidney Smith seems to have made it possible for Englishmen to appear in English dress", but he then went on to give a detailed description of Arab dress, and in his "Instructions for Travellers in Palestine" asked "6. Is it absolutely necessary to appear in the costume of the country? ANSWER: Take fine cloth for your benisch - jacket and waistcoat may be of any colour but green; the benisch is generally of a gay colour, and different from the rest. The breeches, called sharroweel are of great size, almost always blue, requiring about four times as much cloth as common pantaloons. The only advantage of buying the cloth in Europe is that it is finer and much cheaper ...Cairo will be the best place to have the dresses made up. I calculate 50l for the dress of myself and servant."

Almost all of the other travellers strongly advised dressing in the local costume. The early explorers, for example, Seetzen, Burckhardt, dressed as Bedouins. Wilson walked around the walls of Jerusalem, "in this excursion, I had thrown off the Turkish dress, and resumed that of the English but under the walls of the city found the stones flying about my ears". Several of the travellers included pictures of themselves wearing local dress [for example Burckhardt, Buckingham and Madden] so that if you missed the written advice in their books, the visual advice to dress in local clothes was clear. Richardson said that in Cairo as his employer Lady Belmore had not yet "assumed the oriental costume" she had not ventured out of the house.

699 Spilsbury, [n.6], p.37.
700 Joliffe, [n.257], p.126
701 ibid., pp.255 and 256
702 Wilson [n.199], p.185
703 Richardson [n.92], p.98
Chateaubriand found that the colour of the dress was important\textsuperscript{704} and Mrs. Belzoni was found out because she left her "black shoes" outside the El Aksa Mosque\textsuperscript{705}.

When the Montefiores met Dr. Madden in Egypt and he "recommended our wearing the Turkish costume" Judith's entry later said "I was to travel in a blue Turkish cloak, or gown, called a bernische and white muslin turban; part of the same material forming the veil, according to Mrs. Barker's advice. I consulted this lady with confidence from her mother having performed the same tour, and her frequent intercourse with strangers coming from there". Judith then noted, "the gentlemen will continue their Frank dresses, except Mr. Bell ... he will appear a la Turk"\textsuperscript{706}. There is no reference in Moses' Account Book to purchasing clothes while in Egypt. Probably Judith's garments were made or purchased in Malta as indicated above.

So on this first visit to the Holy Land, Judith wore Turkish dress, and Moses European dress. Nineteenth-century illustrations exist of their second visit in 1839; in these both Moses and Judith appear to be dressed in European clothes. In 1827 on the way from Ramleh to Jerusalem, Judith found "the convenience of my veil and turban, the sun rendering the former exceedingly necessary"\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{707}}. Why she should revert to a European bonnet in 1839 is puzzling and the artist probably used licence in depicting her.

When William Turner visited the Governor of Jerusalem in 1814 he put on, to impress the Governor, his "dress uniform

\textsuperscript{704} See above p.288 and [n.866]
\textsuperscript{705} Belzoni [n.87], p.465
\textsuperscript{706} Private Journal, pp.182-183. Mrs. Barker was the consul's wife; her comment is an indication of the number of unnamed travellers going to Palestine at this time. She herself was a native of Smyrna.
\textsuperscript{707} ibid., p.191

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of the household of the Duke of Kent." Elsewhere he travelled in Turkish dress, so clearly he took with him his uniform for effect. Whether Montefiore did the same on his visits to the Pasha in Egypt or Governor in Jerusalem is not detailed, but seems likely. On later trips he took with him his uniform [as Sheriff of London, etc.] and is shown wearing it in 1839 in Jerusalem, in 1840 in Cairo and on later visits to the East and elsewhere.

Once back in Malta and in the Lazaretto, Judith reverted to European dress but "Mr. Belfour equipped himself at dinner in his turkish costume: it is an improvement to him. Dr. Madden generally wears his, finding it warmer than the English dress." That Dr. Madden rather "fancied himself" in the costume is shown in Judith's manuscript version of the Journal, when on their second night out of the Lazaretto, "this evening there is a fancy ball given by Sir Edward and Lady Codrington. Dr. Madden is going in a Bedouin chief's dress." Judith describes a very busy social diary while in Malta with visits to the opera, balls and dinner parties [it would have been busier if Moses had not been unwell, but sometimes Judith went out on her own]. There is no mention of purchasing any new clothes for these engagements and presumably her dresses were brought out from England or were purchased in Malta on the outward leg. It can be assumed that the maids at Beverly's Hotel worked hard to make the clothes look fresh, or else this was done by the laundry [see below, p.248]. As the Montefiores did not know if they would return from Alexandria by way of Malta, presumably the clothes had been taken with them on the Leonidas.

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708 Turner, [n.117], p.24
709 Private Journal, MS 11th December: Mr. Belfour was a fellow passenger on the Leonidas from Alexandria.
710 ibid. 21st December.
While in Messina Judith and Mrs. Copeland went shopping for silks but were disappointed. That night the manuscript version says "Mrs. Copeland dressed my hair in the graecian fashion, fastening the curls with pieces of thin lead."

Once in Naples, the Montefiores engaged in a "social whirl" with the Rothschilds, and Judith talks frequently of "dressing for dinner" or for the opera. On Wednesday, 16th January, the printed version says "I dined today at Baron Charles" but her original version fills a page, "I have a new dress for the occasion, as it is court mourning, it is black barege, with pink ribbands in the hair.

The manuscript diary gives an impression of a woman interested in clothes: most of such references have been left out in the printed version. The day before leaving Naples Judith went for a long walk with Charlotte Rothschild and she notes the fine dresses of the Italian ladies, "... we re-entered the hotel and found the hairdresser waiting. "I settled with my hairdresser ... in Naples the charge of a hairdresser is a piastre a time.

On the return journey north, there are no further references to clothes except for the night before the ascent of Mount Cenis. Judith has in her manuscript diary, "prepared an extra supply of Apparel for tomorrow, if possible to guard against the severity of the weather and climate."

As Judith was without a lady's maid, perhaps she took her clothes out herself or was helped by the hotel maid. Moses' Account Book [p.136] records that in Paris on Monday, 17th

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711 Private Journal, p.285
712 Private Journal, MS, 7th January. Clearly the two ladies got on well together and Mrs. Copeland seems to have enlivened Judith's thinking on fashion.
713 ibid., 16th January
714 ibid., 20th January
715 Private Journal, p.295
716 Private Journal MS, 13th February
February he paid for "two sashes for Judith ... paid for Cloak for Judith ... gave Judith ... 1200F". Even though exhausted, it seems Judith still had energy to purchase some clothes in Paris.

Laundry
From time to time Judith remarks on the laundry, usually on the quality, as when leaving Malta on the 1st January 1828, "received our clothes from the launderess [in MS she used "washerwoman"] ... the best in her business I have ever met". She does not record what clothes were sent for washing. Nor does Moses, although in his Account Book we can see how often they used such a service. Moses recorded in his Account Book, p.120, the place, cost and added a comment, such as "very bad and extravagant", "very well done and modest" etc.

"Washing
6 May at Abbeville 10 June at Rome
14 " at Lyons 20 June at Naples
20 " at Milan 29 June at Messina
27 " at Piacenza 3 July at Catania
2 June at Florence 7 July at Syracuse"

He does not list washing in Malta or Egypt, although we have seen it was done. On the return journey he lists it under Petty Expenses and again as on the outward journey it appears to be done every seven to ten days. While "on the road" the laundry was usually taken on Friday, done while they rested for the Sabbath and collected on Sunday or Monday.

The impression given is that Judith dressed rather modestly although the influence of other ladies [for example, Mrs. Copeland and Charlotte Rothschild] encouraged her to be more flamboyant. Otherwise she bought few clothes on the ten months away and Moses almost nothing. Moses resolutely dressed as an Englishman, even in Palestine, while Judith dressed in local dress.
CHAPTER SIX
FOOD AND DRINK

As with previous chapters, the subject of food and drink during their long tour can be considered in two sections. They knew from previous journeys what to expect on the continent of Europe by way of eating places, the type of food and patterns of eating. Once they got beyond Malta all was new to them, and the existing books gave little advice as to what to expect regarding food. As Jews they had the additional problem of Kashrut and so it is that their religious observance must be considered alongside their food.

The Continent

Pages 82 to 100 of Moses' Account Book for 1827/28 not only give the names of the hotels used on the European leg of the journey but also the names of the places where they stopped for meals and the exact costs of the meals. As can be seen from the sample page in Appendix 4 the columns are headed: "Date, Name of Place, Name of Inn, Quality, Breakfast, Dinner, Wines & Spirits/Fruit, Tea & Coffee, Supper, Bed & Appartments, Fire & Candles, Expenses for Servants, Waiters C.Maids & Boots". This gives an idea of how bills were itemised; accommodation costs were separated from the cost of food and sometimes they did not eat in the hotel where they were staying. From the Account Book, by comparing these sections with the sections dealing with the actual travelling [ie. pp.2-50], a picture emerges of the times of the various meals. Judith's Journal helps in this respect but rarely gives details of the menu. Moses does not mention the actual food eaten, with the exception of the "snacks" taken during the day and they appear under "Petty Expenses". A few sample days will illustrate the pattern while in Europe.
On Tuesday, 1st May Judith set out from home in Park Lane at 8.15am and picked up Moses at Bevis Marks Synagogue and they stopped after nineteen miles at the "Bull & Crown" at Dartford for breakfast. It cost 5s. with 1s.3d. to the waiters. Moses noted that they stopped at 10.30am and were on their way again at 11.15am\textsuperscript{717}. He rated the breakfast "VM". Three stages [and 42 miles] later they stopped at the "Fountain" at Canterbury at 4.50pm for dinner. It cost them 9s., with 3s.10d. for Wines and Spirits and 1s.10d. to the waiter. Moses rated it "VX". They were on their way again at 6.05pm for their last stage of sixteen miles to Dover. At the Union Hotel [as well as the 4s. for beds, 2s. for fire and candles] they paid 1s. 2d for "Wine, Spirits & Fruit", 3s.6d. for "Tea and Coffee" and 5s. for "Waiter C.Maids & Boots". It is easy to picture them arriving at Dover after twelve hours on the road, drinking a cup of tea or coffee and then having a glass of wine or spirits before retiring for the night. Next morning, despite giving the hotel a "G" and Judith's referring to it in her diary as an "old friend" they had breakfast [before boarding the ferry to Calais at 9.50am] at "Jell's" which cost them 4s.6d. with 1s. for the fire and 2s. for the waiter.

Having arrived at Calais they had Dinner and Supper at Quilacq's Hotel [where they were staying]. The former cost 8.0 francs, the latter 3.0 francs. Wine and Spirits cost 8.0 francs, Tea and Coffee 3.0, Beds 10.0, Fire and Candles 3.0, with 7.0 given to the servants etc. Next morning breakfast cost them 6.0 francs at the "Silver Lion" which seems to be the name of the hotel, Quilacq being the owner\textsuperscript{718}. Their travelling companions, David and Jeanette Salomons, had arrived at 2.00am and the above bills seem to cover them as well. They all set off for Boulogne at "12.26"pm: and it is understandable that after the

\textsuperscript{717} Moses' Account Book, pp.1 & 82
\textsuperscript{718} See Judith's 1823 Manuscript Diary, 6th/7th October
previous day's crossings they were not ready to leave until this [for them] late hour. According to Moses' exact
timekeeping, it took them only three hours fifty-four
minutes to get to Boulogne where they stayed at the Hotel des Bains. There they had dinner [24 francs], Wine & Spirits [7.10], Tea and Coffee [6.0] and breakfast the next morning [6.0] before leaving at 7.45am.

Two days' later [Sunday 4th May] they had a much longer
day's travelling of fourteen hours. They seemed to have had breakfast before setting off at 7.45am for Abbeville and then ate again at Granvilliers at 2.25pm. Although called "Breakfast" by Moses and entered under that column, it cost 16.0 francs and he adds "M & dear". Judith called it "indifferent fare". They did not arrive at Beaumont until 9.45pm and then at their hotel de Paon had a large dinner costing 16.0 francs [but with only 2.0 francs spent on wine and none on coffee or tea]. The next day [7th] they set off at 7.40am having eaten at the hotel [cost 6.0 francs] and then stopping at 1.08pm for "Breakfast" at Charenton - "a café". It cost 13.17 and was rated "VM" in one place and "B" in another. Clearly Moses did not enjoy his meal. He allowed them fifty minutes for this stop!

The pattern seems set, although there is no consistency as to the name of the meals. Judith's Journal makes it look as if they set off without eating and stopped for "Breakfast" around or after midday. Moses' Account Book makes it clear they usually had an early breakfast before setting out and then stopped for what we would call lunch but he and Judith call breakfast. On the 8th May they seemed to have a small breakfast [based on its cost compared with dinner the night before] before setting out at 8.12am and stopping at Joigny at 1.10pm for what Moses calls "Dinner" and Judith "breakfast", though Moses puts the charge under "Breakfast" reserving the "Dinner" column for the meal that they had at

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719 Moses' Account Book, p.83 and Private Journal, p.8

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Avallon, which they did not reach until 11.15pm! Judith calls the meal "supper" [and tells us it was of "stirred eggs, etc." \(^{720}\) - a dish that suited the hour of arrival and nowadays would also be called supper]. There was no consistency as to the name of the meal, but the pattern was as might be expected; using modern terms, breakfast, lunch and dinner [or supper if very late].

Occasionally other food or drinks were taken between meals. On the 8th May they were detained while changing horses at Vermanton for thirty-three minutes\(^{721}\) under "Petty Expenses"\(^{722}\), "David Salomons & Self Coffee". Why Judith and Jeanette had no coffee is not explained. On Tuesday 12th June they left Rome very early at 5.15am and Judith says, "after the usual indulgence of a cup of coffee"\(^{723}\). Moses notes this in his Petty Expenses [p.125] and that breakfast was taken in Albano at 7.44. Thus, when leaving extra early they would have a cup of coffee before leaving and breakfast a little later. At Turin they stayed three nights and so had time to explore the town. On Saturday, 19th May they had "3 Glasses of Ice at the Opera" and on Monday "a bottle of Anniseed"\(^{724}\). As they set out early from Turin that day were they buying a sort of sweet or drink to have in the coach? Next day [22nd] while changing horses at Novarra, Judith records, "we bought some cherries ... their flavour was rather watery"\(^{725}\). Moses duly recorded the fact under "Petty Expenses p.123" and noted the cost.

\(^{720}\) Private Journal, p.11  
\(^{721}\) Moses' Account Book, p.5  
\(^{722}\) ibid., p.23  
\(^{723}\) Private Journal, p.55  
\(^{724}\) Moses' Account Book, p.122  
\(^{725}\) Private Journal, p.29
On the 23rd they arrived in Milan and Judith records that "after dinner Mr. Mazarra accompanied Mrs. Salomons and myself to an exhibition of equestrians ... and after taking ice, returned to the hotel, where we found our gentlemen waiting tea for us". Moses noted the cost of the tea, but not the ices: presumably Mr. Mazarra paid, although on the 28th Moses writes, "settled with Mazzara Coffee House at Milan". Next day, after a hectic morning’s sightseeing "went to a café, where we made an excellent lunch of chocolate and cakes". Moses puts it down as "Chocolates and lemonade for 3 persons" - though this could refer to refreshments after the Opera that night. In Rome they had "Ices at the Café Nouvo" as they did when they stayed there on the return journey [23rd January 1828]. On the return, the pattern is as above although they seem to have developed a liking for chocolate and ices, certainly indulging more frequently than on the outward journey.

What did they eat?
Unfortunately, Judith is rather reticent in detailing what they actually ate during the 1827/28 Journey. The following are the only details from her Journal [with relevant dates after each].

On their first Saturday away [5th May] their Sabbath breakfast consisted of "broiled mackerel, eggs, coffee, &c" but for lunch they ate "soup and fish, three different kinds of poultry, meat dressed in various ways and several sorts of vegetables and sweets". Moses gave that Hotel de l'Europe a "VG" grade, the meal costing, for four people, 24 francs + 8 francs for wines, 8.0 francs for tea and coffee and 8 francs for waiters. As noted above, arriving in Avallon on the 8th May at 11.05pm they had supper of "stirred eggs which speedily renovated our spirits". On the

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726 Private Journal, p.31
727 ibid., p.32
728 Moses' Account Book, p.125, 6th June

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12th May in Lyon in the hotel in which Moses' brother had died in 1824 even a "dish of green peas" could not cheer them up. Clearly fresh peas were not yet available in England and so she remarks on them, but not the rest of the meal except "the indifferent appearance of the rest of the repast". On the 17th May in the Alps at Modane they had trout for breakfast and also took with them "a roast fowl and some bread and salt" as they prepared to tackle the Mount Cenis Pass, not knowing how long they would be before getting their next meal. In Turin on Saturday 14th May they had "for luncheon, chocolate and what is called pane del grisinie: this bread is a sort of biscuit and is made as thin and round as a pipe". Four days later in Milan they had "an excellent lunch of chocolate and cakes" [23rd May].

Their visits to the café for chocolate and ice have already been mentioned: perhaps Judith records them as being novel, whereas their normal meals require little comment. This is born out by the fact that next time Judith mentions specific food is a month later in Messina on Sunday 29th June, "some fish ... was served at breakfast, similar to halibut ... there is another species here, much esteemed, called the sword-fish". On the south coast of Sicily at Cape Pássero, Judith comments on the "tunny fish" but is appalled at the way they kill these large fish [8th July]. It was in Sicily that Moses first complained of missing butter and milk [3rd and 5th July], a repeated complaint as they progressed to the Eastern Mediterranean. It was also in Sicily that they made the most tiring journey and on the 4th July, between Catania and Syracuse, they did the final thirty miles, having eaten "only an orange and a cup of coffee" before breakfasting with food they had brought with them of "cold turkey, two fowls, bread and wine and oranges".

At Sea
On the speranaro from Cape Pássero to Malta it is unlikely that the Montefiores ate very much. Indeed Judith soon complained of "a weak stomach, which increased as we
advanced" 729. The crew had no such problems and ate a supper of "pickled tunny-fish, bread & wine". Though Armstrong was tempted, even he could not stomach this food730. The Montefiores had purchased their own provisions while still in Syracuse: "Provisions for the Voyage: Sugar, Coffee, Butter, Cheese, Holland [a kind of liqueur], Spirits of Wine, Potatoes, Bread, Pepper, Oranges, Lemons"731. [The cost of each is given under "Petty Expenses".] The indications are that they used little of these stores and waited until settled in Malta before eating a proper meal.

If they had to provide their own food for the short trip on the speranaro, what about the much longer voyages on the sailing ships? On the transatlantic and Indian and Australian runs it seems to have been the normal practice in the first quarter of the nineteenth century for the shipowners to provide food for the voyage, although poorer emigrants would have to provide their own732. On these voyages the ships were catering largely for passengers [though they also carried freight]. The ships the Montefiores hired in 1827 were primarily merchantmen with passengers an added bonus for the captain.

The Montefiores had hired the Leonidas [for example] for a specific voyage and it seems as if the provision of food was part of the deal. [As well as their party "three gentlemen ... and three poor Greek women ... were allowed to take their passage ... to Alexandria"733. The women were given a free passage – whether the men paid Montefiore or Captain Anderson for their passage and food is not clear, probably the latter]. From the outset the indication is of a high standard of catering. Having boarded the ship on the first

729 Private Journal, p.91
730 ibid.
731 Moses' Account Book, p.124
732 See Basil Greenhill and Ann Gifford [n.676], pp.14ff
733 Private Journal, p.116
day [15th August], Judith records: "when the party assembled round the well-furnished breakfast table, I could only accept a single cup of tea"734. The thought of the voyage was giving Judith "a qualmish sensation"735. On the larger sailing vessels of the time the first-class passengers ate well and all was served to a high standard. On the second day the Captain of the escorting HMS Gannet came aboard to invite them to dinner and on the third day of the voyage they accepted the invitation: "the dinner was only surpassed by the pleasing reception"736. To some extent life in the convoy [and later aboard HMS Mastiff from Malta to Naples] reflected the mores of society at home. However, they were aboard a relatively small ship and as well as the seasickness, other factors affected one's appetite. Judith encouraged the men to smoke cigars, "finding the fumes of the tobacco the best antidote against the smell of tar and smoke from the kitchen"737. The kitchen smells can be understood; the tar smells were probably the dreadful smells emanating from the bilges. To this must be added the smell of the live animals carried on deck [and their excrement], though of course living in a "horse-drawn society" the Montefiores would have found it less of a problem than we would today. It was common practice to carry a variety of livestock aboard to provide milk, eggs and fresh meat. Often tubs of vegetables and herbs would also be cultivated.

On the tenth day of the voyage [24th August] Judith records, "our poor solitary sheep is lamenting the loss of his last companion, who this morning met his fate for the supply of the kitchen ... and the poor fowl was often interrupted in his early song to become prey to the cook"738. The

734 Private Journal, p.117
735 ibid.
736 ibid., p.119
737 ibid., p.171
738 ibid., p.125

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indications are that they were eating well and that it was the ship's cook, not their own servant Paulo, who did the cooking. The next day a choppy sea and the threat of pirates meant "only part of the company assembled at table; the smoking joints and vegetables not tempting ... the captain or the Montefiores to quit the deck"[739]. However, good the food, there was always a craving for the food that was missing, and as soon as they reached Alexandria, Judith twice mentioned the boon of getting fresh bread from ashore.

The return journey to Malta was much longer and marred by very severe storms; most of it was spent lying in their bunks with little interest in food. However, though near Malta, but prevented by the wind from landing, Judith remarks on how the food was running out and in doing so gives us an insight into the food they ate: "reflecting that our provisions might not suffice till we could reach Leghorn [ie. forced to miss Malta]. When the Maltese servant was asked why there was no more milk for the tea, he replied, 'Di goat she make no more sir'. The eggs were all consumed, six hundred and fifty in three weeks; the number of geese diminished to two; the six pounds of tea was in a declining state"[740]. Fortunately, they reached harbour two days later. Again, Judith's first words are "Bread never appeared more welcome ... with some delicious pears, grapes and oranges"[741].

Although it has been assumed that the cost of hiring the Leonidas included food, it should be noted that an entry in Moses' Account Book [p.127], under "Malta", "paid MacDowell for Spirits & Sea Stores $76". The Montefiores had a good supply of champagne and other wines with them on the ship and in Egypt. It cannot be said what proportion of the above bill was for alcohol and what was for "Sea Stores".

739 Private Journal, p.126
740 ibid., p.255
741 ibid., p.257

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However, while using the ship as a hotel in Alexandria, there are a number of references in Moses' Account Book742 to paying Paolo for "fruit and poultry" and Judith mentions his going ashore to purchase fruit and, for example, "sending Paulo on shore to purchase a goose for dinner; he obtained two for nine piastres, or two and sixpence a pair, which he considered dear"743. Luxuries were needed to relieve the tedium of life on the ship waiting to proceed to the Holy Land. A couple of days before leaving Malta, "Lady Stoddart presented me with a vinaigrette, some orange marmalade and cocoa, for the voyage"744.

