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A TRANSYLVANIAN EXPLORER IN THE COLONIES: COUNT SÁMUEL TELEKI ON THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA IN THE 19TH CENTURY

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Abstract. *At the end of the 19th century, a Transylvanian nobleman organized an expedition in several regions of East Africa. Count Sámuel Teleki's expedition resulted in several geographical discoveries, such as the Rudolph and Stephanie lakes or the Teleki Volcano. In this paper, we focus on the anthropological and historical dimensions of the Transylvanian explorer's journeys. After studying a number of unpublished documents related to the count's African voyages – his diary and some of his private letters – we draw a "portrait" of the three main groups of native populations that he encountered along the way: Arabs, East-Africans, and indigenous. Obviously, his descriptions cannot be considered "ethnographic" accounts, as Count Teleki lacked scientific training in this field; to the contemporary scholar, his diary notes and spontaneous remarks are filled with a sense of racism and superiority of the "civilised white man", and this is somehow understandable given the place and the historical period in which Count Teleki lived and was educated. However, we believe that these descriptions are important today not as an objective depiction of 19th century African populations, but as an account of the encounter between a representative of Central European nobility and the native populations of East Africa in the late period of the great expansions of the colonial powers in Africa.*

Keywords: *East Africa, Arabs, indigenous tribes, colonialism, Transylvania, Count Teleki, geographical discoveries, 19th century, expeditions, racism.*

INTRODUCTION

The famous explorer of East Africa, Count Sámuel Teleki from Transylvania, cannot be considered a well-known representative of any scientific discipline; however, he is still one of the well-known researchers in the field of natural sciences, due to his expedition from the end of the 19th century in East Africa. Count Teleki's contribution to the exploration of Africa is very appreciated by the Western World, his name being mentioned along other famous names, such as David Livingstone, Samuel Baker and Henry M. Stanley. However, Count Sámuel Teleki is little-known in his country of origin, this situation being caused by the

former communist historiography, hiding his merits. Currently, it is very important to start recovering the memories and the heritage of his expedition; this is important for the communities living in Transylvania and also for the general historiography. Teleki's expedition resulted in findings important for geography, anthropology, and natural sciences – all these related to Africa. Investigating Count Sámuel Teleki's journeys to East Africa is important, as he was the person to fill in the last "blank edges" on the map of the continent, being the discoverer of the lakes Rudolf and Stephanie (today Turkana and Chew Bahir) and of the volcano bearing his name today (Teleki's Volcano), and also because he tried to climb the most famous mountains in Africa: Meru, Kilimanjaro and Kenya – just to mention only his most important achievements. Within his expedition, the name of Ludwig von Höhnel is also important, as the lieutenant has escorted the Transylvanian count in all his journeys, being responsible for the scientific aspects of the expedition (Cartography, research, etc.). Furthermore, the only reference book concerning the Count Teleki's expedition was written and published by Ludwig von Höhnel, shortly after their return to Europe.

Over the years, many books and papers have been written about Sámuel Teleki with the purpose to highlight the importance of his activities for natural sciences; however, nobody has made a deeper a research in order to find out the various aspects concerning Sámuel Teleki's life in the timeframe preceding and following the expeditions. We started from the assumption that all the papers and publications dedicated to the Count are lacking important information concerning the heritage of the Teleki family, accessible today at the Romanian National Archives. When writing their works, the authors of the above-mentioned papers used, without exceptions, only one resource, the book written by Ludwig von Höhnel, published in German, English, and Hungarian.

The library in the Teleki castle containing the photos and documents related to the expedition in East Africa lead by Teleki Sámuel suffered a sad fate: a large part of it got lost, being endangered by complete vanishing by the end of World War II, when the Count's castle from Dumbrăvioara (Mureș County, Romania) was completely robbed. Following the Romanian nationalization policy, a large part of the content of that library was recorded in the Romanian National Archives from Cluj-Napoca, being subsequently rediscovered in 1970 by the photojournalist Lajos Erdélyi. Due to this event, a part of the photos taken during the trip to East Africa became known to the public, after being published in the aforementioned author's book. Lajos Erdélyi did not process the entire family heritage recorded in the Romanian National Archives from Cluj-Napoca, because he focused rather on processing the photographic heritage. According to our information, during the 40 years that have passed since then, no further research has been made in the archives, and, therefore, no further documents have been discovered relating to the Count's expedition or his private life. Following to our research, we discovered nine letters – written in different places of Teleki's expedition – in the Archives