In the East
What knowledge did the Montefiores have of food available in Egypt and Palestine? Books of earlier travellers provide very little information about food. Buckingham describes one meal he had just outside Acre, "supper of rice, eggs, olives and salad"745. Irby & Mangles record taking with them "bread, cheese and onions and a mat to sleep on"746 for their journey from Jaffa to Caesarea. They note eating fish in Tiberias747 and so perhaps these travellers were only noting anything special, not day-by-day observations of the ordinary. On the way from Alexandria to Rosetta Henniker complained about "no English breakfast to be got ... nothing but coffee, grits and water, neither sugar nor milk"748. He does note that the Egyptians leave out a tub of water for the use of passersby749, also that the Arabs do not eat birds killed by the gun, "I remember that the Jews in London

742 Moses' Account Book, p.132
743 Private Journal, p.113
744 ibid., p.115
745 Buckingham, [n.47], p.84
746 Irby & Mangles, [n.100], p.58
747 ibid., p.89
748 Henniker, [n.125], p.19
749 ibid.

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are as particular in this respect - delicate inconveniences!"\textsuperscript{750}. Clearly his observation was keen, even if his knowledge of the rules of 

\textit{hallal} and \textit{kashrut} were not. Joliffe's "\textit{Instruction for Travellers}" does not include a question about food but he did describe food available in the Holy Land, "provisions generally may be considered extremely cheap in comparison with European prices; they are very inferior in quality. Lamb and kid are almost the only flesh known here ... fowls are in a great plenty, but they are the only poultry ... bread is much coarser ... their cheese, if it deserves the name ... butter they appear to have no conception of. The honey ... fruit ... grapes ... figs ... olives ..."\textsuperscript{751}.

The Montefiores' first real experience of eating in Egypt was on the cangia up the Nile. It was clear that they and their party were responsible for their own food and cooking. They were delayed leaving Alexandria on the 29th August because their Maltese servant [and cook], Paulo, "had forgotten the charcoal, the chief requisite for cooking"\textsuperscript{752}. In the Account Book there is mention of "Candgy [sic.]

\textit{Provisions, Fruit &c besides what Capt. Anderson Provided}\n
\$5"\textsuperscript{753}. Captain Anderson accompanied them to Cairo and brought from the \textit{Leonidas} a supply of food. They had to take their own water, and even though sailing on the Nile, then in flood, the river water was so polluted with sand that they had to put ashore to get fresh water\textsuperscript{754}. At the same time they bought fresh fruit, and Paulo even managed to buy some milk "which he took the precaution to boil"\textsuperscript{755}. However, they discovered that "\textit{a dozen of the}

\textsuperscript{750} Henniker [n.125], p.19
\textsuperscript{751} Joliffe [n.257], p.137
\textsuperscript{752} Private Journal, p.130
\textsuperscript{753} Moses' Account Book, p.132
\textsuperscript{754} Private Journal, p.137
\textsuperscript{755} ibid., p.138
poor chickens which we had put in the hold had been devoured in the night by the rats". At the next village upstream they were able to buy fresh meat, new-laid eggs, vegetables and dates ["the first I had tasted of that fruit"]. So it is clear that, though afflicted by mosquitoes and other insects, food was plentiful along the banks of the Nile. The same was true during their stay in Egypt. Even in Cairo before setting out on a day's excursion to view the Pyramids, they breakfasted on "some excellent coffee and cake, called pane di spagno". They took an ample picnic with them for the day's meals.

Their first food in the Holy Land was in the home of consul Damiani as soon as they landed, "a bottle and a basin had been presented to wash our hands ... coffee and lemonade were immediately handed to us". Damiani gave them "some small sweet pippins from his own garden" to eat on the way and when they got to Ramleh the monks at the convent greeted them with "the bottle, basin, embroidered towel, and then the sweetmeats, coffee and lemonade". Judith notes this welcome on a number of occasions, for example at the convent in Bethlehem and when greeted by the Haham [Chief Rabbi] in Jerusalem. Judith remarks that no other food was offered at the convent in Ramleh, so Paulo got some eggs and bread, "and prepared an excellent omelet". The next day they were given only coffee at the convent and ate the apples and pomegranates they had brought from Jaffa as their meal. Judith notes the profusion of other fruits - figs, olives, sugarcane - around them. Their first morning in

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756 Private Journal, p.138
757 ibid.
759 ibid., p.145
759 ibid., p.188
760 ibid.
761 ibid., p.190
762 ibid., pp.208 & 212
763 ibid., p.191

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Jerusalem at Mr. Amzalak's they have for breakfast, "coffee and a cake". The first real meal Judith remarked on was in the convent on the road from Bethlehem back to Jerusalem. After the usual greeting with sweetmeats and lemonade, "dinner was served which proved to us that the meals of a good kitchen were not wanting to the holy establishment". Poultry was served and she remarks on the fact that each person was given their own knife, fork and spoon, clearly a rarity. After the main course there were pomegranates, figs and coffee. As it was Friday, when the monks did not eat meat, Judith was especially touched by their hospitality towards them.

On their last night in Jerusalem, due to the great hospitality shown them by the Jewish community, they had to eat two dinners, unfortunately no menu is given. On their departure for the return journey to Jaffa, they are given a picnic of "a supply of white bread, and small cheeses made in Hebron with quantity of cakes and wine ... a large basket of almond cake". Arriving back in Jaffa, Signor Damiani provided dinner that included "geese and fowls ... divided solely by the aid of his fingers and a fork". Next morning he gave them coffee, milk, fresh eggs, fruit etc. for breakfast. The impression Judith leaves from their short stay in the Holy Land is of great hospitality from Jews and Christians and Muslims and that the food available was varied and plentiful.

Before leaving this section on food "in the East", it is worth going back to Yom Kippur [Day of Atonement] in Alexandria [30th September] - the day Jews must fast. Judith recorded that "we took our fast on coffee and pane di

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764 Private Journal, p.204
765 ibid., p.2-09
766 ibid., p.217
767 ibid., p.219
Spagna, a cake we like exceedingly; it is not rich having no butter in it; that is an article unattainable at this season in Egypt." They clearly had a sweet tooth and how Moses [particularly] suffered if he could not get butter.

Drink

From the many references above it can be seen that tea and coffee were very regular beverages wherever they found themselves, with chocolate taken when available. There is only one direct reference to water: the pollution of the Nile. On many occasions the water given them, especially aboard ship towards the end of a voyage, must have been less than palatable.

Dr. Madden in his treatise on diseases in the East cautions travellers to live abstemiously, too much food or too much water being bad for you. He advises that if the water is bad, some say add a date-tree branch, but he advised sulphuric acid "and when putrid, powdered charcoal which renders it comparatively pure and potable." Perhaps he gave the Montefiores such advice when he met them in Alexandria. Soon charcoal water filters would be commercially available and another doctor/companion, Dr. Hodgkin, talks of taking one with them on the trip to Morocco in 1864.

However, it was wine and other alcoholic drinks that most interested Moses. Dr. Loewe quoted him thus, "Wine, good and pure wine, God has given to man to cheer him up when borne down by grief and sorrow; it gladdens the heart ..." The quote continued in this vein for several sentences and Loewe adds "He never gave up the habit of

768 Private Journal, p.173
769 Madden, [n.191], p.276
770 Loewe "Diaries" I:17

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taking wine himself ..."771. In Judith's Diary of 1823 she regularly mentions the wine they drink: Steinwein, Moselle, etc. On the tour to Ireland in 1825 she mentions, as well as mere wine and champagne, claret, home-brewed ale and, in Limerick, "Montefiore found the effects of whisky have an exhilarating effect"772. On their 1827 journey through Europe, the column in the Account Book records their daily payment for "Wines and Spirits". Judith has many references to wine, often to the high price of it [on 7th May at 5 francs, at Joigny "though no better than the ordinaire, though for four francs a bottle!"]]. They were keenly interested in their wines and Judith comments in her handwritten journal for example on the return journey from Naples to Rome, "Stopt to take lunch, the remaining bottle of Bordeaux served with a good appetite to enjoy the same"773. Had they bought this wine going through France on the outward journey and the remnant had remained in the carriage while they were sailing the Mediterranean? On top of Mount Cenis they found "mulled wine the best antidote against cold"774. Judith also took wine as an antidote to seasickness on the journey from Naples to Sicily775.

Amongst the provisions they purchased prior to leaving Syracuse for the speranaro to Malta was "Hollands and Spirits of Wines"776. Whereas wine might make others drowsy, both Montefiores took it as a stimulant. On a trip to Gozo they walked from Rabata to the Mushroom Rock: six miles there and six miles back on a very hot day, "after one of the most fatiguing walks I ever remembered having taken

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771 Loewe "Diaries" I:17
772 Judith's Manuscript 1825/28 Diary, 13th August
[presumably Irish Whisky]
773 Private Journal, p.10
774 Private Journal MS, January 22nd
775 Private Journal, p.68
776 Moses' Account Book, p.124
..." and back at Rabata, "two or three glasses of hock and water, a good dinner accompanied by champagne speedily restored our strength"\textsuperscript{777}. Grog may have been the drink of the sailors on the Leonidas but the Montefiores preferred champagne\textsuperscript{778}.

Many of the earlier travellers to the East advise against drinking alcohol in the hot climate but on their first night in the cangia they "drank the health of ... Mrs. Montefiore, in a bottle of champagne, it being her natal day"\textsuperscript{779}. Despite the appalling conditions on that boat, they still had room amongst their provisions for champagne to toast Moses' mother. The next day it was Captain Anderson's birthday, "we also had an extra bottle of champagne ... our party not having yet adopted the necessary abstemious habits of an Eastern climate"\textsuperscript{780}. So they knew of the advice, but carried on drinking. A couple of days later, having visited the Pyramids, "Paulo had arranged our cold collation which, with a bottle of champagne ..."\textsuperscript{781}. As well as the champagne they also had brandy to give the guides and to the sailors on the cangia. Back on the Leonidas they note that spirits were scarce and expensive in Alexandria, and the captain told them that since Malta they [the ship's company and passengers] "had consumed twenty gallons of brandy, beside wine and other liquor"\textsuperscript{782}. Judith again noted that the local English residents "found it desirable to abstain from strong drink"\textsuperscript{783}, but still the Montefiores drank wine and spirits, especially celebrating the Jewish New Year\textsuperscript{784}.

\textsuperscript{777} Private Journal, p.180f
\textsuperscript{778} ibid., p.244
\textsuperscript{779} ibid. p.136
\textsuperscript{780} ibid., p.139
\textsuperscript{781} ibid., p.150
\textsuperscript{782} ibid., p.164
\textsuperscript{783} ibid.
\textsuperscript{784} ibid., p.172
They drank wine in the Holy Land and regularly on the return journey.

The Question of Kashrut

It could be asked: why was Judith so parsimonious in her references to the actual food they ate when her Journal is filled with graphic descriptions of the scenery and sights along the way? The obvious [and probable] answer is that she felt it was of no importance and only commented when something out of the ordinary appeared. But there may be another reason and that has to do with Kashrut.

Most of the Jewish dietary laws are found in Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14. They ordain that fish must have fins and scales, most birds are edible, and mammals must have cloven feet and chew the cud. Thus crustaceans are not permitted but most sea and fresh-water fish are. Domesticated birds such as chickens, geese and turkeys are allowed; beef and lamb are fine, but pork is not. To these scriptural injunctions the Talmudic rabbis, interpreting biblical verses [eg. Exodus 23:19 and Deuteronomy 13:23-25] decided that meat could not be mixed with milk dishes, and that birds and mammals must be killed and prepared in a special way to ensure that as much blood as possible is removed from the flesh. The killing has to be done by a specially-trained slaughterer [shochet]. A number of other laws were also applied to food that was fit [ie. Kosher] to eat.

Several authors have pointed to the fact that the Montefiores were less than punctilious in their Kashrut in the early years of the marriage785. The decisive experience that led them to be strict in their observance was the 1827/28 journey to Jerusalem.

785 For example, Sonia Lipman, [n.31], pp.292-293
On their honeymoon journey at Dover they had for dinner "boiled sole and peas and beefsteaks and potatoes, ale and a pint of wine"\(^786\). The next day in Ramsgate it was "roast duck, green peas, potatoes and a boiled gooseberry pudding, and an excellent bottle of red port"\(^787\). Sonia Lipman quotes other examples from the 1816 Diary and many from the 1823 and 1825/28 Diaries could be quoted to show them eating meat in public restaurants. On a riverboat in Belgium in 1823 they have dinner of "Four kinds of fish, soup, game, etc."\(^788\). In the Appennines they have "a quarter of hot boiled Turkey"\(^789\). On their journey to Ireland in 1825 they have roast chicken on the 20th July at "a dirty isolated inn"\(^790\) at Beddgelert in North Wales. On the 28th August they take a picnic to the Salmons Leap, a beauty spot just outside Dublin, but the owner of the establishment would not let them picnic on the grass and so they order "bread and Mutton chops and Murphies" to keep him happy.

So, on all of these journeys and including the 1827/28 Holy Land tour, although they never ate scripturally forbidden foods such as pig, rabbit or shellfish, they did eat meat that had not been killed or prepared in a Kosher way, and this a truly Orthodox Jew would not do. Strictly speaking, they should not drink "unkosher" wine, but this curious prohibition was not widely observed amongst nineteenth-century Anglo-Jewry.

A graphic description of their level of Kashrut is seen in a letter Judith sent to her sister, Hannah Rothschild, from Verona on the 21st November during the 1823 Continental journey. "In Italy," she says "we are pleased with the

\(^{786}\) Honeymoon Diary, p.248
\(^{787}\) ibid. p.250
\(^{788}\) Judith's Manuscript 1823 Diary, 10th October
\(^{789}\) ibid., 26th November
\(^{790}\) The two quotes ad.loc. Judith's Manuscript Diary 1825/28
Cooking, when a slice of bacon does not cover the roasted Poultry in that case Me. Mezzara contrives to finish the dish"⁷⁹¹. Her diary for the day records that she wrote the letter, but not her observation about their diet. The letter surely indicates that even when the forbidden bacon was used to decorate the poultry, they removed it and gave it to Mr. Mazzara, but they still ate the chicken!

One of the results of their first visit to Jerusalem was to make them decide to lead a more strictly Orthodox Jewish life and it is fascinating to compare the printed diary of the 1838/39 journey with that of 1827/28. As already noted in the latter there are only a few references to their actual menus, but several references to non-Kosher meat. In the 1838/39 diary there are regular references to their food, many of them making the point that there was no meat, or the meat was Kosher. To choose but a few examples, on the 6th November they were back at Quillacq's hotel in Calais where they ate "some fish and cold chicken we had brought with us"⁷⁹²: a Kosher chicken from England. On the 8th November they were in Lille "some excellent fish was provided for our dinner"⁷⁹³. Friday, 7th December they were in Avignon, "A member of our community is the master of the Hotel Palais Royal opposite to this, but there is no meat or poultry to be properly killed, except it be expressly ordered" and so Armstrong made them a fish soup⁷⁹⁴. Whereas on the 3rd January they were in Genoa, "we dined at a restauranteur's of our own community"⁷⁹⁵ [though she admits it was a long walk and so they "prefer having our dinners at the hotel"]. On the 9th April in Rome it was Passover and so on a walk around the city "we ourselves could partake

⁷⁹¹ Rothschild Archives, R.Fam C/30/7
⁷⁹² Notes from a Journal, p.6
⁷⁹³ ibid., p.8
⁷⁹⁴ Notes from a Journal, pp.38-39
⁷⁹⁵ ibid., p.78
only of sweets, ices, wine and fruit”796. For their tour around Palestine they had with them Ibrahim, who clearly was their shochet as well as their cook, and on later journeys they took a shochet with them to ensure a supply of Kosher meat.

Back with the return journey of 1828, in Judith's printed Journal, although "dining" is mentioned many times, there are only two references to the menu. On the 10th February they left Genoa on a gloomy morning and after two stages Moses felt hungry [or cold?] and accepts from the post master "a basin of broth". Armstrong said it was good but "not having the same necessity, I begged to decline"797. Beyond Arnas, with snow on the ground, they had a long journey and "a cold fowl sufficed us till eight o'clock"798. Clearly it was fowl brought with them from the last stop and eaten on the road799. Two fairly "innocuous" references, however in the original version, there are a few more examples that Judith crossed out before publication. On the 29th January they left Rome and "took three roasted woodcocks with us in the carriage". Their last visit in Rome had been in the Ghetto, with the Jewish community. Were the game a Kosher present from the ghetto, or just one of several examples on the return journey of taking food into the carriage in case, in the winter weather, they were stranded? On the 9th February in Genoa on the Sabbath but unable to get to Synagogue, owing to the weather, the original text included "Green peas were served at our dinner tasting so sweet that another supply was desired, but could

796 Notes from a Journal p.175
797 Private Journal, p.313
798 ibid., p.321
799 Moses remarks on the stage beyond Arnas by adding in his Account Book, "Purchased a fowl &c" and also adds on the 17th February "Purchased a Cold Fowl & bread" [both on p.98]. Taking emergency rations was more frequent than Judith records.
"not be procured as they came from the country". Why Judith chose to leave this out is not clear as the green peas had been mentioned on the outward journey. However, one final reference contains the most extensive menu of the whole Journal. Arriving at Chiavari on the 7th February, the entry in the printed version ends, "we found a good supper ready", but the original continues "consisting of vermicelli soup, fish, boiled beef, Veal cutlets, brown potatoes, roast Capon, larkes, Sweetbreads, Artehokes, brocoli [sic.] fritten and a good desert. Sufficient for two persons!"

Was this huge meal mentioned in such detail because of its size and variety? Surely similar menus must have been found sometimes during the previous ten months? And so again the question: Why was Judith so sparing in her descriptions of the food they ate [though giving far more details than other similar travel journals]? The obvious and probable answer is that she only recorded meals or food that were out of the ordinary - and thus the green peas in winter and this last gargantuan meal. However, a second reason has already been given. One of the stated results of this first journey to the Holy Land was to make the Montefiores more religiously observant regarding synagogue attendance and diet. Judith seems already to be aware of this on the actual return journey, either eating less meat, or deciding not to enter it in her Journal. And when she came to edit her original, having already decided to become more "observant" in lifestyle, she decided to omit some of the more glaring examples of less than Kosher eating. In the Journal for their second Holy Land tour, she went out of her way to show that they were, even when travelling abroad, keeping to a new standard of Kashrut.
CHAPTER SEVEN
RELIigious observance

Kashrut is not the only aspect of Jewish religious observance. A male Jew is obliged to pray three times a day, every day. Those positive commandments, to be undertaken at a fixed time [eg. praying the morning service] are not incumbent upon Jewesses, although it is meritorious for them to try to carry out such injunctions. Judith often notes on the Sabbath that "we said our prayers", but never says this regarding week days in her extant diaries. However, Dr. Loewe gives us a snippet of one of Moses' diaries of 1820, "With God's blessing - Rise, say prayers at 7 o'clock. Breakfast at 9. Attend the Stock Exchange, if in London, 10. Dinner, 5. Read, write and learn, if possible, Hebrew and French, 6. Read Bible and say prayers, 10. Then retire. Monday and Thursday mornings attend the Synagogue". Though Moses may by 1827 when at home have prayed daily and attended Synagogue on Sabbath [and perhaps Mondays and Thursdays as well] - the pattern was quite different when travelling.

Dr. Loewe introduces the 1827/28 journey as follows: "Mr. & Mrs. Montefiore repaired to Synagogue as was their custom early in the morning before undertaking any important work, for the purpose of invoking the blessing of Divine Providence on this their first and long-projected journey to Jerusalem". This is a slight exaggeration because Judith's Journal tells us "Montefiore preceded me about two hours in order to attend synagogue. I called for him at the

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800 Loewe "Diaries" I:25. Monday and Thursday were special days in the Synagogue as on them the Torah [Pentateuch] was read as well as its main reading on the Sabbath. This extract and the published 1840 Diary show us how terse was the text of Moses' early diaries compared with Judith's.

801 Loewe "Diaries" I:37
place of devotion."\textsuperscript{802} At the start of their 1823 Continental Tour she says, "I left at 7 o'clock as I understood to call for Montefiore at the Synagogue door"\textsuperscript{803} [in fact there was a mix up and he had already left; once Judith finds him she says, "after a little warmth we proceeded..." - a homely touch: clearly they had had a row!\textsuperscript{804}]. But it does seem true that before setting out on a long journey Moses went to Synagogue, but not Judith - she went later to pick him up "at the door". This would accord with the man's duty to pray being different from a woman's. This is not to say that Judith was not religious for she, like Moses, had a deep and natural faith that suffuses their diaries and letters. There are regular effusive thanks to God for good fortune or for safely getting through dangerous episodes. But to return to their early journeys, regular attendance at synagogue was not felt vital. In 1823 it was not until Sunday 23rd November, in Verona, six weeks after leaving home that the Montefiores visited a synagogue. "Enquired for the Synagogue and was shewn a very neat one where several persons were assembled at prayers. Was rather surprised at this, it being Sunday Eveg. We seated ourselves, a seat being politely pointed out to us. After a short time a Moneybox was handed to some of the congregation when Montefiore took the opportunity and advanced and deposited the Sovereign which Mr. Rothschild put into his hand the afternoon we left New Court for the first Synagogue we might visit to which Mun added a Napoleon"\textsuperscript{805}.

Why had they not visited a synagogue in six weeks? They certainly visited towns with ancient synagogues, eg. Worms, and in almost every town they visited they inspected the important churches. The day before [Saturday 22nd November] they had toured Verona, only on Sunday "understanding there

\textsuperscript{802} Private Journal, p.2
\textsuperscript{803} Judith's 1823 Manuscript Diary, 4th October 1823
\textsuperscript{804} ibid.
\textsuperscript{805} ibid., ad.loc.
were 5000 Jews residing in this town of a population of 25,000, enquired for the Synagogue, etc."806.

A clear picture emerges in the 1823 Diary of a couple who say their Sabbath prayers each week in their hotel room, but otherwise use the day for sightseeing [Friday night 7th November they went to the theatre in Munich!]. They were not overly keen to find out if there are Jews or a synagogue in town807. This pattern appears to apply to the 1827/28 journey but here in addition to Judith's diary, there is Moses' Account Book and this includes a page [121] marked "Synagogues". On it Moses lists the synagogues he attended and when relevant the donation he gave on each occasion.

Their first Sabbath away from home [4/5th May] was spent in Abbeville where Judith notes that the standard and facilities of the hotel "render the repose of the succeeding day agreeable"808. The next Friday evening they were in Lyon and there is no reference to the Sabbath: they were depressed finding they were staying in the hotel where Moses' brother died in 1824. However, the following week in a most luxurious hotel in Turin, Judith says, "after dressing for Sabbath we read prayers, dined and retired at ten"809. This probably reflects their behaviour on the other Sabbaths when they did not go to Synagogue. They tried to plan their journeys so as to arrive at a congenial place for the Sabbath. This sometimes meant a long day's journey on Friday [for example, 25th May they left Milan at 5.00am] or even an overnight journey on Thursday [for example, Thursday 31st January 1828].

806 Judith's Manuscript Diary, Sunday 23rd November 1823
807 Sonia Lipman [n.31], p.293 reports a similar pattern from the 1816 diary: they were in Paris for four weeks without mention of attending synagogue, but attend the Opera on Friday night.
808 Private Journal, p.6
809 ibid., p.25
The Montefiores, and of course the Salomons on the first leg of the 1827/28 journey, would probably have said their prayers in their own room, but were not ashamed to do so in public if more convenient. On the Leonidas returning from Alexandria [Saturday 17th November] Judith says, "we were on deck reading our prayers this morning with a sunrise so bright ..."810. Occasionally, Mr. Mazzara, a Catholic, might have joined them for their prayers, he certainly accompanied Moses or Judith to Synagogue from time to time, as on the eve of Rosh Hashanah in Alexandria811. The story is told of Moses as a young man having no qualms at reciting the full Hebrew Grace after Meals after a meal at Asher Goldsmid's house in the presence of Lord Nelson, and on the 1825 tour to Ireland Judith's Diary pictures them openly observing and sharing their faith with the Protestant Medleys, their travelling companions.

When the Montefiores did not go to Synagogue on the Sabbath there sometimes was no synagogue in the town. There was not one in Abbeville in 1827, while in Lyon only an impoverished prayer-room existed in 1827812, and even in a fashionable town like Naples the first synagogue was not built until 1864813. However, they did stay in towns with synagogues and showed no rush to go. In Rome on the 8th/9th June neither Judith's Journal nor Moses' Account Book mentions going to synagogue. Judith does remark that on the Friday "incessant rain obliged us to remain at home all day ..." Saturday morning "we braved the threatening showers ..."814: but they went not to the synagogue but to the Forum, Capitol and Colisseum and many other famous sights. On the Monday

810 Private Journal, p.243
811 ibid., p.167
812 Jewish Encyclopaedia, Vol. VIII, p.230
813 Encyclopaedia Judaica, Vol. 12:822
814 Private Journal, p.52

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they did visit the Ghetto where Moses bought a black silk handkerchief from a Jewish shop but this seems to be their only Jewish contact on that visit.

They were in Malta six weeks before there is the first mention of going to synagogue or meeting the Jewish community. Judith mentions that "M__ went to the synagogue yesterday and offered thirty-four dollars" 815. Moses' Account Book says "At Malta called the first to Sapher [sic.] instead of a Cohen. I offered 30 Spanish Dollars $20 Sedaca [Charity] $5 Hazanim [prayer leaders - cantors] $5 Rubissim [? meaning not clear]" 816. The first sentence records that they gave him a special honour, but why had he not been to synagogue before? The previous week he went to the Library on Saturday morning. [Note the discrepancy; did Moses tell Judith he gave more than he actually did - or was it an error of memory, after all both would have written their entries after the Sabbath]. It is only after that Sabbath visit that the Jewish community came visiting. Judith says that on the Sunday a Jew called Tubiana came to visit, seeking assistance, "M__ gave him some relief" 817. Moses notes that he gave "to a David Nissim Tabiana $12 Spanish Dollars" 818. The next day a delegation from the synagogue breakfasted with Moses and on the Tuesday, "The Parnassim breakfasted with us, and brought Montefiore the constitution of the Synagogue granted by General Maitland" 819. That evening Judith and Moses went to the synagogue to pray "to the Almighty for protection in our journey ... the Hazanim read a prayer for our safety" 820.

815 Private Journal, p.115; the entry is Sunday August 12th
816 Moses' Account Book, p.121
817 Private Journal, p.115
818 Moses' Account Book, under "Charity" p.121
819 Private Journal, p.115
820 Ibid., p.116
Moses recorded, "At Malta. Eveng. Service Escamot $10"821. Next day they sailed to the East. This episode shows both their piety and practice of saying special prayers [usually in synagogue] before embarking on a voyage, but why had they left it so long before getting in touch with the Jewish community?

On the outward journey the only contact with the Jewish community in Rome seemed to have been commercial. On their return journey there is no mention of prayers on Friday evening. Instead, in the original version only, Judith records "our evening lounge [sic.] to Caffè Nuovo was observed ... a large circle were present and conversations unceasing"822. Their interest in Café Nuovo in Rome has already been noted and they found nothing wrong in spending their Friday evening there. [Of course this does not mean they did not say their prayers before going: but how did they pay? Jews are not supposed to handle money on the Sabbath.] Only on the Monday "proceeded to the Ghetto, where we found several at synagogue and ... Montefiore was called up. The prayer of Moses happened to be read today"823. Moses' Account Book notes he was in synagogue but does not give his donation.

821 Moses' Account Book, p.121 - Escamot is the Hebrew word used by Sephardim for "petitionary" prayer.
822 Private Journal MS, 26th January 1828
823 Private Journal, pp.301-302 [see n.3:398]. The prayer of Moses is Exodus 15:1-18 and is the song Moses sang after salvation at the Red Sea. The passage was a favourite of Montefiore and after their surviving the perils of the Mediterranean one can imagine its power. Moses' Luach [calendar of Jewish Festivals] confirms that this portion would be read on this particular Monday in 1828. This Luach survives in the Shandel/Lipson Collection
Judith's original Journal has an interesting aside not found in the printed version; after their synagogue visit it says: "While we were at tea, three of the gentlemen called from the Synagogue, we enquired whether the badge [ie. Jew badge] was obliged to be worn. It is not but two or three Saturdays they are obliged to attend a service in the Month [sic.]"\(^{824}\)

Next day they left Rome. Again Moses had left it until the end of his stay to make contact with the Jewish community and, having done so, they follow up the contact. Was Montefiore reticent in making contact in case it got him involved and required an extra donation, or was sightseeing more important? He had been to Rome at least three times before, so maybe the first explanation has about it a grain of truth. Things changed radically on the 1838/39 visit to the Holy Land and on most subsequent journeys; it was the Jewish community that Moses contacted first.

The last major Jewish contact of the tour was in Leghorn, Moses' birthplace and where several members of his family still lived. In Judith's printed Journal there is no mention of synagogue on the Saturday [2nd February] but in the original she says, "Accompanied Mun to Synagogue, which we had some difficulty in finding, a great number of persons of both sexes were assembled, who made as did the Synagogue a very respectable appearance. How satisfying it is to see our places of worship so well attended"\(^{825}\). Moses recorded, "At Leghorn $35, Samas [the beadle] $2 = $37"\(^{826}\): the highest donation of the tour, no doubt marking his

\(^{824}\) Private Journal, MS Tuesday 28th January 1828. The service was in the church of St. Angelo in Pescaria just outside the ghetto where they were forced to hear sermons attempting to convert them.

\(^{825}\) ibid., 2nd February 1828

\(^{826}\) Moses' Account Book 1827/28, p.121
sentimental attachment to the synagogue and community. On the Monday both versions give a lengthy description of their visits to the Jewish schools, and the visits to the various Jewish dignitaries.

Before concluding this section it should be noted that during the ten months away they celebrated all the major festivals of the year except for Passover. They spent Shavuot [Festival of Weeks] in Florence. On the first day Judith records, "Mr. Salomon and Montefiore went to Synagogue"827 and the second day of the festival it is again only the men who went. The rest of the two days were spent visiting churches! The Montefiores seem to have made a particular point of observing Tisha B'Av828 [the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple] and in Malta "Fasting is a double penance here to what it is in England ..."829. This was due to the great heat but despite Moses urging Judith to take some liquid refreshment, she refused to do so until "four stars were in sight"830. The Montefiores appear to have scrupulously observed this Fast day; perhaps another sign of their religious and sentimental attachment to Jerusalem from their earliest days.

Rosh Hashanah [the Jewish New Year] was celebrated in Alexandria, and for it they had to leave the Leonidas and take up lodgings ashore. On Friday 21st September Moses and Mr. Mazzara went for the evening service "a small synagogue excessively hot, and containing a congregation of about

827 Private Journal, p.42
828 Loewe records Judith observing Tisha B'Av while still in her parents' home, and Sir Sidney Smith coming in - her sisters were embarrassed, but not Judith. Loewe "Diaries" I:3
829 Private Journal, p.111, Thursday 2nd August
830 ibid.
sixty persons, who were clothed in Arab costume. Next morning Moses went on his own "and offered fifty dollars". Moses' account is "At Alexandria New Year's Holidays. Called to Sapher I offered 30 Spanish Dollars $20 Sedaca $4 Etz Haim $4 Hazanim $2 Sames $30". Again a discrepancy with Judith's figure. That evening, the second eve of Rosh Hashanah, Judith accompanied Moses to a private synagogue belonging to Mr. & Mrs. Fuor "small but extremely clean, lighted with wax tapers and oil lamps". Judith went on to describe particularly the women in the congregation. The next morning Judith does not mention going to synagogue, dwelling instead on a visit to Mr. & Mrs. Fuor and describing their home. Moses, however, says "At Alexandria New Year Holidays Purchased Mitzvot: taking out Sapher $3.5 Putting on the Bells $3.5 which I gave to Mr. Fua [sic.] & Carrying the Sapher $3.5 which I gave to Mr. Yonis [?] together Ten Spanish Dollars $10". It is not clear why he did not get the greater honour of being "called to Sapher" as on the first day; or why his arithmetic let him down in adding up the various amounts he donated for the various honours which he then shared out.

Yom Kippur [the Day of Atonement] was also spent in Alexandria. "At half past five I went with Montefiore to the Synagogue; prayers commenced at six". Judith then describes the scene at length, deprecating the lack of decorum of the women, "conversation having been more attended to than the prayers". Next morning Moses went early to the synagogue [for 7.00am]. At 10.30am Judith went to the Fuor's synagogue as it was closer and cleaner. She

831 Private Journal, p.167
832 Moses' Account Book, p.121
833 Private Journal, p.168
834 Moses' Account Book, p.121
835 Private Journal, p.173
836 ibid., p.174
was accompanied by Mr. Mazzara. Again she gives a detailed
description of the congregation. Moses, in his Account
Book, has another entry that just said "Alexandria":
clearly he was given no honour on this day. Friday 5th
October they were still in Alexandria and being the Eve of
Sukkot [Tabernacles] Mr. Fuor invited them to his home to
say prayers in his sukkah [festive booth]. They boarded the
Henry William on Thursday 11th and set sail the same day.
No mention is made of the three festival days at the end of
Sukkot, all of which were spent on the ship at last taking
them to the Holy Land.

Before concluding with thoughts about religious observance
in the Holy Land itself it must be stressed that prayer is
not the only form of Jewish religious expression. Kashrut
has been dealt with in the chapter on Food and Drink.
Another religious requirement is to be charitable, and Moses
Montefiore in the years ahead became a legend in this
respect. His donations in synagogues has also been
mentioned above but he included a page in his Account Book
headed "Charity - page 121". In almost every place they
visited Moses gave charity. Sometimes he notes just the
name of the place, other times it is more personal, for
example "At the Island of Gozo - the prisoners", "At Malta
an old officer". In other places it just says "Given to the
poor". It is clear that the recipients on this list were
not Jews, but Moses saw it as his religious duty to give

On their 1825 holiday Judith was asked on a Saturday to take
a ride in a car but "I declined because of the day". The
next Saturday in Killarney the rest of the party went for a
boat ride on the lake, but the Montefiores make do with a
walk on their own. On the 1827/28 tour they seem fated to
find their ships arriving in port on the Sabbath. On each
occasion they waited until the Sabbath was out before going

837 Judith's Manuscript 1825 Diary, 30th July, ad.loc.
ashore. They did, from time to time, go to the theatre or opera on a Friday night, but probably their Christian companions [for example, Mr. Mazzara] or servants paid for them or booked the tickets.

They appear not to have written on the Sabbath, although Judith's original manuscript for her 1827/28 diary does have the Sabbath entries in the present tense and she changed this to the past tense before having it printed. So perhaps she did bend the rules when travelling. Another example of flouting the rules was in Jerusalem on Saturday afternoon when Moses was invited to meet the governor. Judith said, "coffee and pipes were handed". Smoking is not permitted on the Sabbath as it infringes the prohibition against making a fire. Loewe covered up for this indiscretion by reporting, "coffee and other refreshments".

Of course these restrictions may seem irksome for travellers and tourists, but the Montefiores were used to them and occasionally it was an advantage. In Turin on Saturday 19th May 1827 they went for a walk and "window-shop", Judith adding, "fortunately for the gentlemen the day prevents purchasing". Yet Judith went on to record that for luncheon they had "chocolate ... and pane del grisino". Who purchased this? If it was Mr. Mazzara it was also "bending the rules". It appears that at this stage in their lives, especially when away from home, a few rules were indeed "bent". Professor Ben Arieh summed up their religious identity as follows: "It seems that at least during this phase of his life, Montefiore stressed ritual-ceremonial elements in the spirit of the religious

838 Private Journal, p.215
839 Loewe "Diaries" I:42
840 Private Journal, p.27
atmosphere of Sephardi communities in Western Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century"841.

The Holy Land: or rather Holy City
The previous and contemporary travellers focussed their printed books on the experiences they had in the Holy Land itself [plus their experiences in Egypt] and spent very little time on the journey to and from the East. For the Montefiores on their first visit the opposite applies; and, of all the contemporary travellers who went into print, the Montefiores spent the least time in the Holy Land - amazingly only three nights in Jerusalem. Moses does not include in his Account Book the journey to or from Alexandria or the time spent in Palestine.

Dr. Loewe, quoting from Moses' [missing] Diary, says that on getting first sight of Jerusalem, the Montefiores dismounted, adopted an attitude of mourning [for the destruction of the Temple] and then "offered up a fervent prayer, giving thanks to God for having brought them safely to Jerusalem, the great and long-denied object of their journey, and praying for His blessing on all they loved"842. Judith's account makes it clear they were in a great hurry to get to Jerusalem before the gates closed843 and she implies that at the end of their long journey they found themselves inside the Holy City before they could fully comprehend where they were. Judith's narration of their stay in Jerusalem [and her visit to Bethlehem] reads more like a touristic than a religious experience, although it is clear that the religious impact on the two of them was immense.

841 In his introduction [p.iii] to extracts from Judith's Private Journal published in Jerusalem in 1975
842 Loewe "Diaries" I:40
843 Private Journal, p.192
On their first morning in Jerusalem despite exhaustion and lack of sleep Moses "was induced by the holy feelings so naturally excited in this place"\(^844\) to get up at daybreak to join the men in Amzalak's house in their morning prayer in the private synagogue attached to the house. Later they were taken to the Western Wall, but Judith records it as "a large stone ... the last relic of the Temple of Solomon"\(^845\). She records more of the difficulty in gaining access to the Wall than her religious feelings. They then climbed to the roof of a house to view the "Mosque of Omar". Entry was forbidden to non-Muslims, although in 1855 the Montefiores did tour the site. Henniker recorded, "a few days' since a Greek Christian entered the Mosque ... he was invited to change his religion but refused and was immediately murdered by the mob."\(^846\)

On their second full day in Jerusalem [Friday, 19th October] Judith and Moses split company. Moses went with Mr. Amzalak to visit the yeshiva [Rabbinical college], Etz Chaim, and then to places of Jewish interest outside the walls, eg. the tombs of Absalom and Jeremiah, but more importantly, "the ancient burial ground where he obtained some terra sancta to take home with him"\(^847\). Moses was not to know that he would visit Jerusalem six more times before this holy earth was needed for burial with his own coffin. Or perhaps he already had a plan in mind to build his own synagogue. On the 9th August 1831 he laid the foundation stone of the synagogue on his estate in Ramsgate. "Mr. Montefiore covered the part on which the wall near the Holy Ark for the reception of the sacred scrolls of the Pentateuch was to be built with Terra Sancta, which they had brought with them from Jerusalem"\(^848\)

\(^844\) Private Journal, p.202  
\(^845\) ibid., p.204  
\(^846\) Henniker [n.125], pp.275-6  
\(^847\) Loewe "Diaries" I:41  
\(^848\) ibid., I:84
Back in 1827 he finally visited the Wailing Wall, Friday being the day it was normally opened for Jews to visit.

Meanwhile Judith went on a much more adventurous tour. She went with "Mr. Bell, Captain Anderson, a young monk from the Greek convent (presumably as a guide), our Agar, Dragoman Paulo and Armstrong" to visit Bethlehem. Loewe says she went "accompanied by some ladies and travelling companions" : it seems as if Judith stressed the men in her party and Moses the ladies! Like her husband four days before, Judith first tried a mule, but soon changed to a donkey. On the way she described seeing, amongst other things, Mount Zion and the Mount of Olives and in an hour they got to the tomb of Rachel. Although she then went on to tour the church sites in Bethlehem and describes them in great detail, it was clearly Rachel's tomb that moved her the most. "On entering I was deeply impressed with a feeling of awe and respect, standing, as I thus did, in the sepulchre of a mother in Israel". She added her and Moses' names to those written on the walls and then adds, "My feeling of gratitude on this occasion were not a little increased by a knowledge of the circumstance, that only six European females are said to have visited Palestine in the course of a century." An indication of her immense satisfaction that she, a mere woman, had made this pilgrimage. Perhaps Judith, who could not bear children, felt a special empathy with this Matriarch who had, at first, appeared barren and then died in childbirth, reputedly on this spot. Judith in 1841 paid to have the monument restored and maintained, and her own sepulchre

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849 Private Journal, p.205
850 Loewe "Diaries" I:41
851 Private Journal, p.206
852 ibid. Buckingham, whom we know Judith had read, had given a good description of the tomb, including an illustration, [n.47] II, p.332

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in Ramsgate was modelled after this building on the road to Bethlehem.

Saturday morning [October 20th] was naturally spent in Synagogue, although it is not clear which one; Judith does record that there were four adjoining Sephardi synagogues and one Ashkenazi. She records, "Montefiore was called up to Sephar; and this being the first Sabbath we had ever spent in Palestine, he offered for all his absent friends individually"853. Loewe notes that Montefiore was requested not to "make any offering of a large amount, otherwise the authorities might hear of it, and would still further raise their taxes"854. From this and many other conversations and visits, the Montefiores realised how poverty-stricken and oppressed was the Jewish community. Saturday night, "seventeen rabbis read prayers for us ... in Mr. Amzlac's synagogue, and after two hours rest, Montefiore found them in their devotion"855. All too soon the Montefiores were on their way out of Jerusalem, "Farewell, Holy City! we exclaimed in our hearts. Blessed be the Almighty, who has protected us etc. etc."856.

Conclusion
Their standard of Kashrut, which was lax in 1827, became more strict following the 1827/28 tour. Judith, in her 1838/39 Diary, seemed to go out of her way to show this new level of observance and that it also applied to Sabbath observance. In 1827/28 attendance at synagogue was not always of first importance compared with sightseeing, but in her 1838/39 Diary Judith describes a very active synagogue attendance. By then more synagogues had been built and it

853 Private Journal, p.201
854 Loewe "Diaries" I:41
855 Private Journal, p.21
856 ibid.

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was rare for them not to attend, and for Judith not to record their attendance, and also their performance of other religious ceremonies.

Their first visit to Jerusalem and the Holy Land very clearly made all the difference. As Moses put it in his diary on the day they sailed away from Jaffa, "This day I begin a new era. I fully intend to dedicate much more time to the welfare of the poor and to attend Synagogue as regularly as possible on Monday, Thursday and Saturday". And this vow was kept and the tour changed both of their lives and their religious observance.

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857 Loewe "Diaries" I:43
The challenges when trying to observe a Jewish way of life whilst travelling has been examined. In 1827 the Montefiores included in their party fellow Jews, the Salomons, as well as the Catholic Mr. Mazzara and their non-Jewish servants. On later journeys their servants increasingly tended to be Jewish. Whatever the relationship you had with your servants while at home, this was likely to change when travelling and the farther you were from home the closer would be the contact.

Perhaps the best known servant of the era was William Fletcher, devoted valet of Lord Byron: "his much-complaining and very English valet, remained in his service all his life, despite the hardship of frequent travel, the pain of separation from his wife and the lack of English beer and beef"858. In his Mediterranean travels in 1809 Byron had also taken "a boy-servant Robert Rushton" but he sent him home from Gibraltar, saying, "you know boys are not safe among the Turks"859. Byron could talk; his sexual adventures were legendary and Fletcher was often his confidant, messenger and cover for his misdemeanours. Byron was frequently angry with Fletcher for his forgetfulness and constant complaints about foreign travel. In the Morea Byron was delayed because Fletcher "with his usual acuteness contrived at Megara to ram his damned clumsy foot into a boiling tea kettle"860. Fletcher had to put up with Byron's temperament and Byron with Fletcher's irritating behaviour. Occasionally Byron helped Fletcher in romantic adventures, and although always a servant/master relationship they clearly also became loyal friends.

858 Alan Massie, Byron's Travels [London, 1988], p.32
859 ibid.
860 ibid., p.60
A similar picture emerges from the much less famous diary of Matthew Todd who in 1814-15 accompanied his master, Captain Barlow, on a tour of the Low Countries, France, Italy and Germany at the time of Napoleon's final advance in Europe. Todd carried the bags, but they appear to eat together, sleep in the same room and by the end of the Diary both had found wives out of their adventures. Perhaps there are other manuscript diaries that would provide a full picture of the relationship between a master and his servant on these long tours, but of the travellers to Palestine there is scant mention of servants in their books. On his later journeys Montefiore took an increasing entourage of servants, cooks and doctors [just as in 1816 when going into exile Byron had added to Fletcher "Berger, a Swiss ... Robert Rushton and John William Polidori ... his private physician"].

The Belzonis left England in 1818. "Mrs. Belzoni, myself and James Curtain, a lad who I had brought with me from Ireland." The appointment of the boy seems not to have been for any travel expertise he had. He clearly spent a lot of time alone with Mrs. Belzoni as her husband was rushing off on his own expeditions. In Cairo a riot broke out and Belzoni had to fight through the mob as he had left "Mrs. Belzoni with James and an Arab." This did not stop Belzoni leaving her in Cairo to go up-river, though he left her with the British consul. Some time later she went up the Nile to join her husband "with only James." There is no mention as to whether this young man also accompanied Mrs. Belzoni on her lone visit to the Holy Land in 1818. The last mention of him is in April 1819 when he left the

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862 Peter Quenell [n.228], p.246
863 Belzoni, [n.87], p.ix
864 ibid., p.9
865 ibid., p.202

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party to go to Jerusalem with "Mr. Leigh" with whom he returned direct to England five months before Mrs. Belzoni returned. It seems strange that Mrs. Belzoni should spend so much time alone with this young servant, though perhaps it says more about her relationship with her husband than her servant. No details are given as to James's duties.

Chateaubriand had a more formal relationship with his servant and tells of an amusing occurrence as they land at Jaffa in 1806, "My servant had on a light drab great coat and white being the colour of distinction among the Arabs, they judged that he was the sheik. Accordingly they laid hold of him and carried him off in triumph in spite of his protestation, whilst I, thanks to my blue coat, rode obscurely on the back of a ragged beggar". Buckingham says he took "my old servant" with him from England with the implication that he was already in his employ. On the stormy voyage from Alexandria to Beirut in 1816 "my servant was employed in the galley in preparing for me a fowl curry". They were on a small ship [a "Shuktor"] with only ten sailors, and like Paulo on the Montefiores' voyage up the Nile in the cangia the servant acted as cook. Later the storm increased and Buckingham lost most of his luggage overboard: "my servant bailed out the ship". However the servant was clearly not indispensable because when Buckingham decided to go from Jerusalem to Tiberias and found out that there were no horses to hire for the journey and he would have to buy horses, he left his servant behind in Jerusalem!

Whether or not they brought a servant with them from England, all the travellers talk of the various servants they hired once in Egypt or Palestine: the interpreters,

866 Chateaubriand, [n.50], p.363
867 Buckingham, [n.47], p.10
868 ibid., p.14
869 ibid., p.288
janissaries, guides or cooks. Sometimes the guides were professional and had acted for previous travellers. Henniker records, "my dragoman [Mohomed] who had been in this temple with Mr. Banks..." \(^{870}\). Irby and Mangles found that their janissary was responsible for the sailors on the cangia on the Nile demanding more food\(^{871}\). Later they travelled overland to Jaffa and clearly had to bargain for the price of hire, "agreed 30 dollars with an Arab to take them through the desert to Jaffa with three camels"\(^{872}\). They also hired a "Maltese interpreter"\(^{873}\). Going into Transjordan they hired a new guide but were cheated. They complain [as do others] about the price for guides: "since Lady Hester Stanhope spoiled the market by overpaying them when she went to Palmyra"\(^{874}\).