located in Cluj-Napoca, and we are certain that these letters have not been studied by anyone before. Many of the Count's documents stored in the Teleki Castle from Dumbrăvioara were destroyed, and some were taken to the United States of America and sold to the university library of East Lansing, Michigan. During the past decades, there were several attempts to gain access to these documents. However, so far there is only one copy available in the Hungarian Geographical Museum, this copy being of poor quality and incomplete. Other documents related to the expeditions are recorded in the Austrian National Archives from Vienna – these documents being the Count's personal letters to Prince Rudolf, the Archduke of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Hence, we managed to draft the chronicle of the expedition as mentioned by the Count himself. In comparison with the Höhnel's book, drafted and edited carefully in the two years following the expedition, in our case we had the possibility to read about the Count's daily reactions and thoughts concerning the events occurred during the expedition. Therefore, the Count's personal documents discussed here offer a new approach towards a deeper and more intimate knowledge concerning Sámuel Teleki's personality. This article presents the Count's thoughts, his perception on the African reality and on the various ethnic groups and tribes, met during the expedition. Hence, the modern researcher may gain access not only to the special details about the Sámuel Teleki's psychological profile, but also to the way the Europe of those times reacted to the 'shockwaves' generated after meeting the cultural differences existing on the "Dark Continent".

SÁMUEL TELEKI AND THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA

It is true that Ludwig Höhnel's book contains detailed descriptions of indigenous tribes. However, these do not reveal either his or Sámuel Teleki's attitude towards them. As relevant documents are missing, the papers about the expedition could only complete Höhnel's stories with their writers' fantasy in order to form an opinion about the relationship between count Teleki and the local people. This is an interesting point worth studying as it would lead one to get to know Teleki's personality better. Apart from the functionaries of the colonizing powers, the persons mentioned in his diary and letters may be divided into three groups: firstly, the inhabitants of the Arab world, secondly, those of East-Africa, and thirdly, indigenous tribes.

SÁMUEL TELEKI AND THE ARAB WORLD

Count Teleki left Europe in Autumn 1886. In November, while waiting for the ship of the British-India Steam Navigation Company, he spent nearly one week in Aden. The letter he wrote there to Ágnes Teleki on the November 16th

mentioned some customs of the local people in a few lines: *The population is here Arab and Somali; they are semi-nude and wear fantastic raiment, handsome, but very black gentlemen*[1]*; they look out well on the back of their camels. At night, they lie like dead on the marketplaces and streets, with the camels at their feet […] Many Persians and the followers of Zoroaster,*[2] *worshippers of fire, live here, who upon sunrise make themselves vomit, as one must not see the Sun come up on a full stomach. By night, they put fire on the rooftops and pray, and when they die, they smash their dead with an iron mace and place them out on the top of a tower built for this purpose, where birds eat them. The swamis are gone, but the animal shelter remained, where they keep old dogs, horses, camels; if it fills up, they ship them to Bombay, where they may die a natural death.* (Aden, 16th November 1886.) This passage does not unfold the Count's opinion about the people of Aden. It's approximatively the same length as the description of the unusual figures who lodged in the same hotel with him (he mentions a Turk voyaging with his monkey, two shipwrecked Africa-travellers, a Greek commercial traveller, a deaf French lady and her blind father, respectively two Indian snake-charmers). One of the important episodes that took place in Aden was that the one in which, on Richard Burton's (the renowned British explorer) suggestion, Teleki hired a group of Somalis as his personal bodyguards during the expedition: *Today I took on my servants. They are all Somalis with long lances, they all included the* Quran *in the deal. They swore on Allah and the beard of the prophet to live and die with me.* (Aden, 16th November 1886).

Count Teleki, initially, called the small group led by Qualla Idris his dependants. In his letter, he listed the names of the six "handsome black men", together with their scope of duties, e.g. captain, sword-bearer, and bodyguard. Finally, he mentioned about the person referred to as the "tramp varlet" (he did not note his name): *Otherwise he is a bodyguard as well […] As I see, this critter has got a* galgenfrist[3] *[…] He is of Bedouin origin, almost black, with small beard, strong, crooked nose and, just as all the people of Arabia, with huge, innocent eyes like those of a dear […] We came to the understanding that I gun him down if he makes a mistake. An impertinent mister is he, he first-names me although I have known him for only 4 days. He gets almost no salary, high only as a tip. […] I am looking forward to be afloat; I am sure he will respect me after the first beating that he is going to receive while still in the dock. He will be amazed to see how transformed the Bara Sab*[4] *is. That is, right now I am but Sab, only then will I become Bara Sab.* (Aden, 16th November 1886).