Joliffe has a question in his "Instruction for Travellers in Palestine" - "5. What wages should an interpreter receive? ANSWER: A Spanish dollar a day"\(^{875}\). Irby and Mangles make it clear that it was not so simple; one had to barter to reach an agreed figure. Going from Hebron down to the Dead Sea the Governor agreed to give them three guides, but as they would not pay him more than they had first agreed the guides refused to go. The travellers set out on their own, but soon the guides caught up with them\(^{876}\).

The personalities mentioned above were hardened travellers. The Montefiores were seasoned travellers but not beyond Europe. They were more typical of the tourists who would come after 1831. What role did their servants play on their 1827/28 tour?

\(^{870}\) Henniker, [n.125], p.161
\(^{871}\) Irby & Mangles, [n.100], p.5
\(^{872}\) ibid., p.52
\(^{873}\) ibid.
\(^{874}\) ibid., p.95
\(^{875}\) Joliffe, [n.257], pp.254 and 257
\(^{876}\) Irby & Mangles, [n.100], p.104
Armstrong

In a previous chapter as much personal information about Thomas Armstrong as could be gleaned was given. From Judith's Journal records that he helped plan the route and was clearly well-travelled "in all details of the journey our man-servant, by his indefatigable attentions and personal knowledge of the country, greatly diminishes the trouble we should have other experienced". He clearly acted as coachman and would supervise the change-over of horses at each post. Going up Mount Cenis "the post-master proposed our having six horses, but Armstrong, who is very strenuous against imposition, persisted that four would be sufficient" - and they were. That he had responsibility for cleaning and maintaining the coach is shown by the many references in Moses' Account Book to the Petty Cash paid Armstrong for equipment for the coach and repairs to it. He also ran errands and the following entry from Moses' Account Book [p.123] gives an impression of his duties: "M 14 May At Lyons. Settled with T. Armstrong for: mending watch case ... mending Spring ... Ordering horses ... Bottle ... Mending Drag ... Watch glass ... Rosewater ... Cap Box ... Tin Box ... a large Brush for Carriage" [all the costs were noted down in the original].

When the coach had to be taken across the swollen River Po, the Montefiores and Salomons crossed in a small boat in fourteen minutes, but Armstrong accompanying the two carriages on another barge took two and a half hours. It is clear that he looked after the Salomons' carriage as well as the Montefiores', the former having with them a lady's maid but no manservant. His experience of travelling in Italy [as well as France] is shown by two occurrences in Milan and Florence, when he recommended different hotels from the ones the Montefiores were going to take. In Milan

877 Private Journal, p.10
878 ibid., p.27
879 ibid., p.36
he got it right but in Florence not; yet there seems no anger at their servant's bad advice\textsuperscript{880}.

Armstrong may have had a naval background. Halfway between Sicily and Malta in the tiny open speronara, Judith quotes Armstrong saying to the captain, "I can make a better compass than this ... have you not a chart on board either?"\textsuperscript{881}. While in Malta, the Montefiores took up the governor's offer to use his home at Marfa on the other side of the island. The Montefiores went overland, but Armstrong took a supply of drink round to Marfa by boat. He was swept overboard and only after "he had sunk two or three times"\textsuperscript{882} did the boatmen manage to haul him in by his hair! When he was taken to his destination "he fell into hysterics ... and was conveyed to bed"\textsuperscript{883}.

Once they got to and left Malta, Armstrong seems to have played a lesser role since they had employed two Maltese servants. There is no reference to his spending money on the Montefiores' behalf in Malta, but then they were staying in a hotel and the servants from there would do the errands that he might do elsewhere. Although he went on all of the excursions in Egypt and to the Holy Land, others did the chores and made the arrangements. Captain Anderson's sailors washed out the cangia to go up the Nile, and Paulo their Maltese servant bought the food and did the cooking.

In Palestine Armstrong again went on the excursions [eg. with Judith to Bethlehem] but otherwise gets no mention until on their last day in Jerusalem, "Armstrong and Paulo were actively placing the luggage"\textsuperscript{884}. He may well have had a supervisory role even in the East. While in Europe it is

\textsuperscript{880} Private Journal, pp.30 and 41
\textsuperscript{881} ibid., p.91
\textsuperscript{882} ibid., p.103
\textsuperscript{883} ibid., p.103
\textsuperscript{884} ibid., p.216
clear from the Account Book that Montefiore did not pay for Armstrong's accommodation or food, except in the Lazaretto. Montefiore did cover Armstrong's taxes, duties and passage money and while on ship, since Montefiore had paid to hire the vessel, it seems as if Armstrong had free food and accommodation; elsewhere he paid for his own. There is no indication whether he stayed in the same hotels, but from the fact that he would recommend hotels it seems possible. In the Lazaretto there was separate servants' accommodation and in Alexandria Marguerite, who became Judith's maid, slept, as previously noted, in "a closet" adjoining Judith's room. Although Judith remarks on the Catholicism of the Maltese servants, there is no indication of Armstrong's religion or of his going to church. During the storm between Alexandria and Malta, Judith records, "Armstrong with a solemn countenance says, 'We must trust in Providence: I hope it will soon go right'". Paulo and Marguerite had previously been to see Judith with much more positive statements!

While travelling on a coach he would sit outside on the rear "dickey seat", while in hotels and on ship he would be accommodated separately. While travelling in Egypt and Palestine he slept in close proximity to the Montefiores, yet presumably a proper distance was kept in their relationship.

Nearing the end of their ten months together, Judith comments in her original diary [but not the printed] "Armstrong we find extremely attentive and useful on the road." When they got to England Moses totted up the

885 Private Journal, p.131
886 ibid., p.250
887 Private Journal MS, 19th February 1828
wages he had already paid Armstrong "Wages 10 Months @ 10 Gns. is £105

[already paid] 70.6
34.14

Given him a present 5.6 = £40"\[888\]

He got a tip of £5.6s., half a month's wages. Is this generous or not? Armstrong then left the Montefiores' employment, until he was re-engaged ten years later for the second journey to the Holy Land. He appears to play a similar role and although he often gave advice no clearer picture of his personality emerges from his second tour with the Montefiores.

The Maltese Servants

The Account Book [p.137] says that: "Margaret Maccallif was to be paid $10 a month" and was engaged from "7th August to 12th Decemb". She was entitled to $42, was paid $25 during the voyage, and giving her the balance Moses gave her "a present of $8". "Paul Zammatt at 15 Spanish Dollars a month" and Moses added "to find himself with Provisions when on shore". At the end he too got a present of $8. [The presents seem a rather higher percentage of wages compared with Armstrong's tip.]

It has been noted that in Egypt Marguerite [as Judith calls her] had a closet off Judith's room. Presumably her accommodation was paid for. Paulo had to find his own accommodation and food and his salary reflected this [as well as men no doubt getting a higher wage than women]. This reinforces the view that Armstrong would also have to find his own accommodation and food while ashore.

Another interesting fact emerges from this page in the Account Book, for by Margaret's name it says "to find her a

888 Moses' Account Book, p.120 which is headed "Thomas Armstrong" and details the times and amounts of what he is paid.
passage Home to Malta" and by Paul's "when I discharge him to pay 2 months extra for his expenses home". This is added proof that on leaving Malta Montefiore was not sure of his route home to Naples and that he considered the possibility of going either direct or via Constantinople [having letters of introduction and exchange to that place].

Marguerite's experience has been noted that "she had performed part of the tour we were about to make with Mrs. Lee"889 and on the return journey in a terrible storm she reassured Judith by saying "she is not afraid having been with Mrs. Lee in as bad a gale, on the Black Sea"890. As soon as Judith engaged her she defines her job, "I immediately set her to pack our clothes"891. Three days later [17th August] at sea both women were seasick, yet still Marguerite helped Judith with "the business of toilette". She was indeed a lady's maid, sleeping near Judith in Alexandria, and no doubt spending many hours in close proximity. While in Egypt she went on the excursions but to her chagrin she was not taken to the Holy Land "but it would be imprudent, we learnt, to have more females in the party than necessary"892.

Paulo [alias Paul Zemmett] is mentioned mainly as a cook. He gets much praise in a variety of situations: "a cold collation" on the excursion to the Pyramids, rustling up an omelette at the convent in Ramleh when the monks had provided no food, cooking goose for the New Year and chicken soup for the Sabbath they spent aboard the Henry William going to Jaffa. On board ship it seems as if the ship's cook normally prepared the meals but for special meals, or

889 Private Journal, p.115: no further information has been found about this Mrs. Lee.
890 ibid., p.250
891 ibid., p.115
892 Private Journal, p.183
when using the ship as an hotel in harbour, Paulo acted as chef. While in the Lazaretto in Malta Judith remarks, "Paulo who proves an exceedingly good cook". He could clearly cook to the standard expected while on land as well as he could improvise when in less civilised places. He could be irritating, for example when they set off up the Nile in the cangia they were delayed some time, "Paulo having forgotten the charcoal, a chief requisite for cooking". On the Eve of the Day of Atonement Judith says, "Paulo was extremely attentive, though at times rather dull in understanding all that was required"; he could not quite understand the sort of meal they required to take their fast. Otherwise the Montefiores seem well pleased with their "Maltese servants" and an insight is found as to how they tried to do their best for their employers, and also the tension between the servants and sailors on ship. While on the Leonidas on the outward journey, "A second contentious occasion today between our servants and the steward; the latter bringing us a cup of tea which they said was not strong enough, and the captain remarked, that he always found greater difficulty in pleasing the servants than the employers".

At the end of the voyage Judith wrote of the natural joy of the servants to be back in Malta, but her original text provides us with an added insight, "I learnt today from Paulo when enquiring if Marguerite's husband could not obtain employment that he had formerly been in his service, having himself kept an Inn before the plague twelve years since which caused his ruin by which he lost 12,000 Sende". Perhaps this is the reason why Marguerite, a married woman, had to go on this [and an earlier] dangerous

893 Private Journal, p.261
894 ibid., p.136
895 ibid., p.173
896 ibid., p.127
897 Private Journal MS, 12th December

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journey and also her connection with Paulo is explained. A couple of weeks later as the Montefiores were about to leave Malta, "Marguerite came to say farewell. She told me the lamentable tale of her husband, in her absence, sold her chest of drawers, and a number of pawnbrokers' tickets, which she had expected to have redeemed." 

Companions during the Journey
Though it was usual to travel with companions they often proved less than constant. Henniker's companion dropped out after an accident at Mount Vesuvius. John Carne fell out with Edward Clarke when they got to Egypt [and he had to pay his fare home]. Turner's two companions decided it would be too hot to go to Egypt after "Easter, decided to change their itinerary and left him to travel on alone." In 1827 the Montefiores also had bad luck with their three companions.

In 1827 David & Jeanette Salomons were aged 30 and 24 respectively [Moses was 43] and, like the Montefiores would prove childless. David became a member of the Stock Exchange in 1823 [and would become a founder of the London and Westminster Bank and the first Jewish Lord Mayor of London] and so had a lot in common with Moses, Jeanette was Judith's niece and travelled with her on subsequent holidays. The couple did not go on any of the later Montefiore foreign journeys, but remained close to them and there seems to have been no bad feeling about their turning back at Naples. In later years when Sir Moses went abroad, David twice took over as temporary President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews. There was no lack of trust between the two.

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898 Private Journal, p.277
899 Henniker [n.125], p.1
900 Carne, Letters from the East [London, 1826], p.82
901 Turner [n.117], Vol.II, p.1
The Montefiores and Salomons appear to have got on well during the journey south and there is no hint of any illness; the indications are that the Salomons dropped out at Naples owing to Jeanette's fear of travelling on. David appears at first more resolute, but then is forced to return with his wife. However, it is not inconceivable that his banking activities made him glad of an excuse to return. He had endured the delays in Naples and realised that they would be away much longer than first anticipated. Moses had retired from active business, David's was just beginning to flourish and the next decade would prove successful not just in the banking, but also the political spheres. In 1835 he was elected the first Jewish Sheriff of London, three years before Moses Montefiore.

The friendship with Mr. Mazzara went back to a meeting in 1816 described in an article by Sonia Lipman. To her information can be added that he was in London in 1823 and accompanied the Montefiores on their Continental tour of that year as far as Rome. He met up with his wife on the outskirts of Rome on the 17th November and Judith commented, "the Salutations ... were most affectionate after 5 Months absence" which implies that Mr. Mazzara had been in London some time before the start of the Montefiores' tour. After the greeting, "the Gentlemen proceeded on foot & Mrs. M. with Miss Felice Isere their adopted Daughter..." Once again the Montefiores are seen befriending a childless couple, although they had at least adopted a child.

902 Sonia Lipman, [n.31], p.294-295
903 Judith's 1823 Manuscript Diary, Saturday, 4th October. NB: Judith spells his name MEZZARA in her handwritten diaries and Mrs. Lipman copies this. However, it appears to be MAZZARA and Judith has this in her Private Journal.
904 ibid., 17th November
In 1827 Mr. Mazzara met the party at Milan and travelled back with them to Rome where his wife joined up with them\textsuperscript{905}. They all socialise while in Rome and then on the 12th June "we left Rome ... having called for Mr. Mazzara ... formed with our three carriages a somewhat grand appearance"\textsuperscript{906}. Mr. Mazzara had his own carriage, and paid his own expenses [although he did not contribute towards the hire of the ships]. Moses has a page in his Account Book headed "Louis Mezzara" and at times Moses lays out expenses for Mr. Mazzara, and vice versa [the Salomons also largely paid their own way, although Moses covered their incidental expenses more often than Mr. Mazzara's]. Until they got to leaving Alexandria for Jaffa, Mr. Mazzara appears very close to the Montefiores, especially after the Salomons left the party. While in Gozo Mr. Mazzara "was the only one of the party who felt inclined"\textsuperscript{907} to go over to the Mushroom Rock on a hanging basket with the sea way below. At this stage there was no lack of courage, why then did he not go with them to the Holy Land?

On two occasions before they left on the Henry William Judith mentioned Mr. Mazzara's opposition to going to Jaffa without a convoy\textsuperscript{908}. And then the day before they were due to board the Henry William "Mr. Mazzara thought he felt symptoms of a similar affliction"[ie. the neck abscess Moses had had for a week], "Montefiore insisted on his keeping himself quietly here till Providence shall grant us a safe return"\textsuperscript{909}. Moses still had the affliction and sailed on but connived with Mr. Mazzara in using his illness as an excuse not to go to Jaffa. The real reason was probably his fear of going.

\textsuperscript{905} Private Journal, p.50
\textsuperscript{906} ibid., p.55
\textsuperscript{907} ibid., pp.107-108
\textsuperscript{908} ibid., pp.180 & 181
\textsuperscript{909} ibid., p.183
Although "Mr. Mazzara and several of our other friends"\textsuperscript{910} were there to greet the Montefiores on their return from the Holy Land, and though Judith does mention him on the return journey to Malta and Naples "we find Dr. Madden a most agreeable and intelligent companion"\textsuperscript{911}. There is little doubt that Judith found Dr. Madden most engaging and she made frequent reference to him in her homeward journal. There is nothing to suggest any disagreement with Mr. Mazzara and he left the Montefiores at Poggibonsi - they went on to Leghorn and he went direct to Paris to meet his wife.

After their return home, Dr. Madden dedicated the book of his travels to the Montefiores in the most glowing terms and they remained good friends and future travelling companions. Mr. Mazzara, however, fades out of the scene. On the 10th December 1828, during their Yorkshire holiday, Moses records sending a letter to "L. Mazzara"\textsuperscript{912} but Judith does not mention it in her Journal. Mr. Mazzara had had an account with Nathan Meyer Rothschild since 1824 but the last entry is in 1828\textsuperscript{913}. There is no mention of meeting Mr. Mazzara on their journey in 1839 or 1840 and we hear no more of him in later Montefiore Diaries\textsuperscript{914}. It might be concluded that the friendship had ended, but in a letter from Dr. Hodgkin to Sir Moses, dated 26.4.1862, "I have received a letter from our friend Mazzara, in which he particularly enquires ...."

\textsuperscript{910} Private Journal, p.225  
\textsuperscript{911} ibid., p.235  
\textsuperscript{912} Moses' Account Book, p.136  
\textsuperscript{913} Rothschild Archives, VI/10/16  
\textsuperscript{914} Dr. Loewe in his "Diaries" does not mention Mr. Mazzara and he gets no entry in the Encyclopedia Italiana [Rome 1950]. In the index to his Account Book Moses gives his address in Paris as "No.15 Rue Riché Fauberg, Poissonsin, Paris".

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respecting Lady Montefiore and thyself and desires to be affectionately remembered to you"915.

Chance Meetings

Irby and Mangles report "At Mr. Salt's house we found Colonel Stratton of the Enniskillen dragoons and Mr. Fuller. These two travellers had just made a tour of Palestine, having arrived by land from Yaffa and Gaza. They embarked at Constantinople after having completed a tour of Greece"916. Earlier they had met in Cairo "a German, Mr. Ruppell from Frankfort [who is taking back bits and pieces for his town museum]"917. And later they comment "English travellers are now beginning to make their appearance in Egypt. A few days ago Captain Bennet of the dragoons and Mr. Joliffe arrived from making a tour of Palestine" and they continue "We start in a few days time for the tour of Syria. Sheikh Ibrahim ... has been of great assistance to us in his advice in tracing our route &c. This he did for both travellers mentioned above"918. Sheikh Ibrahim was the legendary Jean-Louis Burckhardt. He had studied under Edward Clarke at Cambridge and arrived in Aleppo in 1809. He died of dysentery in Cairo soon after giving advice to Irby and Mangles. In fact it was another English traveller, Dr. Richardson, who nursed Burckhardt in his final days and was with him when he died919. Richardson was travelling with the Earl and Countess of Belmore [and Captain Corry] and they met at Mr. Salt's. Irby and Mangles went up the Nile with them920. Later they again met Irby and Mangles in

915 Shandel/Lipson Collection
916 Irby & Mangles, [n.100], p.49: it is dated 2nd September 1817, ie. after the Napoleonic Wars and before the Greek Wars.
917 ibid., p.38
918 ibid., p.51
919 Richardson, [n.92], p.161
920 ibid., p.61
Jerusalem, the latter travelling through the Holy Land with "Mr. Bankes, Mr. Legh and Mrs. Belzoni"921. This was in 1817. In 1815 Mr. Belzoni had made his first trip up the Nile with Mr. Turner and they met "Mr. Burckhardt ... the various and important information I acquired from him proved to be of the greatest service to me in that country ... I shall ever remember it with deepest gratitude"922.

The years of 1815 to 1818 must have been exciting times in Egypt and Palestine and each of these travellers talks about their meetings and journeys together. If they read their books before going, the Montefiores and later travellers would have got the impression that although they were visiting backward countries, there was a good chance of meeting other European travellers who would help and befriend them. [In fact at the time the Montefiores went there the dangers of the Greek Wars had caused a lull in travel from England.]

As well as chance meetings with fellow travellers, there were also consuls, whose help was recognised by all the travellers. Henry Salt [born 1788] was British consul general in Egypt from 1815 to 1827 [Montefiore went to his funeral]. He was by training an artist and as such travelled widely in India, Abyssinia and then Egypt. He carried out many excavations in Egypt and sent back crates of material to the British Museum. He co-operated and sponsored other archaeologists, for example with Belzoni and Burckhardt he removed the colossal bust of Rameses II from Thebes and sent it to the British Museum in 1817. For eleven years his house was the meeting place for British travellers and explorers to Egypt, Syria and Arabia. He arranged interviews with Mehemet Ali, and gave them

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921 Richardson, [n.92], p.238
922 Belzoni, [n.87], p.6. Turner records the meeting on p.143 of his book.
letters of introduction for travelling in the region. In Alexandria, his deputy, Mr. Barker, was also of immense help to the Montefiores in negotiating with the French warship to allow the Leonidas to return to Malta in convoy. He was the nephew of Mr. Barker the English consul general in Aleppo who was also visited by many travellers. Irby and Mangles met at Mr. Barker's house in Aleppo Mr. Bankes who was returning to Egypt, "we mutually gave each other all the information we possessed"923. They promised Mr. Bankes a ride home on the Earl of Belmore's yacht. Mr. Barker lent Irby and Mangles money as they were short and also "he lent us Maundrell's Travels in Syria and a good map of Asia Minor"924. In addition he gave them various letters of introduction for their onward travel.

As well as consuls there were English agents, often employed by mercantile interests [for example the Levant Company] rather than having official diplomatic agents. One such was Damiani in Jaffa who is depicted amusingly by so many of the travellers, eg. Buckingham who described his cocked hat picked up from a passing admiral and his uniform from another sailor925.

The Montefiores arrived in Alexandria in 1827 with letters of introduction to Messrs. Salt and Barker, and had introductions to bankers and merchants. Judith names several travellers they met in Alexandria, "Mr. Miller and Mr. Belfour, his new travelling companions ... Mr. Parkes and several French gentlemen..."926. And then there was Dr. Madden, who as has been noted became a travelling companion and life-long friend. Moses had invited three Englishmen to join them on the Leonidas from Malta, "Major Temple, Mr.

923 Irby and Mangles, [n.100], p.71
924 ibid., p.73 - it later is referred to as "Arrowsmith's Chart" - p.87
925 Buckingham, [n.47], p.145
926 Private Journal, p.154
Bell and Mr. Miller"927 and these three feature in the Montefiore travels in Egypt and to Palestine. The captains of the ships also became friends with the Montefiores. Judith shared a cabin with Mrs. Copeland aboard the HMS Mastiff and clearly they got on well. Once in Naples they spent much time together "Charlotte and I accompanied Captain and Mrs. Copeland to Herculaneum"928. The Montefiores went with the Copelands to Pompei, they went shopping together, and joined the Montefiores at a ball at the Rothschilds929. A similar friendship developed with Captain and Mrs. Anderson. Moses and Judith left the Leonidas when it reached Malta, but two months later they arrived in Leghorn and found the Leonidas in harbour. "Captain Anderson having been just returned from Florence dined with us, we were as happy to meet again as friends du voyage generally are, each recounting the incidents of their immediate separation"930.

The following year, on the 3rd September 1829, Moses and Judith, having travelled up to Liverpool, duly met the Andersons and went on holiday with them to North Wales931. There is no mention of Mrs. Anderson while in the Mediterranean, but the many months on the Leonidas and in Egypt and Palestine, had clearly led to the Montefiores developing a good friendship with her husband.

As Jews, the Montefiores had other potential contacts whilst travelling - members of foreign Jewish communities. Thus they were given hospitality by Mr. & Mrs. Fuor in Alexandria

927 Private Journal, p.116
928 Private Journal MS, 13th January
929 Private Journal, p.292 etc. In 1840 the Copelands welcomed the Montefiores in Malta on their return after the "Damascus Affair", R.D. Barnett [n.43], p.160.
930 Private Journal MS Sunday 3rd February
931 Entry in Moses' Account Book, p.71 - perhaps Captain Anderson's ship had sailed to Liverpool.
and accommodation with Mr. Amzalak in Jerusalem. Mr. Amzalak was wellknown to other travellers. Dr. Madden ate with him often while in Jerusalem and had long conversations with him and was taken by him to several Jewish services. John Carne met Amzalak in Acre in 1816\textsuperscript{932} and Kinglake met him in Safed in 1835\textsuperscript{933}.

Finally, the Montefiores had one further channel of contact: the Rothschilds and their agents. On Sunday, 5th October 1823 in Dover, the night before setting off for the Continent, "Mr. Marsh called". On arrival in Brussels on the 12th October, "Wrote a note to Mr. Reiss ... soon after [he] made his appearance". He was a well-known Rothschild agent\textsuperscript{934}. Three years' later, back in Dover before setting off on their journey to the Holy Land, "we sent for Mr. Marsh, who soon paid us a visit" and next day, "Mr. Marsh saw us embark"\textsuperscript{935}. The Rothschilds had agents and couriers at major ports. John Marsh was an agent based at Dover from at least 1831 to 1837\textsuperscript{936}. In 1840 Moses landed at Calais, "sent for Mr. Rothschild's Courier Delport and agreed for his going with us to Paris"\textsuperscript{937}.

In 1827 when they got to Naples "Mr. Hanau called, a gentleman who has charge of the Baron Charles de Rothschild's house during his absence"\textsuperscript{938}. Not an agent as such, but given orders by the Baron to help the Montefiores. [From the 1839 journey onwards there were also the

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{932}{Carne, [n.900], pp.58-60}
\footnote{933}{Alexander Kinglake, [n.246], pp.337 & 340}
\footnote{934}{Judith's 1823 Manuscript Diary, ad.loc. and see Amos Elon, \textit{Founder: A portrait of the First Rothschild and his time} [New York 1996], p.112}
\footnote{935}{Private Journal, pp.3-4}
\footnote{936}{Confirmed by Melanie Aspey, Rothschild Archives, February 1991}
\footnote{937}{Quote in Barnett, [n.43], p.154}
\footnote{938}{Private Journal, p.59}
\end{footnotes}
representatives of the Continental Gas Company, eg. 20th July 1840 in Marseilles\textsuperscript{939}.

On their first visit to Paris in 1814 the Montefiores had stayed with the Rothschilds\textsuperscript{940} and would visit them on subsequent visits. In 1827 they by-passed Paris and missed the Neopolitan Rothschilds, but got a warm welcome on their return from the Holy Land. On landing they went to their hotel and found waiting for them in the room they had booked, "the Baroness and Baron Anselme de Rothschild ... what a delightful supper"\textsuperscript{941}. That night they went to the opera with them and Judith's manuscript records that most of each of the nine days in Naples was spent with their relatives by marriage.

On subsequent journeys they would visit each of the branches of the Rothschild family in Vienna, Frankurt and Paris. In 1839, on arrival at Naples, "arrived at this city, and immediately proceeded to the apartment secured for us by Baron J. de R____"\textsuperscript{942}. In 1827 the family had no presence in Egypt, Malta or Palestine, but no doubt it helped the Montefiores socially and maybe practically to be known as the brother-in-law and sister-in-law of Nathan Meyer Rothschild.

\textsuperscript{939} Private Journal, p.157
\textsuperscript{940} Rothschild Archives, R.Fam.C/30/1
\textsuperscript{941} Private Journal, p.288
\textsuperscript{942} Notes from a Journal, p.131
CHAPTER NINE
KEEPING OCCUPIED ON THE JOURNEY

Entertainment

Spare time while travelling or while waiting for onward transport was taken up by casual conversation with companions and people met along the way. However, from reading the journals of the European travellers to the Holy Land one thing is clear; there was little enjoyment to be had in those days travelling in the East. Many complain of the discomforts and there are no references to entertainment as such, although many expounded on the intellectual and emotional satisfaction of just being there. However, during the months of getting to the East, entertainment might be found.

The Montefiores' earlier visits to the Continent had about them an element of the Grand Tour. In 1814 Judith wrote to her sister of her amazement at the public displays of the Catholic Church, "on the outside of their churches large Images with a cross ... every now and then M* said: here we are coming to another Jesus". In 1817 this interest in Catholicism was keen and they often went to church with their travelling companions, the Mazzaras, for example, "accompanied Mr. & Mrs. Mezzara to Church to hear Grand Mass – they were very devout kneeling most the whole time". In 1823 they frequently visited churches [although in this diary Judith seems more interested in paintings and sculptures]; in Bonn Moses went with Mr. Mazzara to see the mummified remains of monks in a Jesuit Monastery, "Mr. M took a piece of skin of one of them". Even in 1827 there was much interest in churches for their artistic value, and for religious curiosity. In Messina they enjoyed "Sicilian

943 Rothschild Archives R.Fam.C/30/1
944 Quoted by Sonia Lipman, [n.31], p.294
945 Judith's Manuscript Diary of 1823, 22nd October

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vespers", although it was the sight of the Cardinal's carriage at the door that took them inside the church\textsuperscript{946}. In Rome they celebrated their wedding anniversary by going to the Vatican and went to the "Cistern [sic] Chapel" and heard high mass in the presence of Pope "Leo the Twelfth ... attired in robes of white and gold"\textsuperscript{947}. To travellers from a Protestant country Catholic churches had much to offer: their architecture, paintings and sculptures, their music and ritual. On all of these aspects Judith comments, and as Jews they had no problem spending so much time in church.

Judith mentions visits to art galleries, museums and sites of antiquities but they were in a hurry and most days they were on the move. Such visits occurred mainly on Saturdays or when otherwise forced to stay more than one day in a town. As examples, in Milan they visited the library, museum and art gallery\textsuperscript{948}, and in Rome the Forum, Capitol and Colisseum [where Judith noted "the features of the statue of Titus are now scarcely discernible in the triumphant arch; the candlestick still remains entire"\textsuperscript{949} - one sign of their visiting places of Jewish interest], and many other secular and religious sites.

Then there was the enjoyment of the promenade. In Turin "walk ... under the arcades, whither we were allured by the display of jewellery, millinery &c ... "\textsuperscript{950}. In Naples "we walked, after dinner, to the Toledo, and other streets ... refresh ourselves with ice; after which we rode home"\textsuperscript{951}. There were social calls to occupy one, for example in Malta "at 2 Oclock I went with her [Lady Stoddart] in the Calisse to pay a visit to Lady Codrington, she was from home, our

\begin{flushright}
946 Private Journal, p.74
947 ibid., p.53
948 ibid., p.31
949 ibid., p.52
950 ibid., p.27 - it was Saturday
951 ibid., p.60
\end{flushright}

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next call was on Mrs. Macgill whom we found confined in her room with a severe cold"952.

There were excursions to places of local interest. In 1823, staying in Ghent, Moses went to see "the field of Waterloo 12 miles hence ... brot [sic.] a bullet and a branch of a tree from the field"953, a popular tourist excursion at that time. In 1827, while in Alexandria, "rode to the field of battle where General Abercrombie fell"954. While in Naples, they visited Herculaneum on their way out and on the return journey when they also went to Pompei955. In Malta, while waiting for a ship on their outward journey, they visited all of the "tourist" places and Judith describes them in her Journal. In Egypt they visited the Pyramids and all the sights in Alexandria.

When there was time during the day they acted like any other tourists and Moses has pages in his Account Book headed "Guides, Curiosities, Sights, Theatres &c"956 where he lists the costs of such excursions and entertainment. At night the Montefiores went frequently to the theatre for plays or opera and Judith gives lengthy descriptions of the theatre, the performance and the performers. In Turin, "saw il Barbiere de Seviglia with which we were well amused"957. The next night it was to another theatre for "la Vedora Solituda, an entertaining comedy"958. In Milan it was to La Scala, "the opera was l'inganno Felice, in which an English

952 Private Journal MS, 30 December 1827  
953 Judith's 1823 Manuscript Diary, 14th October  
954 Private Journal, p.165. He was injured on 21st March 1801 fighting the French, died 4 days later and was buried in Malta  
955 ibid., p.61 and p.289  
956 Moses, Account Book, p.135  
957 Private Journal, p.27  
958 ibid.
lady, a Miss Feron ... formed the part of Isabella"959. That night Moses' Account Book records, "treated the servants to the Scala" [the Montefiore's box cost 25 francs - the servants' cost 6 francs]960.

They found theatre and opera in most Italian towns and, on the return journey, even managed a performance in Messina, "the performance of Theobaldo and Selina, there was no afterpiece or ballet"961. At Catania on the outward journey they found "the theatre was not open this evening, but a performance of dancing dogs was to be presented"962, but it was too hot to go. There is even mention of a theatre in Alexandria, "supported by a company of young gentlemen of our religion"963 but Moses had pains in his back and so they did not go. Though in dangerous and undeveloped places, signs of "European culture" were to be found.

They went to dinner parties and balls, especially on the return journey964 in Malta and Naples. They met with old friends and made new ones, for example the Stoddarts in Malta and the Fuors in Alexandria. Though on a journey to the Holy Land, on the way there and back their social life was not much different from the one they experienced in London, except perhaps, as with modern tourists, they went to the theatre more often while away!

While at sea they of course had none of the above-mentioned entertainment available to them, although they did go from

959 Private Journal, pp.32-33
960 Moses' Account Book, p.135
961 Private Journal MS, 6th January 1828
962 Private Journal, p.79
963 ibid., p.175
964 for example, Private Journal, p.274 and Private Journal MS, Wednesday 16th January in Naples at the Rothschilds where Judith went on her own due to Moses' indisposition.
the Leonidas to HMS Gannet to dine. They also made special dinners aboard ship, especially while in port, for their own circle, and even together with and for the ship's crew. Judith describes various other ways of whiling away the hours at sea [or becalmed in port]. On the Leonidas on Tuesday 21st August the sailors and the captain fought each other with wooden swords while the Montefiores "with ... a bottle of champagne, the odour of Eastern pipes, a book, agreeable conversation...". While on the Henry William "chess and smoking ... formed the favourite amusements of the gentlemen ... the fumes of tobacco were become as agreeable to me onboard a ship as flowers in my sitting room". Later she regretted her encouragement of smoking. On the return journey: "Montefiore had become a regular smoker; a cigar after dinner and a cup of coffee ...", but then she adds in the manuscript version [but not the printed], "I trust the first will be discarded on land". In fact it was not and Montefiore became a life-long smoker and pictures of him in his hundredth year were used to promote Ginters cigarettes.

As well as the chess mentioned above, various games of cards took place. On the 24th August, between Malta and Alexandria, "the gentlemen commenced a social game of cards". A month later, becalmed in Alexandria harbour, Judith was ill in bed, but amused to hear Moses "in the

965 Private Journal, pp.118-119
966 ibid., p.172 - it was a party to celebrate the Jewish New Year and was very jolly, with a Russian violinist, dancing and good food.
967 ibid., p.123
968 ibid., pp.220ff
969 ibid., p.247 and Private Journal MS, 22nd November
971 Private Journal, p.125
Captain's cabin ... with his naval companions ... assembled for a game of whist"972. Clearly the card games were not always "social" for on the 17th July, back in Malta, Judith describes dinner with the Governor, Lord and Lady Ponsonby. Moses' Account Book has an entry under "Petty Expenses" [p.125], "lost at Ecarte at the Governors ... 2.5". It was not just Moses who engaged in such pursuits. On the Leonidas in Alexandria harbour, Judith joined him with Captain Jones and Mr. Lacey ... we played chess and backgammon"973.

On the return journey in 1827 Judith lost a bet with Moses regarding the weather "which was against my wager with Montefiore of a Maltese Chain"974. Two days later the weather was still against them, "there were no hopes of winning the necklace"975. Such gambling was clearly a common practice; on the way back from Jaffa to Alexandria, Captain Anderson bet Mr. Bell "a dinner" that the return would be shorter than the outward journey976. A final form of gambling was in lottery tickets. At Parma on the way out Judith says they purchased lottery tickets for a large estate and Moses' version is "at Parma 3 Lottery tickets for a Farm one given to Jeanette Salomon"977. As there is no further mention they clearly did not win!

To return to shipboard entertainments, on the 20th August Judith records that a lark was seen flying alongside the Leonidas and her "entreaties alone saved it from the fowling piece"978. Later the same day two larger birds flew by and

972 Private Journal, p.170
973 ibid., p.172
974 ibid., p.246
975 ibid., p.247
976 ibid., p.270
977 ibid., p.38 and Moses' Account Book, p.123
978 ibid., pp.121ff
they were shot at but "eluded the sport" and so "a bottle tied to a string ... was resorted to"⁹⁷⁹. Later the captain of the Gannet "threw out a tub" which the sailors tried to hit with their large guns. Judith was clearly thrilled at the sight. Another aquatic pastime is recorded while they were waiting in Alexandria harbour, "there was a sailing match between three boats belonging to the Martha, the Mary and the Leonidas; the Martha conquered"⁹⁸⁰.

Despite all such amusements, Judith recorded on the 28th September, while still on the Leonidas in Alexandria "this beautiful month, though fertile in reports expired in tantalizing monotony. Montefiore kindly purchased a guitar for my amusement"⁹⁸¹. There is no further reference to her being able to or actually playing it.

Art, Books and Newspapers
Several of the early travellers were keen artists and recorded what they saw in Egypt and Palestine. Often such activity had to be done in secret as the locals thought the artist a spy or up to some other evil purpose⁹⁸². Mr. Mazzara, the Montefiores' companion in 1817, 1823 and in 1827, was a prolific artist and Judith makes frequent references to his "making sketches" in her journals on each of their journeys. Judith occasionally talks of making a sketch, yet appears not to have taken a sketch book with her to the Holy Land. On Saturday, 16th February they spent the Sabbath in Chambéry on their way back. The manuscript version says "Amused ourselves with perusing Buckingham's Tour which we recovered from Captain Anderson. As my Sketch of the Mosque of Omar was on the cover"⁹⁸³. The Montefiores had taken "Buckingham's Tour" with them as a guide book and

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⁹⁷⁹  Private Journal, p.122
⁹⁸⁰  ibid., p.165
⁹⁸¹  ibid., pp.171-172
⁹⁸²  See Ben-Arieh, [n.1], p.15
⁹⁸³  Private Journal MS, 16th February 1828.
clearly Judith had used the flyleaf for a sketch. [They had left the book on the *Leonidas* in Malta, and met Captain Anderson and the ship by chance in Leghorn – and so the return of the book and Judith's drawing.]

Dr. Madden was also a keen artist and his sketches on the 1840 journey are referred to above [p.29]. Also in this notebook are poems written by Dr. Madden one of which is transcribed in Appendix 8. Judith talks of Dr. Madden writing poetry and includes a poem in the printed version of her Private Journal. It does not appear in her original manuscript and presumably she preserved it on a piece of paper and added it later. The poem is in the form of a riddle "*to which I presumed to subjoin a stanza*" 984.

Finally, the reading of books and newspapers. In 1823 "*our reading is Savory's Letters on Greece, Tassios, Quinta ...Amicus ... Longinus ... Midleton's Life of Cicero ...*" 985. Intellectual material for reading on a journey. In 1825 on the Irish tour, Judith records reading "*the Betrothed*, the first story of Scott's Crusades" 986. Sir Walter Scott was in Ireland at the time [they actually met him in Killarney on the 6th August] and was very popular. Back with the 1827 journey, Judith refers a number of times to reading, especially when whiling away time in Alexandria, for example, "*Montefiore and myself amuse ourselves with a book, writing...*" 987; "*the weather was so sultry ... conversation even was too fatiguing, and we had therefore recourse to our books*" 988. Sadly she does not record the titles of the books. In fact the only books mentioned by name are a book brought into the Lazaretto by Lady Stoddart,

984 Private Journal, pp.251-252
985 Judith's 1823 Manuscript Diary; entries of 5th, 7th and 9th October.
986 Judith's 1825 Manuscript Diary, 2nd and 6th August.
987 Private Journal, pp.162-163
988 ibid., p.165

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"Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life" [amongst a collection she brought in], the "Odyssey" that Judith read on the outward journey on the Leonidas while the "gentlemen amused themselves with a novel by Mr. Macgill"990, and "Anastasius" which Moses read on the Mastiff on the 9th January991. Although a few details of the books they read while travelling are given, from the large number of novels and books of poetry in the East Cliff Library it seems likely they took such books with them for light relief during their journey.

Moses was an avid reader of newspapers and like many people today, when abroad he was always anxious for news. It has already been noted that, on the first day of the journey in 1827 he purchased the Times only to find he had by mistake got two supplements. Once on the Continent the main paper he could hope to obtain was Galignani's Messenger. The paper was founded in 1814 by Giovanni Antonio Galignani and was the first newspaper in Paris to print the news of Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo992. On the death of Giovanni in 1821 his two sons, John Anthony [1796-1873] and William [1798-1882] [they were both born in London] took over the paper and changed it from a tri-weekly to a daily paper. For years it was the only English-language paper in Paris and was popular throughout the Continent. It presented a collection of news articles, culled from the world's press.

989 Private Journal, p.269
990 ibid., pp.125-126. Buckingham wrote, "I ascended the Nile with the Odyssey and Télémaque in either hand" [n.47], p.vii. Judith had read Buckingham, was she seeking to emulate him?
991 ibid., p.286
[for example, the edition of 13th October 1824 had articles from the *Waterford Mirror*, *Times*, *Post*, *Sheffield Post*, *Oxford Journal* and the *Calcutta John Bull* of 15th April]. Obviously the more distant the original newspaper, the staler the news, but increasingly news from English newspapers was only a day or two old. It also contained business news, and prices of stocks and shares on the London Exchange.

In fact Montefiore did not purchase a newspaper until he got to Malta. There are no references in Judith's Journal nor in Moses' Account Book until the 14th July, a Saturday, when instead of going to the synagogue "we walked to library ... which was closed". A week later they returned, looked through the collection and then went to "the Commercial Room to request the loan of the English newspapers, but they were all of old date; and the Malta Gazette, which is published once a week, is wholly occupied with local intelligence". Moses' Account Book has an entry for "M 23 July ... to the Commercial Room for the view of Newspapers ... 1.3" [p.125]. Nineteen days after arriving in Alexandria, on the 14th September, Moses went ashore and "on his return bought two of Galignani's papers of the 11th August, but as I was reading one, the other flew overboard, to our no small vexation". Four and a half months away from home, even month-old news was precious. Thirteen days later, "Mr. Bell [a fellow passenger] obliged us by a sight of the Malta Gazette and Galignani's paper".

Many weeks' later, on their third day in the Lazaretto in Malta, 4th December, amongst the presents sent in by friends was "a fund of entertainment in Galignani's paper of

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993 Private Journal, p.97
994 ibid., p.102
995 ibid., p.163
996 ibid., p.171

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October"997. Again old news was acceptable if you had been out of touch for so long. Two days' later they received a current copy of the *Malta Gazette* and Judith adds in her manuscript version, "we observed therein that Lady Emily Ponsonby on Tuesday last presented her Lord with a second son"998. The next day they received happy news of their own family, "we had the pleasure of receiving ... Galignani's paper to 24th ult... a joyous event ... viz. the marriage of my brother Isaac with Sarah Samuel"999. Judith's manuscript diary adds some personal feelings and ends, "I should have preferred the intelligence to have reached me by a letter from a friend, which I dare imagine now lies snugly enough at one of the Postes restantes"1000. A glimpse of the eagerness with which a traveller seeks out news from home, and on finding some, realises the distance from family and friends.

To conclude this section on Entertainment two additional possibilities can be mentioned. Finding the one hotel in Alexandria uncomfortable, the Montefiores moved to "the Cassino ... established by a company of mercantile gentlemen, for the amusement of playing billiards and cards ... there is a coffee-room..."1001. However, there is no mention of their playing billiards; nor did they play or see the cricket reported by Buckingham being played in the Jezreel Valley1002.

**Letters**
The sending of letters by post goes back a long way. The first formal post office in England started with Henry VIII in 1516 and the first official post office for foreign

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997 Private Journal, p.260
998 Private Journal MS, 6th December
999 Private Journal, p.263
1000 Private Journal MS, 7th December
1001 Private Journal, p.173
1002 Buckingham [n.47], pp. 89 and 114
letters in 1621. By 1632 there was an official postal service between Dover and Calais and beyond. By 1697 there were formal agreements between England and France regarding the forwarding of letters posted in one country to places in the other, and by this date the concept of the "packet-boat" [ie. carrying packets of letters] was established. In 1792 the concept of registered letters was introduced for the conveyance of valuables and also a money order service to allow cash to be transferred from one country to another - a device additional to bills and letters of exchange. Up to about 1850 letters were charged according to the number of sheets and envelopes were charged extra. In order to save money most letters were of a single sheet folded to make an envelope with the address written on the outside fold. Sometimes to increase the amount of material written on one sheet, lines of writing would be superimposed at right angles, ie. one set of lines horizontally and another across them vertically\textsuperscript{1003}.

The earliest extant letter from Palestine was sent in 1718 from Acre to Vienna. Private and semi-official services were run sporadically by the various consulates and merchants from 1838 until the Turkish authorities began to organise an official service. It was not until 1862 that the Ottoman Empire joined the Universal Postal Union and opened post offices in Acre, Haifa, Jaffa and Jerusalem\textsuperscript{1004}. It is clear that before 1831 the only letters to leave the

\textsuperscript{1003} Information on this background taken from Howard Robinson, \textit{Britain's Post Office: A History of Development from the Beginnings to the Present Day} [London, 1953]

Examples of folded letters and cross-hatched letters are found in the Shandel/Lipson Collection, eg. S/L 1839:1, and eg. letters in Rothschild Archives R.Fam.C/30/1, 2, 3 etc.

\textsuperscript{1004} Shlomo Shamger, 'Israeli Philatelic History' in \textit{Ariel} 94 [Jerusalem, 1993], p.84f
country were carried by departing travellers, or occasionally the consuls in, for example, Aleppo and Alexandria could send letters for travellers in the official collections.

A few examples of letters home do exist and the following one from John Carne to his mother indicates how they were sent. "Jericho: Spring 1822. The return to England direct of Major Mackworth, from this city gives me an excellent occasion to tell you of my welfare ... I am now in the sacred city in the Catholic convent ..."1005

There is evidence of the Montefiores likewise using opportunities of returning travellers to send letters. The day after they arrived in Alexandria, Captain Brace of the Gannet [ie. the naval escort ship] "intended returning to Malta immediately, I availed myself of his kind offer and wrote a few lines to Lady Stoddart, apprising her of our safe arrival"1006. Moses wrote another letter on the 27th August and gave it to Captain Brace. It was to his mother. He reported a reasonably pleasant voyage from Malta, "I would willingly drink to your health in as rich a Cup as Cleopatra drank to Anthony were it to be obtained ... but I must be content to do it in a glass of Claret". And he ended, "In this place they are all anxious about a war between England & the Turks, how very vexatious it would be if after all our trouble we should now be unable to reach Jerusalem. I hope the best"1007. The back of the folded letter has Mrs. Montefiore's address and "Rec 25 Sept 1827 by James Bell & Co. Malta" and a post mark, "F.P.O.N.O.29 1827", ie. it reached Malta on the 25th September and was forwarded on the 29th November. Unfortunately, there was no other opportunity to send a letter home, as during their

1005 Ross [n.135], p.115
1006 Private Journal, p.131
1007 Gompertz letters, Mocatta, U.C.L. Copy in Schwadron Collection MS 295.A880
many weeks in Alexandria, Judith recorded no other meeting with the captain or travellers on a vessel returning to Malta or England. However, as the Leonidas neared Malta, “wrote a letter to Mrs. Montefiore ready for Captain Anderson to take with him for the Leghorn post office ..”\textsuperscript{1008}.