[1] The present English translation reflects Count Teleki's sketchy and somewhat negligent style in his original writings in Hungarian.

[2] Zoroaster: an ancient Persian prophet, spiritual leader and ethical philosopher; his teachings challenged the existing traditions of the Indo-Iranian religion and later developed into the religion of Mazdayasna or Zoroastrianism.

[3] A temporary reprieve has been granted him.

[4] *Baṛā sāhab* (Hindi): "important person".

Sámuel Teleki expected, first of all, respect from his servants. Initially, he deemed the customs brought from home, the European culture, as valid on the African continent, too. He hired them not as a token of his friendship, but to observe one simple duty: to esteem their principal and fulfil each of his commandments unconditionally. A few months later, he underlined that his bodyguards had one after the other proved exceptional courage, and acknowledged their merits. In a letter written on 11th July 1887 to Ágnes Teleki in Taveta, he described a group not of seven but already eight people, of whom excelled a man called Mahomed Seif: *tailor, shoemaker, factotum […] moreover, accredited hangman, he beats, he guns down, beheads or hangs as it is needed.* As it turned out from the Count's writings, his own servants' conduct was obviously the most intriguing for him during the expedition; their escapes and indiscipline could only be kept under control with the useful involvement of the group in charge of Teleki's personal safety. The obstacles set up by different local tribes were also averted by the help of these people: *At these times, the 8 Somalis, as the hunter would say [illegible German text], hold down the perpetrator; they are hardy fellows; I would have not come through my first Maasai trip, with 80 people and no interpret, if they had not helped me, as my men were afraid and wanted to force me to resign in front of the pretensions of the moran*[5] *gentlemen.* (Taveta, 11th July 1887).

During the crossing of the land of the Kikuyu people, Teleki wrote on 2nd November 1887: *I think no one had succeeded until now in getting through like myself: 3 big and 3 small battles in a month, whilst continuously beguiling my caravan with friendship, without having lost a single man or pack. True, I chastened the robbers as I let sometimes 10-15 beaten in a day, but this can be carried out only with the help of the Somalis who perform each direction at once and combat splendidly.* He repeated himself then almost word by word at the end of the expedition, upon return to Zanzibar (2nd November 1888): *In my caravan, due to the tough discipline maintained by the Somalis' presence, everyone knew they would be shot if they were reluctant, as the Somalis are 100 percent more disciplined and braver than the Circassians; my black troop was in terror of them and they performed all my peaceful or bloody commandments in laughter, having known none but Allah and their master.*

Count Teleki characterized the Somalis, thus, as brave warriors, and found it suitable to mention this repeatedly; the discipline of the populous caravan was their merit. He did not criticize their methods at all, as the regular troubles and disagreements that occurred during the 2-year trip in his team of more hundred people had to be cleared up rigorously. The Somalis earned therefore their master's regard through courage, discipline and commitment – features practically missing from the rest of Africans, as Teleki complained in his later writings.

Back to the coast: Sámuel Teleki arrived to Zanzibar at the end of November 1886, where he spent a longer period while getting prepared to the expedition.

[5] "Warrior", sometimes used as adjective as well, meaning "militant" (Swahili).

Unlike the days in Aden, here he came into immediate contact with the local people because he chose the members of his caravan from them. Not only the Count's diary from Zanzibar, but also three letters written there are known. Each contains passages about the inhabitants of the region: *Otherwise here are all merry; if I address someone, he runs straightaway to be able to do a favour, but they never reach the hand and are surprised to receive something; the virgins cry loud "jamho"*[6] *and open their mouths so widely that a coconut would fit in.* (Zanzibar, 8th May 1887).

At the time of Teleki's travel, the British and the Germans were just scrambling for Africa's Eastern coast. The Count wrote about this topic, too, after he had visited the Sultan of Zanzibar: *This good friend of mine, the Sultan, is an original. The Germans want to skin him, while the British do not let this happen only so that they may pelt him on the quiet. One party ruffles with him, treats him undiplomatically* ad infinitum*, frightens him, the other protects, pampers him and stuffs him with money, but wants just the same: to pelt him. […] At first, we were bad-received by the Sultan, as he presumed we were conquistador Germans,*[7] *but now we are all fine.* (Zanzibar, 8th May 1887).