As it turned out the Leonidas took another week to get to Malta. The third day in the Lazaretto "Captain Anderson has called ... this morning, he says that as the wind is fair he intends to set sail tomorrow for Leghorn. I wrote a letter to Esther by this opportunity.."\textsuperscript{1009}. The Leonidas was sailing on to Leghorn and so her captain was given letters to post from there, it clearly being more advantageous than posting letters direct from Malta. Three days later, "I am informed that the Glasgow frigate will sail on Monday next for Marseilles, which is a good opportunity to forward a letter to England; so I hope I shall be an industrious scribbler to-morrow"\textsuperscript{1010}.

Dr. Clarke talks of the difficulty of actually writing letters in the East, "when we undertake to write we have to persevere against ... the want of the commonest materials. No stationers expose their wares in the dusty lanes of Cairo"\textsuperscript{1011}. The Montefiores seem to have taken note for Moses recorded purchasing ink on the first day of their tour [ie. 1st May in Dover] and then not until Rome on the 28th and 29th January 1828 – on the return journey\textsuperscript{1012}. There is no reference to purchasing writing paper so we assume this was taken with them from home.

The Montefiores were enthusiastic letter writers, writing regularly to family and friends on all their earlier

\textsuperscript{1008} Private Journal MS, 23rd November
\textsuperscript{1009} ibid., December 3rd
\textsuperscript{1010} Private Journal, p.263
\textsuperscript{1011} William Otter, [n.46], p.481
\textsuperscript{1012} Moses' Account Book, pp.126 and 131
journeys and in old age writing regularly to each other even when only apart for the day\textsuperscript{1013}. Moses included a page [126] in his Account Book headed "Postage of letters" but on it he recorded only letters sent or received on the southward journey through Continental Europe. The letters above were sent by hand: did he give the courier money for their onward postage in Leghorn and Marseilles? However Moses failed to note in his Account Book all letters received or sent. On the 2nd May in Calais Judith said "I commenced my correspondence at this early epoch of the tour, by writing an account of our passage to Mrs. Montefiore"\textsuperscript{1014}. There is no mention in the Account Book of posting this letter; perhaps it also went by hand or a Rothschild courier, or Judith paid for it out of her own money.

The next mention of letters in Judith's Journal is on Friday, 11th May, when they arrived in Lyon "at six in the evening, and found two letters awaiting us at the post-office"\textsuperscript{1015}. Moses recorded, "F 11 May At Lyons received from Jacob Montefiore 4 May Fr. 1.18

" " " Ben Cohen " 1.18"

On Sunday 13th May Judith recorded, "the forepart of this day ... was appropriated to letter-writing"\textsuperscript{1016}. Moses recorded "S 13 May at Lyons Sent to Ben Cohen, Ben Gompertz, Jacob Montefiore, Mrs. Rothschild & Judah Montefiore's widow..Fr. s.7.8"\textsuperscript{1017}. Judith's note of the 11th had said that one of the letters they received "announcing the melancholy news of poor J.J.M.'s death"\textsuperscript{1018} and Moses' list of letters on the 13th notes it was Judah Montefiore who had

\textsuperscript{1013} For example, Shandel/Lipson Collection, 1853/1
\textsuperscript{1014} Private Journal, p.5
\textsuperscript{1015} ibid., p.15
\textsuperscript{1016} ibid., p.16
\textsuperscript{1017} Moses' Account Book, p.126
\textsuperscript{1018} Private Journal, p.15

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died. On the 13th he also "received from Joseph Salomons enclosing one from the Dr. Meldola, with an introduction to Jerusalem Fr 5.8". The other letter received cost Frs.1.18, presumably of a single sheet, this one, with its enclosure, cost much more. The next day [14 May] they were delayed in Lyon as the carriage needed repairing and though Judith does not mention it, Moses says, "M 14 May At Lyons from my dear Mother dated 8 May Frs. 1.18" The indication is that had it not been for the delay they might not have got Mrs. Montefiore's letter. Moses did not get round to replying until "M 21 May At Turin sent to my dear Mother dated 20 May Frs. -14"

The above entries clearly illustrate that you had to pay to send and receive a letter and that it was cheaper to send than receive, that letters had to be collected at the post office and that it took about a week for a letter to get from London to Lyon. As the Montefiores travelled south it naturally took longer for letters to reach their destination. For example, "M 25 June At Naples from our dear Mother dated 8 June".

Moses records sending a letter to his mother from Messina [1st July]. At Malta he records receiving only one. "Thu 12 July from David Salomons 28 June": it was the letter telling him the Salomons were not travelling on to the Holy Land. Next day Moses replied to him "at Milan"; clearly Salomon had told him of his return plans, but how could Montefiore know that he would still be in Milan by the time his letter got there? Before leaving Malta Moses sent a few letters, eg. "19th July to our dear Mother, NMR, L. Cohen - By way of Leghorn". No fee is given, perhaps they were sent on by hand to be posted in Leghorn, like the earlier letter mentioned [Judith does not record the writing of these letters].

On the return Continental leg, Judith records in Rome, "As there was a courier going to Naples, I wrote to Charlotte - 321 -"
"...". Presumably she was writing to thank Charlotte de Rothschild for her hospitality in Naples. Probably it was a Rothschild courier who took the letter. Later that day, "we enquired for letters, but as usual there were none". Perhaps a note of their disappointment, and being so long away from home their anxiety to get letters from their family? At Susa on the 12th February Judith's manuscript journal says, "I wrote two letters one to Rebecca and one to Hannah which I intend to send per Lyons ...". They did not reach Lyon until five days later - were the letters sent ahead and was she perhaps giving the routing of the letter? The last letters of the journey were sent on the 18th February from Lyon to "Mrs. Montefiore and Jeanette" - Moses noted the sending of these letters under "Petty Expenses" [p.136].

The Montefiores sent many more letters than they received and the last letter they received from England was collected in Rome on the 9th June, from Benjamin and Abby Gompertz which they posted on the 25th May. If this record is correct, the Montefiores were nine months away from home without hearing direct news; their feeling of isolation can be imagined. Moses recorded in his Diary while in the Lazaretto in Malta his hopes for a speedy return journey "thence to Naples where I hope to get letters from our dear mother and friends". There is no mention of receiving any once they did get to Naples.

Examining the records of their 1839 and 1840 journeys to Egypt and Palestine, although letters reached them quite regularly while in Europe and letters arrived in Malta, no letters were received in Alexandria. When they arrived in Beirut "a letter, two years old, was awaiting us from Mr.

1019 Private Journal, p.301
1020 Private Journal MS, 28th January
1021 ibid., 12th February - they were two of her sisters.
1022 Loewe "Diaries" I:49
It raises the question: how many letters were sent Poste Restante, missed the intended recipients and remained there for years until disposal?

Journals, Diaries and Account Books
Although few of the other travellers record sending letters home, it is evident that they did and their published accounts of their journey often took the form of a collection of letters sent home from the east. However, the writing of letters and keeping journals is often seen as a burden. In a letter that Burkhardt, perhaps the greatest of the early explorers of the Near East, sent to Clarke, perhaps the greatest traveller of the age, he says "I begin to believe from experience that it is a less fatiguing duty to perform travels than to write them down". Yet William Cable Brown wrote, "The half-century between 1775 and 1825 witnessed the publication of an almost uninterrupted stream of Near East travel books."

And many travellers wrote journals, but they were never published and most were probably lost by accident or design [viz. the Montefiore burnt papers]. Clarke quotes, "Extracts from Colonel Squire's M/S Journal Giving an Account of Caifa, Acre &c and of his interview with Djezza Pasha" and "Mr. Moritt's Manuscript Journal". The fate of one such manuscript journal is told by Henniker. He had been attacked by bandits in Jericho and robbed of all notes from a Journal, p.211 — was it Mr. Amzalak?

William Cable Brown, 'The Popularity of English Travel Books about the Near East 1775-1825' in Philological Quarterly 15: No.4, pp.70-80 [Iowa University, 1931]

Clarke, [n.122], p.799

ibid., p.217. Neither of these manuscripts has been discovered, illustrating the larger number of travellers to the Near East in this era than is given by reading just the printed journals.

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his possessions and his clothes. However, three weeks later the culprits were found and most of his possessions returned to him, "the most remarkable exceptions were - a small book, my trousers and the frill of my shirt. The loss of the book I particularly regretted; it belonged to Mr. Hyde, and contained his journal to the Oasis; he had unfortunately lent it to me at midnight preceding, and it was accidentally in my pocket"\textsuperscript{1028}. He does not record Mr. Hyde's reaction.

The next question to consider is why keep diaries or journals of one's travels and what form did they take? The earliest travellers of the Grand Tour kept journals\textsuperscript{1029}. Some may have been for personal satisfaction, but often they were to show your patron what you had discovered or your parents what you had learned. In the era covered by this thesis the accounts of John Carne come into this category. They were originally letters written home to his father to justify the experience of his travels. They were collected and published as "Letters from the East" in 1826, four years after his return. Other letters were published by Joseph Carne Ross as "Letters of Joseph Carne 1813-1827" in 1855.

Several other printed books of travels started life as letters sent home by the traveller. Irby and Mangles in the introduction to their "Travels" say that in 1820, two years after their return, they were "asked to transcribe a selection of letters sent to their families in England"\textsuperscript{1030}. From this text they produced a limited edition of a printed book but soon this was reprinted and published. Joliffe made clear the origin of his book in its title, "Letters from Palestine: Description of a Tour, etc.". He addressed

\textsuperscript{1028} Henniker, [n.125], p.293
\textsuperscript{1029} See Stoye, [n.250], eg. pp.134ff - who shows that many of these journals were eventually printed and became the first guide books
\textsuperscript{1030} Irby & Mangles, [n.100], for example p.86 from Damascus
the letters, but not in a helpful form, for example "To Sir Gxxxxt Exxt Bart, Acre August 7 1817"\textsuperscript{1031} and while in Acre: "I trust to the activity of Signor Malagamba [the English consul in Acre] to find a conveyance once to Europe for this letter and two others dated at Tyre"\textsuperscript{1032}.

Dr. Madden also structures his book in the form of letters addressed to a variety of personalities, each one in the form of a letter, ie. "Dear Sir ... I am dear Sir, Yours very truly RRM". However, this was an artificial form as he makes clear in his introduction, "my letters are compiled from notes, often taken in haste, and sometimes by stealth, in order to avoid the suspicion of writing incantations"\textsuperscript{1033}. Although addressed to various people and given the dates he was in various towns, he wrote them once back in England. Wilson said, "It never entered my contemplation ... to write ... a publication of this nature otherwise I might have examined more critically each country ... on returning to Britain I was strongly urged by many friends to commit the travels to writing"\textsuperscript{1034}.

If some of the accounts were published as an afterthought, some clearly wrote their experiences with the intention of their being published. Belzoni says in his Introduction, "On arrival in Egypt I found so many erroneous accounts had been given to the public of my operations and discoveries in Egypt that it appears to be my duty to publish a plain statement of the fact"\textsuperscript{1035}. Turner tells his readers he kept up his journal carefully each day, and is very precise in all his information, for example, the prices for entering

\textsuperscript{1031} This was letter I, p.4. All the other letters were addressed to the same anonymous person, perhaps his patron.
\textsuperscript{1032} Joliffe, [n.257], p.21
\textsuperscript{1033} Madden [n.191], p.vii
\textsuperscript{1034} Wilson [n.199], p.ix
\textsuperscript{1035} Belzoni, [n.87], p.ix

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the Holy Sepulchre, the number of pilgrims then in Jericho, the population of Tiberias by different religion etc. etc. His journal compares the accounts of previous travellers with his own observations and includes "many small sketches of what you will see". He clearly intended it to be used as a guide book.

The Montefiore Journals
By comparing the manuscript version of Judith's 1827/28 journal with the printed "Private Journal" an insight is gained into the process of production. In the manuscript edition the grammar is haphazard, punctuation eccentric and upper-case letters are used with no set pattern. These facets have been rectified in the printed edition; and it can be seen that Judith made many of the corrections herself. Her pencilled corrections are found over the ink original. Occasionally she missed an error and presumably the printer corrected it. She usually refers to her husband as Mun, but this becomes Montefiore in the printed version. Her original version is usually in the present tense and has a terseness and sense of immediacy and excitement lost in the printed version. For example, 14th November - the day of the storm [printed version, page 40]:

MS: "the breeze is freshening and the rocking of the [sic] has become so unpleasant as to keep M and self confined to the state room"

Pr: "the breeze freshened, and the rocking of the vessel became so unpleasant as to keep Montefiore and myself confined to the state room"

Often she uses a more felicitous word in the printed version, whereas the original was more graphic, eg:

MS "all the Gentlemen were sick in their berth" Pr "all the gentlemen were ill in their berth"

[18 November]

\[10^{36}\] Turner, [n.117], p.234, and see pp.143, 176 and 120
Sometimes the changes made in the printed version seem hard to understand. On Sunday 27 January the printed version says, "We walked with Mr. Mazarra ... to the Piazza Navara". The manuscript version makes it clear it was "without him".

Other passages not printed are personal regarding Moses' repeated ill-health [and some have been quoted in the section on Health, and indeed many other examples generally are given in other sections]. Sometimes they give an added insight into Judith's position as a woman on the journey, for instance after the storm there is some praise of Judith's fortitude [p.241] but the original added, "They say the generality of females would have shrieked and screamed at such a morning as the past". Sometimes the otherwise apparently boring passages omitted do illustrate social situations, for example, "the Steward who was yesterday in disgrace with the Captain for some neglect of duty is again taken into favour, even on the Mediterranean Sea, as everywhere else persons are troubled with servants" [16th November].

Judith may have taken only one notebook away with her in 1827 but, due to the length of the journey, she filled it and on Wednesday 14th November, seven days after leaving Alexandria, she started a new book. Whether she bought the book in Egypt or had it with her, or obtained it from a fellow passenger cannot be said. In 1840 Dr. Madden clearly re-utilised a notebook Moses had already written in in pencil. In 1839 on the way out from Malta to Alexandria, Judith wrote, "Mr. T___ ... on seeing this book filled up so far offered to find me one which he does not intend using". Judith seems to have written more than she intended in her journal of 1839, just as in 1827.

What prompted Judith after 1828 and 1839 to have her manuscript journals printed can only be surmised. Both were

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1037 Notes from a Journal, p.204

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printed but "Not Published", presumably meant only for her family and friends. The fact that the 1838/39 work is entitled "Notes from a Private Journal" indicates that her original again contained much more than she had printed. She employed an annoying style in this second book, using "M___" or "Mr. A___" etc. to denote most of the personalities mentioned. This makes it less use as an historical source. However, many of her contemporary writers, like Carne and Joliffe used this style. After having her first journey published perhaps Judith read the other contemporary travel books and adopted their style in her second book.

It seems possible that Judith wrote diaries only while on holiday. Several of these exist, and she re-used the notebook for a second journey if the first journey did not fill it [eg. in 1812 and 1825, and 1825 and 1828]. Moses was probably more systematic with his account books and kept them at home and on a journey, though the travelling ones he kept separate. Of the surviving ones, the 1866 Account Book [in the Shandel-Lipson collection] illustrates his domestic accounts for that year, as well as separate accounts for the Palestine Fund of which he was a type of treasurer.

The Account Book for 1827/28 contains details only of journeys. It opens with a holiday in Brighton, 1st to 14th January 1827, and then a weekend's stay in the City of London, 19th to 20th January. On the next page the journey to the Holy Land starts on 1st May 1827. Clearly it had been put aside in the intervening period and taken up at the start of the trip. He might have been expected to use a new book for such an auspicious journey. Similarly, having got home on the 29th February 1828, he then goes on, on the next page, to detail a holiday in Yorkshire commencing 27th November 1828 [the one Judith covers in her Diary of 1825/28]. And then he used it for a holiday to Devon in February 1829 and a holiday to the Isle of Wight in June 1829 and a holiday in Cornwall in August 1829. The Holy Land tour, which must have been the most important trip, is
squeezed in between the other holidays. Clearly Moses was economical in his use of ledgers!

The immense detail in this Account Book has already been described above but but here it can be added that as well as full timings of stages, costings, all totalled and with running totals, he adds extra information on relevant pages, for example, "the average time changing horses was 9 minutes, the shortest 6 minutes, the longest 12 minutes" [p.30]. He also puts comments like "Average rate of travelling: 7'25" per mile or 8 miles & 150 yards per Hour" [Monday 1 December]. On the way back he added regular temperature readings, maybe influenced by seeing other travellers' books [for example, Clarke].

The question is: when did he write up the mass of information for each day's journey - on the move or at the end of the day? The presentation of each page and the writing is so neat and uniform that it appears most likely he wrote up the pages in the book at the end of each day, when in his hotel. It must have been tedious after a tiring day, but an entry in Judith's Journal has already been mentioned that shows his doing just that after a fifteen-hour journey across Mt. Cenis\textsuperscript{1038}. Further evidence comes from the 1830 holiday journey. An account book exists, though with far less information than in 1827/28 [perhaps he had learned to be reasonable]. One page of rough notes for the first day of this journey also exists [in the Shandel-Lipson collection]. The information is the same, but it is in a far shakier hand. Thus it may be that he made detailed but rough notes during the actual travelling, writing them up neatly in his Account Book when he stopped each evening.

Finally, did Moses write a diary or journal as well as the account book? On the 1840 journey he wrote both in one

\textsuperscript{1038} Private Journal, p.24

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book 1039. Judith noted in 1827, "Monday December 10 Lazaretto ... Montefiore amused himself with writing the almanacks for himself and Mrs. Montefiore..."1040. This indicates two books, perhaps the account book for his own pleasure and a more descriptive journal for his mother. And, of course, one surviving page of his diary exists to give a glimpse of its nature [see Appendix 2]

Presents, Souvenirs and Graffiti

An earlier chapter dealt with presents that were taken out to be used as gestures of thanks, but sometimes gifts were bought along the way for specific situations. Thus, in Malta the Montefiores purchased "a good gold necklace for Lady Stoddart for attending Judith during illness"1041. In Naples on their return Judith purchased a ring to give Charlotte de Rothschild for her hospitality1042. In Egypt Moses "procured two green turtles as a present for the Governor of Malta"1043. One at least survived the journey as the Governor sent his secretary to thank them for the gift1044.

On the outward journey in particular there was [and is] a problem with what to do with the souvenirs purchased. Since Elizabethan times travellers had sent home bulky souvenirs by separate transport1045. In Malta, Moses recorded, "6th August: Pd. Sigismund Demech, Manufacturing of Stone, Marble & Alabaster Vase N69 Strada Teatre Malta for 14 piastres - to be shipped in December"1046. At this stage they did not know with certainty that they would travel back from

1039 Barnett, [n.43]
1040 Private Journal, p.265
1041 Moses' Account Book, p.127
1042 Private Journal, p.295
1043 ibid., p.176
1044 Loewe "Diaries" I:46
1045 See for example, Stoye, [n.250], p.75
1046 Moses' Account Book, p.127

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Malta at the end of December/beginning of January so the date must have been when the heavy items were finished and would be shipped back to England. On the return journey the Montefiores made a detour to Carrara where they purchased several marble pieces, again presumably transported separately and not in their own carriage.

While in Egypt it was the "done thing" to purchase a few antiquities. Judith records, "Captain Anderson bought twelve Egyptian idols and he spared me four". Later in Alexandria Judith had purchased "a few small antiques ... a Scarabee and some other Egyptian deities". That they got home safely is shown by an entry for 1835 in Loewe's Diaries, "Mrs. Montefiore showed us all the curiosities she brought with her from Egypt".

In Jerusalem, then as now, there were special souvenirs to be purchased. Dr. Clarke reported "our room was filled with Armenians and Jews, bringing for sale the only produce of Jerusalem's manufactury: beads, crosses and shells often taken to the Holy Sepulchre to be blessed". He goes on to say that a mother-of-pearl shell was often worn by pilgrims as proof that they had actually made it to the Holy Land. Judith also reported that in Bethlehem, "made several purchases ... the beads which come from the Dead Sea ... are held in great estimation particularly by the Roman Catholics". On their return journey in Naples Judith showed the shell to the Duchess d'Ascoli, "her grace expressed great admiration ... I could not do less than offer it to her for her acceptance." Another popular souvenir from outside Jerusalem was water from the Jordan or Dead Sea. Chateaubriand reported, "I possess a tin vessel

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1047 Private Journal, p.165
1048 ibid., p.176
1049 Loewe "Diaries" I:101
1050 Clarke, [n.121] p.536
1051 ibid., p.152
1052 Private Journal, p.208
full of water which I took up myself out of the Dead Sea; 
... I intend to try the experiment proposed by Pocock which 
is to put small fish into the water and observe whether they 
would live in it"!1053. He does not record if he got the 
water back to France and, if so, the results of the 
experiment!

On their last day in Jerusalem it was Judith's birthday, 
"Montefiore requested Mr. Amzalac to obtain a necklace 
similar to the one worn by his lady ... I have been this day 
presented with it by my dear Montefiore as a momento of this 
venerable city, and a birthday present"1054. That night 
they sought souvenirs "but we could obtain nothing except 
wine, earth, some embroidery on calicoe, descriptive of the 
most celebrated ancient edifices, soap, a silver cup, an 
an ancient manuscript, and some coins"1055. The earth, or 
Terra Sancta, he had already obtained and would use to lay 
the foundation stone of his synagogue in Ramsgate.

On the return journey Judith purchased at La Floriana in 
Malta, "seeds of flowers and vegetables"1056 and in Rome, 
"Broccoli seed and salad seed"1057. A few more conventional 
souvenirs are noted, for example embroidered handkerchiefs, 
silk neck scarves, cotton gloves, blankets from the House of 
Industry in Malta1058. In Rome, Judith was tempted "in 
passing the shops to purchase two cameos"1059, and earlier

1053 Chateaubriand, [n.50], p.412
1054 Private Journal, p.214
1055 Private Journal, p.215
1056 ibid., p.277. On bringing home seeds see Hibbert 
[n.128], p.150
1057 Moses' Account Book, p.131
1058 Private Journal, p.279
1059 ibid., p.299
the same day she "went with Mr. Mazzara shopping, purchased some camios".  

Souvenirs are what travellers bring home to remind them of their travels; graffiti is what tourists leave behind to remind others that they were there. The Montefiores, like most of the other travellers of the time, left their names in many of the key places they visited.

The names to be found on doors, walls and even ceilings of the convents in Jerusalem have already been noted. In Egypt Dr. Madden found inscribed at Thebes at the statue of Memnon the names of Dr. Richardson and Mr. Salt. "In other places I found the names of Bruce, Burckhardt, Belzoni and many other far-famed individuals; some of them written with pencil, others scratched with point of a knife." When the Montefiores visited the inner chambers of the pyramids, "we marked our names on the wall as a momento of having visited these wonderful monuments."

Two places the Montefiores never visited also attracted graffiti which strangely gave an historical or practical comment on the places. When Irby and Mangles got to Petra in 1817 [among the first Englishmen to get there] they found names written in Hebrew and concluded it had been Jewish visitors from before the Muslim conquest of the region. Several travellers mention the graffiti at the convent on Mt. Sinai. Henniker recorded, "the travellers' room in the convent ... like the travellers' rooms in a public house in England, bears the pencillings of its visitors, the memoranda in themselves differing as widely as the places

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1060 Private Journal MS, 25th February
1061 See above p.241, for example, Clarke, [n.121], p.532
1062 Madden, [n.191], Vol.II, p.31
1063 Private Journal, p.150
are distant from each other". The wall was also used as a kind of notice-board: Seetzen on a vessel of paper, pasted against the wall, notifies his having penetrated the country in a direct line between the Dead Sea and Mount Sinai, a route never before accomplished; this was the more interesting to me as I have previously determined to attempt the same, it being the shortest way to Jerusalem. [On the margin is written - 'Seetzen died in Acaba, supposed to have been poisoned']

In the Holy Land the Montefiores did not stay in the convent at Jerusalem, but on her side-trip to Bethlehem at Rachel's tomb "the walls ... are covered with names ... and to these I added the names of Montefiore and myself". When she returned there in 1839, "I inscribed my name amid many thousands of others on the sacred monument. The wall is fast crumbling into ruins ...". Possibly the constant application of graffiti helped the deterioration of the place; at least the Montefiores had the good grace to subsequently pay for the complete restoration of the building!

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1064 Henniker, [n.125], p.273
1065 ibid.
1066 Private Journal, p.200
1067 Notes from a Journal, p.296f.
CHAPTER TEN
THE RETURN JOURNEY

In a sense the Montefiore's return journey started, not as they left the walls of Jerusalem, but on arrival in Naples. Only then were the real dangers over and only then could they begin to think of home, although they at first appeared to be in no hurry to get back to England. Of the other travellers in the period, none dwell on their actual return or their home-coming, although some at least give details of their route [for example, Clarke, Wilson, Henniker, Richardson]. Buckingham went on to India after his expedition to the Near East, and Belzoni stayed on in Egypt until his premature death.

Judith Montefiore's journal peters out nine days before they reached London. Her manuscript diary for the 1823 tour of the Continent ends on the 9th December in Rome, two months before their eventual return although there are many empty pages left in the book. Her manuscript diary for the 1825 tour of Ireland also ends in Dublin with no details of the return journey. This time she did fill in the spare pages to cover the 1828 short holiday in Yorkshire and here she did keep going until they were back in Park Lane. It seems clear that the longer the journey the more tired the traveller and towards the end of an exhausting journey, despite the regularity of entries early on, in the rush to get home attention and energy are turned away from diary-keeping. The last phase of a long journey are no longer an adventure, but days to be endured.

A glimpse of the Montefiore's exhaustion and also their growing excitement at getting near home is seen from Judith's entry for Monday, 18th February at Lyon. Moses had taken cassia for his neck the night before and so they got up late and did not leave until 4.00pm with the intention of travelling all night [but in fact only doing two posts]. During the day the hairdresser came and before
doing Judith's hair "first shortened Moses' auburn locks"\textsuperscript{1068}. "We appropriated the afternoon to letter writing, not being able to visit any of the Magazines where my inclination would have led me, but I thank the Almighty for being very happy where I am, may I meet all my friends as much so on my return home. Wrote to Mrs. Montefiore and to Jeanette, had an excellent dinner, then quit Lyons at four"\textsuperscript{1069}. Next night they did travel through the night, but clearly in Lyon they were too tired to leave early, or even to go shopping, thinking only of home.

Moses did keep up his Account Book until they got home to Park Lane, but stopped writing in his detailed comments each day - just noting the costs and times. Once in England he even omitted the times. On the 25th February he wrote, "we left Paris at 4a 26 very cloudy and extremely damp, my health is very indifferent. I am very happy to draw near home"\textsuperscript{1070}.

The Homecoming

According to Loewe, "they arrived safely in Dover harbour, and had the pleasure of seeing some of their near relatives who had come down to welcome them"\textsuperscript{1071}. There is no indication of who was in the welcoming party - Moses does not mention it in his Account Book and Judith's Journal has finished. The welcoming party could well be an invention. On later tours a delegation did indeed meet them but perhaps not at the end of this first tour. The Account Book notes that they travelled on and stayed overnight at the Rose Inn, Sittingbourne. On Friday, 29th they continued, stopping at Kennington to see Moses' mother. Then on to the Admiralty to deliver "the letters which had been entrusted by Admiral

\textsuperscript{1068} Private Journal, MS, 18th February
\textsuperscript{1069} ibid.
\textsuperscript{1070} Moses' Account Book, p.46
\textsuperscript{1071} Loewe "Diaries" I:54 - Thursday 28th February
Codrington to Mr. Montefiore to deliver\textsuperscript{10}\textsuperscript{7}\textsuperscript{2}. Lucien Wolf's version is "delivered to the house of the Duke of Clarence before going home"\textsuperscript{10}\textsuperscript{7}\textsuperscript{3}. They then went home to Park Lane getting there at "five o'clock, again to enjoy their Sabbath"\textsuperscript{10}\textsuperscript{7}\textsuperscript{4}. It must have been a close-run thing as at that time of year the Sabbath comes in at about 5.30pm!

Next day they went to Synagogue at Bevis Marks [a four-mile walk] "and were received by the ecclesiastical authorities ... with manifestations of pleasure at their reappearance among them"\textsuperscript{10}\textsuperscript{7}\textsuperscript{5}. Loewe continues "Later in the day Mr. Montefiore waited on the Duke of Clarence to deliver into his hands the letter from the Admiral". The Jewish Chronicle version is "his Royal Highness sent at eleven next morning for Mr. Montefiore"\textsuperscript{10}\textsuperscript{7}\textsuperscript{6}. How could he carry it on the Sabbath? Wolf's version implies he took the letter on Friday, and went there on Saturday to receive thanks and to give a first-hand account of Admiral Codrington's description of the Battle of Navarino. There had been some debate about the propriety of Admiral Codrington's actions and Moses repeated the Admiral's words spoken to him in Malta, "when the British flag is insulted, an English admiral knows what is his duty!" to which the Duke replied, musingly, "inevitable! inevitable!"\textsuperscript{10}\textsuperscript{7}\textsuperscript{7}.

A question remains: why was Moses Montefiore entrusted with the despatches, when they could have got home faster by the usual post or by Government courier? And why, knowing he carried the despatches, did Montefiore not hurry home? On the outward journey it took forty-three days from London to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{10}\textsuperscript{7}\textsuperscript{2} Loewe "Diaries" I:55
\item \textsuperscript{10}\textsuperscript{7}\textsuperscript{3} Wolf, [n.54], p.40
\item \textsuperscript{10}\textsuperscript{7}\textsuperscript{4} Loewe "Diaries" I:54
\item \textsuperscript{10}\textsuperscript{7}\textsuperscript{5} ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{10}\textsuperscript{7}\textsuperscript{6} Supplement to Jewish Chronicle, Friday 31st July 1885
\item \textsuperscript{10}\textsuperscript{7}\textsuperscript{7} Wolf, [n.1:62], p.40 - also quoted in the Jewish Chronicle supplement
\end{itemize}
Naples, on the return it took forty days. Perhaps in those days it was not practical to do it in any shorter time and the occasional days spent sightseeing along the way were needed to restore one's strength. But why give the despatches to a private citizen and what was in them?

The Courier for Saturday Evening, 1st March 1828 announced: "Mr. & Mrs. Moses Montefiore have arrived from the Continent at their Residence in Park Lane". The Times had no such comment, and neither paper recorded Moses going to see the Duke of Clarence, nor did the subsequent editions of either paper make any more reference to their epic journey. In 1828 the Montefiores had some social standing and so their return was announced, but clearly neither the despatches or their adventures warranted any further notice in the two main papers of the day.

The Days After

Family reunions can be imagined, but Loewe does not refer to these personal details. He does say "Mr. Montefiore now placed himself under the care of an eminent physician who for a long time visited him almost daily". No mention of Judith and from what is known of her resilience she quickly recovered from the journey. Moses, despite his illness [presumably being ringworm] attended regularly "the Boards of the Alliance Marine and Alliance Life and Fire Offices - the Gas Company, the Silk Company etc.". A clear indication that although "retired" he was as busy as ever.

He also saw to various commissions he had accepted on the journey. He went to see Sir Robert Farquhar to petition the appointment of Mr. Barker as consul general in Egypt in place of the late Mr. Salt. He took a draft of a book from Malta to "Dr. Lee of Doctor's Common". "He gave Signor

\[\text{Loewe "Diaries I:55. For a discussion as to whether this might have been Dr. Hodgkin see Amalie M. Kass [n.104], p.79}\]
Damiani's letter to Mr. George Canning ... soliciting him to appoint young Damiani British Consul at Jaffa in succession to the father". The problem is: George Canning died in September 1827 ... so assuming Damiani wrote the letter in Jaffa before hearing the news, to whom did Montefiore deliver it? An indication that Loewe's "Diaries" are to be approached with caution.

Loewe does list some activities Montefiore became involved in on his return, but no mention of any further travels that year. Moses' Account Book has no entries until the 27th November when he and Judith set off for a holiday in Yorkshire. The following year they went on holiday from the 1st to the 19th February [to Devon], 10th to 14th June [Isle of Wight], 25th to 30th June [Isle of Wight], 2nd to 24th August [Devon and Cornwall], 1st to 20th September [Liverpool and North Wales]. The nine months in 1828 without travels [of course there may have been journeys not reported] can well be understood after such an exhausting journey to Palestine. Judith's Diary for the winter holiday, however, opens with "The usual inclination to travel has led us en route for Harrowgate...". After a brief rest from travelling they were off again and, as the list above shows, they had regular excursions the next year, if only in Britain. However, to return to the 1827/28 journey, a final task to be undertaken was to calculate the costs and settle any outstanding accounts. This is dealt with in the following chapter.

1079 Loewe "Diaries" I:56
Moses' Account Book has proved an invaluable aid in so many ways. It has given exact details of the route taken, timing of each stage, accommodation and food and so much incidental information. Naturally its greatest use has been to work out the exact costings of aspects of the tour and the exact cost of the tour itself. As such it forms an almost unique source enabling the researcher not only to give costings of Mediterranean travel, but travel through England, France and Italy as well.

Exchange Rates
In the Account Book the costs are listed in the currency of the country in which they were incurred. Occasionally Moses gave a sterling equivalent, but usually not, and so a knowledge of the value of each currency is needed before trying to work out the cost in sterling.

There must have been established tables giving exchange rates, but they were not given in the contemporary newspapers or journals. The Times of the period had a regular "Notice of Foreign Funds" and "Price of Consols". The edition of 30th April 1827 had an article entitled "Money Market" but there is no mention of foreign exchange rates. The same can be said of Lloyd's Register. Before setting out [or so it seems from the handwriting], Montefiore wrote at the back of his Account Book, "From Henry Sass a Journey to Rome & Naples / the best way will be to count by Francs on this side of the Appennines and on the other side by Paoli worth about five pence. in Tuscany they count by Sequins worth 20 Paoli in the Roman States by Crowns, worth 10 Paoli, in Naples by Carolini, worth four pence halfpenny" [sic].

He then added

"Tuscany: 20 Paoli = 10 Francs = 8s. 4d. Sterling
- 340 -
Rome 10 Paoli = 5 Francs = 4s. 2d.
Naples Ducat = 10 Carolini = 3s. 9d.
Carolini = 10 Grani = 4½d.

Henry Sass's book was published in London in 1818 [the above information is found on p. 343 of his book] and in the decade that followed exchange rates did not fluctuate greatly. A modern textbook discusses the difficulty of establishing the exact rate of exchange at any one time but shows the Franc to be worth 19.0 to the pound sterling between 1815 and 1824 and 22.2 to the pound sterling between 1825 and 18341080. However, in another place this book shows the "trading Rate of Exchange" at 24 Francs per Pound Sterling1081. Sass's table would also make the Pound Sterling equivalent to 24 Francs.

When travelling over a long period, exchange rates showed minor fluctuations then as now. The day before Moses reached England, at the end of the journey, he wrote, "At Calais, expense of Passing the Carriage at the Customs Frs.26.70 Commission 10.30= Frs.37 or £1.10.0" [page 128]. The entry gives an idea of the commission on exchanging money and, if 37 francs equalled £1.10s.0d., then the exchange rate was 24.66. However, presumably a few days later, Moses settled his final account with Thomas Armstrong, and in noting the money already given him over the ten months, gave a brief exchange table [p. 120]:

"Frs. 200 is 8.00.0
60 Neapolitan Dollars is 12.10.0
120 Spanish Dollars is 25.10.0"

Sass had noted that Francs were used "on this side of the Appennines" and this is borne out by Moses' Account Book. Beyond Bologna he noted on a number of pages [for example

1080 Patrick O'Brien & Caglan Keydar, Economic Growth in Britain and France 1780-1914, 1978, p.70
1081 ibid., p.40

- 341 -
27, 28, 29] that "Spanish Dollar is Current for only 9½ Paoli in Tuscan States", indicating a devaluation. Whereas in the Papal States, "Spanish $ = 10 Paoli" [page 25]. Other minor variations were noted. "In Tuscany and the Papal States the basic currency was the Paoli with 10 Baichi per 1 Paoli"; "In Naples 10 Grani = 1 Carolini and 10 Carolini = 1 Ducat". Moses noted that "Exchange on London on 18 June 1827 615 Grani is £1 Sterling" [page 16]. [Sass made it 533 Grani £1 Sterling.] In Egypt Moses recorded [page 132] that "40 Paras = 1 Piastre, 15 Piastre = 1 Spanish $, 70 Piastre = £1 Sterling".

From these various figures [and especially the list that calculates Armstrong's wages] an average table of exchange rates has been composed and used in calculating the costs of the Montefiores' journey.

Figure 9. Average Rates of Exchange used in calculating costs of journey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Exchange Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>25 Francs = £1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>50 Paoli = £1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naples</td>
<td>615 Grani = £1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&amp; 61.5 Carolini = £1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicily &amp; Malta</td>
<td>12 Carolini = 1 Piastre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70 Piastre = £1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Spanish Dollar = 4.08 shillings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Neopolitan Dollar = 4.16 shillings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>70 Piastres = £1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 342 -
**Analysis of Costs taken from Moses' Account Book**

1. **Travel Out [cost of posting etc.]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Park Lane - Dover</td>
<td>14 7 8</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dover - Calais [Ship]</td>
<td>5 19 10</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calais - Bologna [2046.2 Francs]</td>
<td>81 1 0</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bologna - Fondi [160 Paoli]^a</td>
<td>3 4 0</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fondi - Naples [440.7 Carolini]</td>
<td>7 2 6</td>
<td>£112 10 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[^a] An error has clearly been made on the outward journey in the Tuscan States: the return leg has a much more realistic figure.

2. **Travel Back [cost of posting etc.]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Naples - Fondi [501.5 Carolini]</td>
<td>8 2 6</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fondi - Garzanne [1184 Paoli]</td>
<td>24 13 4</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garzanne - Calais [2019.19 Francs]</td>
<td>80 15 0</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calais - Dover [ship]</td>
<td>11 1 6</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dover - Park Lane</td>
<td>15 14 0</td>
<td>£140 6 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. **Accommodation & Food: outward**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>London - Dover</td>
<td>2 4 1</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calais - Bologna [Hotel in Florence]</td>
<td>141 10 1</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[3538 Francs]^b</td>
<td>2 2 0</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florence - Mola di Gaëta [110.10 Paoli]^c</td>
<td>34 10 0</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naples [169 Spanish $/4 Carolini]</td>
<td>1 2 0</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicily [80 Piastre/11 Carolini]^d</td>
<td>119 15 0</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta [587 Spanish ]</td>
<td>13 12 1</td>
<td>£314 15 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[^b] Costs for accommodation were greater on the way out as they were paying also for the Salomons.

[^c] There seems an error here. He does not denote the currency at the top of the page and this total is for four people for eleven days!

[^d] Note how cheap it is, ie. for ten days, but it was partly camping.
4. Accommodation & Food: return

£  s  d

Egypt [no costs: stayed on Leonidas]
Malta: Lazaretto + hotel [403 Scudi/4 Teri/10 grani] 32 18 0
Naples - Mola di Gaëta [211 piastre/1 Carolini]* 43 12 0
Vellet - Rome - Maisa [1238.5 Paoli] 24 15 0
La Spezzia - Calais [878 Francs/18 sol] 35 12 0
Dover - London 4 1 6 £140 18 6

[* Note different currency compared with outward stay. This may reflect the money he had with him from Malta.]

5. Passage Money

Dover - Calais [given above]
Naples - Messina, including extra for landing 5 8 0
- extra for boarding etc. 2 12 6
Messina - Cape Passaro [81 Piastre 10] 1 4 0
Cape Passaro - Malta [50 Piastre] 18 0
Leonidas: Malta to Egypt and back 550 0 0
Henry William: Alexandria to Jaffa and back 50 0 0 £610 2 6
6. **Table of Sundry Expenses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>E. s. d.</th>
<th>Francs</th>
<th>Paoli</th>
<th>Carolini</th>
<th>Piastras (Sicily)</th>
<th>Scudi</th>
<th>Spanish Dollars</th>
<th>Neapolitan Dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p.120</td>
<td>Thomas Armstrong</td>
<td>105. 5. 6.</td>
<td>38.11</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.121</td>
<td>Charity Synagogue</td>
<td>34.10</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>103</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>127</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.123</td>
<td>Petty Expenses at Naples and Malta</td>
<td>211. 3.</td>
<td>238.09</td>
<td>15.10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in Rome</td>
<td></td>
<td>61.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in Malta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.127</td>
<td>Malta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.126</td>
<td>Postage</td>
<td></td>
<td>38.08</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.126</td>
<td>Judith Montefiore (her personal extras)</td>
<td></td>
<td>700.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.129</td>
<td>Carriage Expenses</td>
<td></td>
<td>709.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.131</td>
<td>Rome Expenses</td>
<td></td>
<td>40.00</td>
<td>587.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>112</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leghorni donations</td>
<td></td>
<td>740.00</td>
<td>58.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.132</td>
<td>Egypt Marble statues at Carrara</td>
<td></td>
<td>1040.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>183</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.134</td>
<td>Passports, Customs etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>270</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.135</td>
<td>Gifts</td>
<td></td>
<td>81.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>p.171</td>
<td>Expenses</td>
<td></td>
<td>2645.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2116</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.139</td>
<td>Maltese servants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.140</td>
<td>Personal (wearing apparel)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>430</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Totals in Sterling Equivalents** £107.16. 9. £341.12. 0. £ 13.15. 0. £ 28.19. 9. £ 4.12. 8. £ 0. 4. 0. £ 310.15. 0. £ 6. 5. 0.
The Total

Thus the total cost of the journey comes to £2132.12s. 9d. This is an approximate figure for, although Moses was meticulous in so many aspects of keeping up his account book, he never calculated the total cost of each subsection, nor converted it to pounds sterling. His rate of exchange may have varied from the average rate calculated for this thesis and tabulated above. Occasionally he did not make clear which currency he was using and this has been worked out on the basis of his location. Finally, certain aspects of the journey he missed out. There is no list of expenditure made before leaving. However, the total of £2133 is more than a good estimate and seems to be the only reasonably accurate breakdown of costs of travel to the Holy Land in the given period.

In trying to understand the relative cost of the journey, it is instructive to compare the sum of £2133 with Armstrong's wages for the ten months of £105. 5d. 6d. and note that John Harrington, the Montefiores' servant at home, received £39 per annum. The Government "Blue Book for Malta for 1827"\(^\text{1082}\) records that the annual salary of the Governor of Malta was £4,000, of Colonel Hankey, the Chief-Secretary to the Governor, £1,500 and of Dr. Greig, the Superintendent of the Lazaretto, £800.

The journey to the Holy Land as undertaken by Moses and Judith Montefiore was a costly affair and only within the reach of the wealthy. The only comparison with other travellers comes in a letter John Carne sent his father on the 26th March 1821, "The Rev. Mr. Jowett, the chief director of the Church Ministry Abroad ... told me the expense of travelling there would be about £500 a year"\(^\text{1083}\). It all depends whether that was the cost while in the East or included the cost of getting there. As Moses' Account

\(^{1082}\) P.R.O. CO 163.45
\(^{1083}\) Ross, [n.135], p.19

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Book shows, the greatest cost was in hiring ships and, as might be assumed, accommodation and food were far cheaper once in the East than in Europe.

There is an indication that Montefiore was prepared to pay twice the amount the journey cost him. On page 140, headed "N M Rothschild" is written, "1827 April / To Check on Jones Loyd & Co. £4000 / 30 April To Check on Jones Loyd & Co. £1000". He appeared to be taking money out of his bank account with Loyd & Company and depositing it with Rothschild who was to cover the various letters of credit Moses would cash in during his journey. Moses noted on page 142, "Jones Loyd & Co. Tu 1 May 1827 To Balance this day £1037.18.9." On the day he left England, as well as having cash available through Rothschild, he still had money in his current account at his bank.
The returning travellers whose works were published clearly helped popularise the Near East at a time when travel to that part of the world would become increasingly easier. Even the books of those who died in Egypt [Burckhardt and Belzoni] became best-sellers, while maintaining the image of the "East" as a place of danger and true adventure. Luigi Belzoni's book [published in 1822] clearly did not make a large profit and his widow sank into poverty. In The Courier of the 29th January 1827 a letter to the editors mounted a public appeal for Mrs. Belzoni, now living in impoverished circumstances in Brussels.

The travellers who returned home were sought out for advice and gave lectures1084. Some returned to their previous occupation: Clarke returned to Cambridge to lecture on mineralogy until his premature death, Commander Irby became captain of HMS Pelican and fought in the Battle of Navarino1085. Dr. Madden seems to have been inspired by sights he saw in the slave markets in Constantinople and Cairo to join very actively the fight against the slave trade in Africa and the New World. Buckingham used the publicity his book received and his court case with William Bankes to further his political ambitions.

Of all the travellers in our chosen period, it could be claimed that the journey the Montefiores made in 1827/28 had the greatest effect on them and the wider world, although not immediately. Unlike many of the other travellers, neither of them rushed into print; Judith's "Private Journal" was not printed until 1836 and then only for

1084 e.g. Buckingham, see above p.79 [where reference is made to the Montefiores attending one of his lectures].
1085 Pitcairn-Jones, [n.19], eg. pp.77ff, 113 etc.
private circulation. This had been the intention of Irby and Mangles but they were soon persuaded to publish a new edition for general sale. It is not known how many copies of Judith's "Private Journal" were printed, but its present extreme rarity indicates it was probably not very many [unlike her later "Notes from a Journal"].

Initially the Montefiores' first tour had little public impact in England, unlike their subsequent journeys. Then there would be organised public services of thanks for their safe return ... and the achievements of the trip [eg. after the 1840 "Damascus Affair"]. In 1828 they went to Bevis Marks unannounced and from the reactions reported above caused some surprise by their attendance. However, Moses' fame did seem to spread: "Dr. Wolf, the wellknown [sic.] missionary, found already in 1834 that his name was known to the Jews of Bokhara, Samarcand, Balkh, Khokand and Herat"1086.

Loewe writes that Moses' first action regarding the Jews of Palestine came in 1828 when a shaliach, an emissary, came to claim the money promised to a Sephardi yeshiva [rabbinical college]. Moses gave the man ["Rev. A.J."] hospitality, arranged for him to give a lecture in his home and a sermon at Bevis Marks, arranged medical treatment when he became ill and helped him fight the case in the Court of Chancery. Unfortunately the case was lost "and a sum of money had to be given him to enable him to return to Jerusalem"1087. There is no suggestion that Moses gave him or collected to give him some of the missing money ["£2600 consols"] to make up for the loss; only his return fare was covered. Later, he would help raise considerable sums for projects in Palestine but clearly not in 1828 even though he was fired with enthusiasm, having just returned.