Fallen under British influence, Sultan Sayyid Sir Barghash had years before he undersigned a pact and abolished slave trade. The mainland territories that assured expansion and commerce had been procured, shortly before Teleki's arrival, by Carl Peters, by means of the Society for German Colonialization. The German–British treaty from Autumn 1886 allowed the Sultan to govern a small coastal area. Sámuel Teleki's writings tell of him that he considered the striving, inimical colonizers censoriously, although he was on good terms with their representatives. He looked on the Germans with more critical eyes: *They [the inhabitants of the coastal areas] kill the poor Germans wherever they find them. These Germans are mostly doubtful figures* – stays is the letter written for Béla Aczél (Zanzibar, 8th May 1887). His diary adds: *The politicians make trouble everywhere, all the time; I suffered from the indelicacy of German diplomacy too. It seems, for instance, that the Sultan is very ignorant in geographical matters. He has some ideas about East, but has knowledge only of good and bad* mzungus[8]*. British are good, whereas the German a synonym for evil* (30th December 1886).

Teleki had got wise to the fact that the success of his expedition depended upon the good relationship he had to maintain with the functionaries of the great

[6] Correct form: *jambo*; a greeting, still in use.

[7] At the same time Sámuel Teleki started his voyage, a newspaper reported that the Germans and British had come to an agreement in London, and settled for points, as it follows; both parties would recognize the Sultan's dominion over Zanzibar, Pemba and the surrounding archipelago. Furthermore, England bound herself to mediate between the Sultan and the Germans, so that the former, for a certain annuity, would yield the customs clearance of the ports Dar es Salaam and Pangani to the latter. According to the treaty, the Germans got the huge territory between the Ruvuma river and Mount Kilimanjaro, whereas the British took over a smaller portion from that mountain range until the Tana river, the starting point of Mombasa's commercial road (Th., 1887, 474–475).

[8] "White man" (Swahili).

powers. He auspiciously remained on good terms not only with the German admiral Knorr, a state official at Zanzibar, but also with the British general Matthews; they received him cordially and pushed his person. Moreover, as he was still unacquainted in the region, their advice proved very helpful when fitting in: *To tell the truth, an expedition's success or failure turns on the benevolence or ill will of the British consulate*[9] – noted Teleki. His opinion on the Germans remained unchanged, as the following lines from his diary, written on 25th June 1887 in Taveta, demonstrate it: *News came that three German* mzungu*s are to arrive to Taveta, these sublime* schwindler[10] *from the Ost. Af. Ges.*[11] *How many are to lose their money and health at these most unusable places! Each usable place that I have already seen is very small. […] If the Europeans come here, the slave trade, the only income source is banned, and it will cost much money to pay out these militant princelings, while three times the capital of the German East Africa Company won't be sufficient to beat them down. You cannot raise cattle unless you got stalls too, but that is costly, and this folk won't really learn other trade.*

Teleki, therefore, took clearly sides against the aggressive expansion of the Germans. He disparaged likely the local people's learning ability. After he paid his duty to the Sultan, Teleki annotated: *An African journey's first condition at all is that the Sultan may treat one with good intent, as everything must be purchased in his country and each black man is his subject. […] I may state that he does me all the possible favours* – wrote the Count to Béla Aczél on 8th May 1887. Teleki could do everything he needed, indeed, with the Sultan's help; the bearers he hired on the island flee from him on the very first day, in large number, with their anticipated wages in the pocket. These runaways, then, mostly returned one after the other, but, as the Sultan's dependants, could not escape punishment; the ruler put their majority in prison, then handed them over to Teleki's men, who were in charge of searching for them: *[The Sultan] was affable, promised everything; he is due to let my escapees be beaten today under the flag; this is how they perceive friendship here* (23rd January, 1887); *The Sultan sent one of my men who was imprisoned in Zanzibar because of his debts on a* dau[12] *here* (27th January, 1887). Such accounts occur in large number in Höhnel's book as well. The relationship between the Count and the Sultan was so intimate that Teleki came from Zanzibar to the continent by Sayyid Sir Barghash's steamer.

SÁMUEL TELEKI AND THE INHABITANTS OF EAST AFRICA

Let's have a closer look on the image of the indigenous people in Teleki's writings. They were the group of persons the Count spent the most time with during the

[9] Sámuel Teleki's diary, 30th December 1886.

[10] German for swindler.

[11] Abbreviation for German *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft*, English German East Africa Company.

[12] Correctly *daw* (Arabic) 'sailing ship, boat'.

expedition; therefore, he could get to know them well. He put down his first impressions on them after he had arrived to Zanzibar, 31st December 1886: *It seems that everyone wants to rob me.* What made him to conclude this were the prices persistently pushed up. The greatest trouble meant the fear that the leaders of the expedition won't be able to recruit the necessary number of reliable carriers. As they got ready for the long journey, they spent some days packaging. The Count described the seemingly endless activity in a letter to Béla Aczél as it follows: *I have been smelling the blacks' perspiration mingled with garlic and musk*[13] *for two months now. They lade, lift, measure the* mesigos[14] *day for day in my store-house midst infernal fuss* (8th May 1887).

Teleki, who had to get used to the new circumstances, in the last days of January, made up his mind; they won't wait longer but leave Zanzibar. They would then search for further luggage-porters on the coast. He wrote to Ágnes Teleki on 23rd January: *I can tell you, my dear, I got muzzy from the many cases, pieces of luggage and stinky Negroes; cannot wait to set off so that I won't have to reflect whether I forgot something or not. What has been forgotten is forgotten, punctum*. On the mainland, the Count had to discipline his company immediately with severe methods. Among others, the refugees' punishment did not fall off: *The escapees received caning as back at Zanzibar […] they had remained unpunished. The caning got official character, namely I entrusted it to the* vali[15] (25th January 1887).

But the nerve-racking period did not come to an end; carriers showed up in Pangani, too, only rarely, and those already engaged, being close to their homes, regularly fled. No wonder Sámuel Teleki stroke nervous notes in his diary: *Staff is missing. We got only 60-70 men hired, although I would need 160. […] People harass me; 10 or 15 enter my room; they sit and keep silent, gaze at me for an hour; we cannot converse, but they have fun. […] Patience, one can make best use of it here. We had turned into Africans, too: we do not keep time. A certain torpidity overcomes one, which is unknown in Europe: the feeling that one does not belong anywhere, and has but one aim: to carry out the expedition at whatever cost* (25th January 1887); *my men arrived after a great storm; on 25th, there was a rebellion, because they wanted to go in the town, I made them obey […]. The feeding came off most inordinately; two sacks of rice and a three-year-old bull did not suffice; they demanded money besides, until I traced the agitator, whose mouth I stopped up with the promise of hundred strokes. On 26th, after a great fuss, I started them around midday; they are totally undisciplined yet. I sent a single load*

[13] Aromatic substance, commonly used as base note in perfumery, originally obtained from a gland of the musk deer. Upon drying, the reddish-brown paste inside the musk pod turns into a black granular material called "musk grain", which is then tinctured with alcohol. The aroma of the tincture gives a pleasant odor only after it is considerably diluted. The substance has been used as a popular perfume fixative since ancient times. In India and some parts of the Far East, aphrodisiacal, stimulant and antispasmodic effects are ascribed to it.

[14] "The charge of an ordinary carrier" (from Swahili *mzigo*).

[15] The resident of the Sultan.

with them to Mauia, but they threw it nevertheless away. A few men were missing; in the afternoon the soldiers caught Harun. He is one of the incendiaries; he speaks and writes well English, had been brought up by the poisonous British mission[16]*. I let him beaten, he received 15 terrifying strokes, […] and then incarcerated him by the* vali (27th January 1887). On 28th, Teleki returned, in a single sentence, upon the annoyances from the previous day: *The lashing of Mualim bin Harun and others took seemingly good (calming) effect upon my unruly troop.* But his troubles did not come to an end. He wrote on 29th January, on one of the last days of the preparation that had taken several months: *The roll of my men is not here; therefore, I am not aware how many are missing; according to my calculus, 12 have fled until the present day. They are rioting in Maui, do not want to eat* tama[17]*, but I do not give them anything else.*