1086 Lucien Wolf [n.54], p.64
1087 Loewe "Diaries" I: 57-59
However, their interest in Jerusalem and the Holy Land slowly gathered pace. Early in 1829 Moses became involved in matters to do with Lady Hester Stanhope\textsuperscript{1088}. In 1831 Moses was introduced by the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Hirschel, to "the Rev. Enoch Sandel of Jerusalem" who wished to travel to the West Indies. Clearly Montefiore was identified as the man who could help\textsuperscript{1089}. Later that year the Chief Rabbi asked Moses to counter-sign some letters to America appealing for money for "their indigent brethren in the Holy Land"\textsuperscript{1090}. The interest fostered by their first visit to the Holy Land would increasingly make the Montefiores known as the main Anglo-Jewish conduit for help for the Jews of the land - both financial and practical and this would increase until their next visit in 1838 and go on increasing for almost fifty years until Sir Moses' death.

By 1838 Moses had gained in confidence and from then on there would be no curb on his enthusiasm and energy on behalf of Jews in the Holy Land and so many other countries. In 1838-39 he went there to actively alleviate poverty and to begin his practical projects to improve the condition of the Jews of Palestine. Then he went as Sir Moses Montefiore and his second [and subsequent] visits were widely reported both in the Jewish and national press [the first Jewish newspaper was the "Voice of Jacob" in 1841].

Their first visit brought about a change in their religious life. The day after they sailed away from the port of Jaffa on their return journey [29th October], it being Moses' birthday, he recorded in his diary a vow to become more religiously observant\textsuperscript{1091}. It did not happen immediately but, as shown above, it did happen. As an example, in the 1838-39 visit to the East Judith's diary is replete with

\textsuperscript{1088} Loewe "Diaries" I:61-65
\textsuperscript{1089} ibid., I:82
\textsuperscript{1090} ibid., I:86
\textsuperscript{1091} See quote above [n.857]

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mention of visits to Synagogues and their efforts to eat only kosher food. This trend continued and is seen more explicitly in Moses' diary of the visit to the East in 1840.

Having been inspired by the sights they saw abroad, many of the returning travellers were inspired to make alterations to their houses in England, or else to put up new buildings modelled after those they saw abroad\textsuperscript{1092}. On the 6th April 1831 "Mr. Moses Montefiore agrees to purchase East Cliff Lodge at the price of five thousand five hundred pounds ..."\textsuperscript{1093}. The Montefiores had a love affair with this house in Ramsgate since visiting the town on their honeymoon and had rented it in 1822, and tried to buy it in 1830. There is no evidence of his making any alteration either internally or externally to the house, "a specimen of modern Gothic ... the dining room is the most elegant specimen of Gothic domestic architecture in England"\textsuperscript{1094}. However, Moses did immediately set about building a synagogue on his newly-acquired estate, clear evidence of his new religious enthusiasm and perhaps the only purpose-built synagogue on any English estate. The Synagogue was quickly built and on the 9th August 1831 they laid the foundation stone with "Terra Sancta, which they had brought with them from Jerusalem"\textsuperscript{1095}

The architect of the Synagogue was Moses' cousin, David Mocatta and again it showed no influence of Moses' recent visit to Palestine for it was built in "late English Renaissance style, reminiscent of the Regency period"\textsuperscript{1096}. Later Moses regretted the style, having prayed in the synagogue in Pisa in 1858 he wrote, "I wish I had seen it

\textsuperscript{1092} See Hibbert [n.128], pp.242ff
\textsuperscript{1093} D.A.J. Cardoza and P. Goodman, Think and Thank [1933], p.12
\textsuperscript{1094} ibid., p.10
\textsuperscript{1095} Loewe "Diaries" I:84
\textsuperscript{1096} Cardoza and Goodman [n.1093], p.23
before I built the one in Ramsgate. I would have gladly adopted the plan"\(^{1097}\). When Judith died in 1862 Sir Moses built a mausoleum right next to the Synagogue. It was modelled after Rachel's tomb on the road to Bethlehem, a building Judith did visit in 1827, and a building she was much attached to. It might be noted that the Montefiores visited very few synagogues on their 1827/28 tour.

Like many other travellers, the Montefiores [and especially Judith] had purchased paintings and sculptures during their tour, in Rome, Malta and Cararra. These must have acted as souvenirs of their tour and the artefacts obtained in Egypt were a more direct reminder of their epic journey\(^{1098}\).

A final result of their first visit and a sure sign of the inspiration of that visit also happened in late 1831, "he called on Mr. Wood at the Earl Marshall's office and paid him £32.17.6d., the fees on the grant for having the word Jerusalem in Hebrew characters in his crest"\(^{1099}\).

\(^{1097}\) Cardoza and Goodman [n.1093], p.23
\(^{1099}\) Loewe "Diaries" I:86
Figure 10: Montefiore's Crests before and after the Journey to Jerusalem
CONCLUSIONS

Of all the published books and diaries of the travellers to the Holy Land between 1799 and 1831 only Judith Montefiore's Journal deals in depth with the journey from England and back. Only one other manuscript source [Robert Hay: see above pp.155ff.] was discovered to give comparison with the Montefiore material. Thus, the case study proved well chosen although cross reference to the other travellers, especially on the travels in the East, has amplified the picture.

Most of the Western European travellers in the period went as soldiers, explorers, geographers, archaeologists or artists. The Montefiores had none of these reasons for venturing to the East. By 1827 they had already become enthusiastic travellers and their journey might have started out as an extension to the "Grand Tour" of Europe they had already done more than once. But there was an underlying Jewish religious and sentimental desire to visit Jerusalem and the further they travelled the journey increasingly became a pilgrimage. The determination to get to Jerusalem strengthened despite the increasing dangers and difficulties encountered.

In fact it could be argued that in the period 1799 to 1831 the Montefiores chose the most dangerous time to set off on their journey. Before 1815 the Napoleonic Wars would have meant a long sea voyage, but with British naval power this was not impossible and other travellers went. Immediately after 1815 came the greatest number of travellers, but by 1827 the Greek Wars and the threat of piracy in the Eastern Mediterranean had seriously curtailed travel to and in that region. A number of references in their journals show that the Montefiores were well aware of the dangers and such fears helped define their route - the need to get to Malta for a British naval escort eastwards. Once in Malta, the delay in finding a ship and having ascertained that Admiral
Codrington had sailed for the Greek coast made evident the possibility of encountering war. Once in Egypt, after the sailing of Ibrahim Pasha's fleet for Greece, the local consular advice suggested that the lack of a convoy to Jaffa made the final stage of their sea journey perilous. That the Montefiores left England in 1827 and continued despite the obvious and increasing dangers [which deprived them of travelling companions] is a tribute to their courage and desire to visit the Holy Land.

Why the Montefiores chose to set out in 1827 is not clear. Moses "retired" from business in 1825 although he kept a lively interest in his many undertakings. His brother Abraham had died a year earlier which had greatly upset him and perhaps led to his decision to retire. It may also have added to his desire to visit Jerusalem because in 1823 he had promised his brother that if he got well they would travel there together. That the Montefiores did not set out until May 1827 indicates the amount of planning to be done. They set out as wealthy middle-class travellers, only just beginning to make connections in society, most of these connections coming through their relatives, the Rothschilds. However, they were afforded Government assistance, in the form of letters of introduction, the provision of naval escort in the Mediterranean and passage on a naval ship homeward from Malta to Naples. It may be that, like many of the earlier travellers to distant places, they acted as unofficial sources of information for the Government.

Perhaps this explains the ready assistance from Malta on their return, and why Admiral Codrington entrusted Montefiore with dispatches and why he had immediate access to the Foreign Office on arrival in London. Aubrey Newman concludes, "His first visit to Palestine ... must have given him ... a taste for foreign travelling under official or

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1100 See Stoye [n.250], Chapter 4 pp.91ff and Conclusions pp.322ff.
quasi-official auspices"\textsuperscript{1101}. On subsequent journeys, as Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, his level of official contacts increased to include royalty and prime ministers and the nature of his diplomatic mission was made more public and at a higher level. His fame increased as did the publicity attending each journey but in 1827 he set out as Mr. Montefiore and the tour itself made little immediate impact on the Jewish or non-Jewish society.

As far as can be ascertained the Montefiores were the first named Anglo-Jews to travel to Palestine and to describe their visit. The visit opened their eyes to the real poverty of the few Jews then living in Palestine but also to the potential fruitfulness of the land. This led Moses to devote a major part of the rest of his life [fifty-eight years] to the alleviation of the poverty, both by charitable donations and the establishment of sources of agricultural and industrial employment for Jews in Palestine. It led Moses to see the country as suitable for the immigration of Jews from countries where they were oppressed as in East Europe and it led him to become involved in many of the pre-Zionist schemes for the redemption of the land. Sir Moses Montefiore became the focus for charitable donations from all over the world, from Jews and non-Jews and, as his fame grew internationally, so did interest in the Holy Land take on a "modern" perspective in many places, not just as the land of the Bible or where pious Jews went to die but as a country where people went to live a normal life. His role in the pre-Zionist development of Eretz Israel has been disputed of late\textsuperscript{1102} but this assessment seems biased and Moses and Judith Montefiore's reputation as early supporters


\textsuperscript{1102} For example, Moshe Samet, \textit{Moses Montefiore: Reality and Myth}, [in Hebrew], Jerusalem, 1989.
and developers of the modern State is well and rightly established. Their enthusiasm had its roots in their first visit of 1827.

The visit might also have inspired Moses to become involved in many other Jewish concerns: the full emancipation of Jews in Britain, and in the rights and problems of Jewish communities in many foreign lands, for example Russia, Roumania, Morocco and individual Jews in Rome, Damascus, Rhodes and many other places. It also had the immediate effect of increasing his level of religious observance; existing records of his life describe him as a model of Orthodox observance, but it was only after visiting Jerusalem in 1827 that he vowed to become more fully observant and this change has been demonstrated to have begun on his way home.

The thesis started with the premise claimed in existing works that there is a paucity of primary material by and on the Montefiores, and thus further research was hampered. However, much more has been discovered than at first was reported, especially with relevance to their early life and the journey of 1827/28. This thesis has thus also become a first step towards writing a comprehensive modern biography of the Montefiores. The new sources [for example letters, Judith's diaries of 1823 and 1825 and the manuscript diary of 1828] have given many new insights into the character and abilities of the Montefiores, for instance their levels of proficiency in speaking Italian, French and German and attempts to learn other languages. Their relationship with each other and with their friends and relatives has been explored; Judith is seen as a most interesting character, more resolute than her husband, often having to give him encouragement and she appears a far more lively and fascinating person than the existing accounts portray.

These unpublished manuscript sources have revealed much information about travel in Europe as well as in the East.

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Moses' Account Book in particular has given a vast range of information about so many aspects of travel in this period. Many facts have been quoted in this thesis, but this Account Book could prove invaluable to further research into travel, especially in Europe - its cost, time taken, range of hotel, bureaucracy, and so on. The Account Book has revealed the way in which money was made available during the journey and the exact costs of most aspects of the journey, and it has allowed a fairly accurate final total of £2,133 to be given as the total expenditure of the Montefiores on their tour. Such costings are the only ones found for a tour in this period. Comparative figures show that only wealthy people could have contemplated such a journey carried out in the manner described.

The published accounts of the other travellers in the period have been examined and relevant passages used to give added depth to the account of the Montefiores' journey. It has thus been possible to draw together information from a variety of sources to illustrate the details and difficulties of travel in the chosen period with in-depth descriptions of a number of aspects. For example, while it is known that the Montefiores carried with them a medical kit only sketchy information about its contents can be given, so that reference to other travellers can lead to a reconstruction of its likely make-up. Their journey illustrates that although travel through Europe was well established at that time there were no regular passenger shipping services in the Mediterranean. A berth on a merchantman had to be negotiated, or else the complete ship hired for the specific journey. This process is described from the Montefiore material and the one other manuscript diary [Robert Hay] discussed. However, it is from the Montefiore sources alone that a detailed description of the Travelling Carriage can be given including a photograph of the actual carriage used in 1827. It is only from Judith's Diary and Moses' Account Book that a description can be given of conditions on sailing ships in the Mediterranean in
1827, and for many other aspects of travel detailed in this thesis.

The thesis has examined the sources of information for planning such a journey and concludes that although other travellers' books would be of help once in Egypt and Palestine [and Buckingham, Clarke and Henniker were read before and during the journey], information about travel in the Mediterranean and the Levant must have come largely through conversations and contacts with other travellers, sailors and consuls as well as previous experiences of travelling, even if not to the East. Of course, for Europe there were a number of books available, although the only one known to have been read was Henry Sass's *Journey to Rome and Naples*.

Finally, this thesis has described an actual journey and given new insight into the real difficulties and dangers of travelling in the Eastern Mediterranean during the time of the Greek Wars. It has examined the added difficulties a Jew would have in travelling in this period, especially in observing the rules of the Sabbath while on land and at sea. In her Honeymoon Diary, Judith talked of "the mania for travelling"\(^{1103}\); the case study of one of the Montefiores' many journeys illustrates well their mania, but also the fascination and motivation that has inspired so many other travellers throughout the ages.

\(^{1103}\) Honeymoon Diary ad. loc., Sunday 25th December 1815

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APPENDICES

AND

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Saturday 4th October 1823

The day long since proposed for our continental trip by my dear let us set out. We arrived. Farewell of our numerous friends preceded our departure from Kent. Count attended by their good wishes and accompanied by the Marques I left at 4 o'clock as I understood to call for Montefiore at the mo. Synagogue door but a mistake occurred and instead of finding there where he had left to go with George to take him away in the carriage Jack B. Montefiore who with his usual kindness had gone to make him to bid farewell without the morrow and after a little while we proceeded in new Club Travelling Carriage for Dartmouth where we arrived 10 past one had tea and retired to bed.

Next morning at 5 o'clock Montefiore wrote me by saying that Louis saying his prayers at first thought...
APPENDIX 2

The only surviving page of Moses Montefiore’s Diary for the 1827/28 journey to Palestine [courtesy of Mrs. Hazel Carner]

Monday morning 7 o’clock 26 November 1827
On board the Lithosas Capt. John Anderson
about 60 miles SE from Malta
Since Friday last we had encountered continual gales of wind with a heavy sea, our ship lying the Downs being kept constantly at anchor. The gale of yesterday was allowed by the oldest seaman on board to have been terrific attended by a most dangerous short sea running mountain heights. At 6 o’clock the wind began to slacken, after midnight the sea became rather less agitated. This morning the sky again appeared in a most threatening aspect dark clouds arising in all directions, Captain Homerfore telling our pilot of the late dreadful weather.

At this awful hour a little before noon I threw into the sea a small piece of my last year’s Papery to be land by on the morning of the Agada supposing the Almighty to protect and guard the coming year Abraham to tranquility the still troubled Ocean between 30° 30’ N. & F. in the event.

I am with the warmest gratitude humbly acknowledge and feel thankful to the Almighty who has placed us in a covered ship in our peril, which appeared to every one on board so dreadfully threatening during the morning, have this morning by a miracle, suffered instead of pouring their fury upon us the sea also became every hour more and more tranquil.

May God pour out blessings & for ever bear in remembrance His merciful interposition of God & annually while I live spread this fact to those I may have the happiness of being surrounded by on the evening of the Agada.

Moses Montefiore

The sea is smooth, Moon 3° 30’ & smiling on us Captain Ormston, the moment entered the cabin and said “I have not seen a finer night out of” “the Seavon’s for many Scaron’s & a year.”

That the ship is pretty steady this writing can weather be more...
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Sample page of Moses Montefiore's Account Book for 1827/28 from the section on accommodation costs (original in Mocatta Library, University College London).
APPENDIX 5

Sir Moses Montefiore's Passport for 1858 [reduced]; actual size 38 x 25cms. [original in Shandel/Lipson Collection]

Sir George William Frederick, Earl of Clarendon,
Brawn Hylge, of London, a Peer of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, a Member of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c. &c. &c.

Request and require in the Name of Her Majesty all those whom it may concern, to allow Sir Moses Montefiore, Baronet, British Subject, accompanied by Lady Montefiore, travelling on the Continent, with their servant, to pass freely, without let or hindrance, and to afford him every assistance and protection of which he may stand in need.

Given at the Foreign Office, London, the 28th day of January 1858.

[Signature of the Bearer]

Moses Montefiore, Baronet.
APPENDIX 6

Receipt for letter of credit 1830 [original in Jews' College Library: Montefiore MS578]

Sir,

I turn the pleasure of receiving goods of the coming, with $50 or $50.00.

To balance this amount we say issue to hand you:

8 disposed of

9.0.0 $90.00

Our hopes raised with his most respectful compliments to very heavy that being detained to his business, he could have had the pleasure of waiting upon you, but will do so in the course of the afternoon.

We remain

[Signature]

W. B. Montefiore

18 B. B.

[Signature]
APPENDIX 7

Letter of introduction and credit 1840 [original in Jews' College Library: Montefiore MS578]

Londres 4 juillet 1840

Mes amis,

Cette lettre vous sera présentée par feu
M. Montefiore qui va entreprendre un voyage
pour la Syrie, Grèce et l'Égypte.

Son intention, après m'ayant été recommandée par l'illustre
Maison de feu M. de Rothschild d'Alép, je desire
contribuer à l'aménagement de son voyage, et c'est bien
da cette intention que je la recommande très partielle
nent à votre accueil et à votre obéissance, vous
faisant au même temps de lui compter, à sa demande
l'équivalent de Cinz. Cent Livres Sterlins.

Je vous serais infiniment reconnaissant,
des politiques et bons offices que vous voulez lui offrir, et
en revanche tout à vos ordres, j'ai l'honneur de vous
saluer avec considération.

[Signature]

A. [Signature]

St. Etienne de Constantinople

Yahuda. M. Pally. Lyon
Poem by Dr. Madden

"Old England"

The trav'ler may boast of the clime of the East
He may rave about Naples and Rome.
He may roam thro the world, on its beauties may feast
And forget all the pleasures of Rome.
Tho sweet are the shores and ambrosial the gale
Of the South o'er its bright Summer Sea,
The glare of its beauty shall never prevail
O'er the land of "Old England" with me.

2.
The poet may dream of Arcadian delights
And illumine his page with the glance
of a sun rise in Greece, with Apollo allight [sic]
On Olympus in vesture of Snow.
I care not for Phoebus I count not a beam
Of his beauty however divine.
Of Sunshine and splendour let Moore make a theme
While the land of "Old England" is Mine.

3.
Let Byron awaken the heart's strong lyre.
And the beauty impassioned produce
Of Haidees and Leilah's whose features inspire
every breast at a glance with a flame.
The beam unabashed of the dark rolling eye
I seek not and never will find
For beauty circassian or Graecian not I
While a Maid of "Old England" is Mine.

R.R. Madden

[original in cover in Moses Montefiore's Account Book/Diary
for 1840 journey to Alexandria and Constantinople in
archives of Spanish & Portuguese Jews' Congregation]
THE COACH THAT WASN'T AND ISN'T!

After the reunification of Jerusalem following the Six-Day War in 1967, an early project was the refurbishment of the area known as Yemin Moshe with its centre-piece, the Mishkenot Sha'ananim - the resthouses that Montefiore had had built in 1860. During the Jordanian occupation the area, though in Israel, had been in no-man's land and fallen into disrepair. As part of the restoration, a large stone building was erected next to the Windmill Montefiore had built. In it was displayed the carriage that Montefiore used on "his journeys to the Holy Land". In 1986 the carriage was destroyed by arsonists.

In 1990 my wife and I retraced the steps of the Montefiores on their journey to Jerusalem in 1827. We were greeted on arrival in Jerusalem by the Mayor, Teddy Kollek and he informed us that a replica of the carriage was being constructed and would be brought to Jerusalem in a few weeks' time. By then we would be on our return journey [following the route of 1855] but Mayor Kollek arranged for us to see the coach at its maker's in Jaffa.

Itamar Neuman is a sculptor, not a coachbuilder, but has made a wonderful replica of the Montefiore Coach. All he had to go on were the few bits of ironwork that survived the fire plus a few photographs. When he burned the remaining shreds of paint off the ironwork he found that the maker's name was stamped on in Cyrillic letters and they had been made in Russia. It looked as if the story that it was "the coach Sir Moses used to travel from England" was perhaps not true. He then researched the history of the coach and discovered that the coach had been purchased in Vienna in 1937 by a Montefiore admirer and exhibited in the Bezalel Gallery in Jerusalem as the sort of coach Montefiore might have used. The "might have" got forgotten and the coach was dismantled and put in store until after 1967 when it was restored and exhibited as "the coach Montefiore used on his visits to the Holy Land". Now this example of the sort that might have been used is replaced by a modern replica, no doubt in time tourists' guides will identify it as the actual coach that Montefiore used ...!

Rabbi Andrew Goldstein
May 1996
SPECIAL NOTE

This item is tightly bound and while every effort has been made to reproduce the centres force would result in damage.
A contemporary map showing the Montefiore routes of 1827 and 1855.
1. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

a. Montefiores and Relatives

Judith's Journal for 1823/24 Tour of Continent and Italy
[Shandel/Lipson Collection]

Judith's Journal for 1825 Tour of Ireland and 1828 Holiday in Yorkshire
[Shandel/Lipson Collection]

Judith's Notebook for return journey from Egypt in 1827/28
[Jews' College: Montefiore Manuscript 567]

Moses' Account Book for 1827 and 1828, including Tour to Palestine and other journeys
[Moccata Library Mss. 716]

Moses' Account Book for 1830 holiday in Low Countries
[Jews' College Montefiore Manuscript 578]

Moses' Diary and Account Book for 1840 journey to Alexandria and Constantinople
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Rothschild Archives
Accounts in Rothschild Archives, eg. Mr. Mazzara vi/10/10, 11, 14, 16; Mr. Medley xi/112/47B etc;
Mehemet Ali 1840 00 [in R/Fam/AD/2]

Letters from Moses to Nathan Meyer Rothschild, early ones with added notes from Judith to Hannah and various other letters of the Montefiores to the Rothschilds [in Rothschild Archives, eg. R.Fam. C/30/1, C/30/2 etc. to C/30/52]

Legacies of the late Sir Moses Montefiore Bart., 18th January 1895 [R.Fam. C/30/53]

James Parkes Library, Southampton University:
MS 259 A880 - Copies of Papers of Sir Moses Montefiore, otherwise known as the Schwadron Collection, the earliest being 1793 letter Moses Montefiore to Moses V. Raccah. Includes copies of letters from a range of sources, eg. Raphael Loewe's collection of letters addressed to Louis Loewe etc.

Shandel/Lipson Collection [catalogued by Andrew Goldstein], eg:
S/L 1830:1 Page from 1830 Account Book
S/L 1837:1 Moses to Judith and hopes to revisit Jerusalem
S/L 1838:5 Horatio Montefiore to Moses
b. Others
British Library:
'Diary of Robert Hay kept in Egypt and the Mediterranean in 1826, 1827, 1830': Heytebury Papers Add.31054

Papers relating to Robert Hay's Egyptian expedition 1826-39: Heytebury Papers Add.29812-60

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CO 16346 Blue Book for 1828
CO 15855 Despatches
CO 15857 Despatches
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280.f.14 Papers of Marquess of Hastings

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