At the end of January, as he was afraid of the fever that was raging in the coastal area, the Count decided to leave with less crew than formerly planned. Sámuel Teleki's expedition started, in fact, at this very point. After a longer lapse, he continued his diary on 5th February. He mentioned then how justified it was to discipline the carriers: *The departure happened like that; each porter picked up his own luggage and dashed away. They sat down and resumed their way when they were in the mood for it.* On 8th, the same month, he summarized the past two days, and once again complained about the laxity of the crew: *In the evening, my men revolted; all wanted to go away (three had left already in the morning), they gunned. I armed the Somalis; it seemed they were brave chaps, ready to shoot in coldest blood. The night was silent. […] On the morning of the 7th, 37 of my men fled, so I left 28 loads and 3 boats in Levua […]. I sent Höhnel back to Zanzibar because of the desertion, to catch the escapees and bring money […]. Höhnel went to Bayanogo, as my birds flew that way; the greatest loss is that they took my rifles with them*, and, on 10th February, he noted: *After today's census, 50 men are missing.*

On 1st March, the porter who was in charge of the box containing the maps fled. This shortage was then bitterly felt by the troop who roamed on the *terra incognita*. The Count's feelings may be properly understood if one reads his following lines in the light of the above-mentioned hardships: *If one has been living with Negroes for a longer time, one learns to hate and despise them. At first,*

[16] Not long before, an ample article appeared about the one hundred or so mission settlements located mainly on the Eastern coasts of Central Africa. According to the report, the British engaged a missionary in each populous locality. Whereas in Bagamoyo, 34 nuns and priests taught round 500 children and grown-ups, mostly there were no convent-like buildings at the settlements, but one or two missionaries operated as farmers, doctors and craftsmen in the same time. Some proselytizers, so says the article, allied with local chieftains and kidnapped alien tribes' children to educate them in their convents. The author called into question the efficiency of this conversion, in spite of the fact that the black people wear crosses and receives icons with childish joy, they see them as new idols (György, 1883, 96–97).

[17] Durra: one of several grain sorghums widely grown in warm dry regions (from Arabic *dhura*).

I was surprised by these feelings as I experienced them at people living among these rascals. Black men are shabby, but the shabbiest is that part of them which was grown up by the missionaries and imbibed all the venom of European civilization. He is born a slave, and lacks every sentiment of honesty, love or gratitude, lacks courage. In Zanzibar, they are comfortable folk, as Sayyid Sir Barghash's wise stick and government fit for the blacks keeps them in order. But the individuals are odious. I let them be beaten a lot, but from far not enough to awaken at least the sense of duty. As I turn my back on them, all sleep. […] I let these for that matter get the cane that way that they shit their pants each time. I was good to them and traced not a single sign of thankfulness. Other methods are better; if his back is aching, the man behaves pleasantly for a week (27th April 1887). This is one of Sámuel Teleki's most sincere writings that he put down after he had been dwelling for six months in Africa. Although he did not hide his feelings and disillusionment in front of the local people, the former lines testify that he had arrived on the continent without prejudices. His tone and, at the beginning, the rather admiring and observing attitude from Aden underwent a radical transformation in a short time, under the influence of continuous mutinies, escapes, blackmail, and indiscipline. He did not euphemise these sentiments in his diary, i.e. he did not lie to himself in regards to the people whom he could chasten only by means of the stick.

Discipline was not characteristic of his caravan further on either. As they moved away from the coast, not the escapes, but his men's behaviour meant the most serious issue. More or less serious plots were on the tapis. The count wrote on 23rd June: *My men begged for everything; Ramadan is over; the swines had not kept the habits, had eaten up everything; nevertheless, I gave them an ox, terrible* canaille[18]. *Höhnel came to me; I should come out, because my men want to thank for the gift and they are gathered. I go out. Tom Charles is the speaker,*[19] *he starts; "we came here because an ox is not sufficient, we need two"; answer: sh[it]*.

A few days later, on 28th June, he annotated the villainous enterprise of another carrier, named Nasib: *Nasib Ferhan, who stole two of my loads and a good amount of copper wire in Usanga, sold one of my rifles. He went to O'Swald in Zanzibar, told him that I had sent him; O'Swald should give him the prisoners and the travel expenses, what he did indeed. Nasib sent the prisoners away, stating that they had fled. I condemned him her; let him be stroken hard 50 times under the red flag that Martin had stuck up in my absence, degraded and sent to Zanzibar into prison.*

In half a year that had passed since they left Zanzibar, Sámuel Teleki, who directed the caravan with steel grip, had to deal with all sorts of concerns; no wonder that the circumstances lead him to form an unfavourable opinion on the men serving in his troop. Many of them were henceforward manoeuvring to fool

[18] Riffraff (from French).
[19] Teleki is using the English word here.

out the rich *Musungu* of his goods. The first letter he wrote since they had left the coast was addressed to Ágnes Teleki, dated on 10th July 1887. Besides giving the chronicle of the route they had left behind, he summed up his losses, too: *My loss was great, as approximatively hundred men of mine fled and stole many rifles, circa 12 died, were shot or left behind injured […]. There are plenty of enemies here, in the first line my own staff, then the indigenous people […]. Hamis* (Teleki's monkey)*, with whom we play in my leisure time, is a very genteel monkey; he hates the blacks just as us, and as he cannot let them beaten under a flag as I, he bites those who draw nearer tocies quocies*[20]*. Otherwise, You cannot imagine how scoundrel these folks here are, without the stick they are absolutely uncontrollable.* After the trips to Kilimanjaro and Meru mounts, upon return to Taveta, a part of the caravan entrusted to Qualla Idris waited for the Count. He praised the young Somali at this occasion too: *I found everything in order at Taveta. Qualla is a treasure; only 40 of my men had fled* (Taveta, 10th July 1887). In the closing lines of his letter, he almost foresaw what was to come. Namely, the news that Teleki wanted to pass through the dreaded Kikuyu land made the crew anxious: *My men start to flee […] they are afraid of the Kikuyus; yesterday, they made a sort of small revolution; they criticized my journey, and told me I would lead them all into death; I am afraid we end in bloody punishments if I must stay here longer. I wanted to make public the strafrecht*[21] *already yesterday, but was afraid they would escape in even larger number then, and I haven't got someone anymore who would catch the deserters. You may see, one has to deal with problems here too; at the Maasai it will be fine – the people are afraid there to spear you, and do not flee either. One of my men escaped, but the Sultan of Mamba made him a slave and sold him for four ells of weave; now he is moseying with a chain on his neck to my farm. Such are the circumstances here*.

Nuisances persisted, indeed: *One of my men wanted to flee on 16th, but Höhnel and Qualla caught him. I fettered him and made him receive 25 cruel strokes* (18th July); *I let the meat thieves from yesterday be beaten* (10th August); *Big fuss in the morning, the degraded* askari[22] *Ali Ramasan revolted; I let him trounced mercilessly; afterwards he cried and carried his* mesigo (11th August); *I let one man get the cane for fighting* (20th August).

Drawing near to the Kikuyus was hardened not only by the apprehensive tribe who received the Count's caravan belligerently, but, as he put down on 4th November, his own stuff fanned the fire too: *The Kikuyus reported some of my men had done violence on three women, and namely from Laibon's escort. I took Tom Charles to task for the issue, and, as if he felt I would beat him if he had not surrendered the chaps, he named the transgressors. Hamis [Badmann] received 50, the rest 40 strokes*.

[20] As often [as he can] (from Latin).
[21] Criminal law (from German).
[22] Guard.

After having gotten through the land of the Kikuyus and an attempt to climb Mount Kenya, standing at the edge of the *terra incognita*, on 2nd November, the Count wrote another letter to Ágnes Teleki, from the Laikipia Plateau. Similarly to the one sent from Taveta, he recorded therein not only his experiences, successes and failures, but also the states from his caravan: *The Maasai trip has costed so far eight lives who did not die a natural death: three of them got the fever, the rest dysentery; all in all, I lost more than 20 people up to now. And, presently, there are a few candidates as well, but they do not heal themselves; I give them medicine in vain; they eat everything up. A fatality makes no impression upon the rest; I have never imagined such an unfeeling folk could exist; only hunger or the stick can impress them. The sick falls down after the march; none puts up his tent, if he sits down near a fire; the group spurns him; I can induce his fellows only by means of the cane to cook for him. They steal his clothes and his portion of food; one cannot imagine worse people; they are actually born slaves; but the ever-worse are those brought up by the mission, as they drink too, and are not afraid of white men; moreover, they despise them* (Leikipia, 2nd November 1887). On 11th November, he completed the letter: *The day before yesterday I made 6 men receive 250 strokes for Nothzucht*[23]*, they tell me then I am not moralich*[24].

The other most serious issue near the escapes, blackmail and attacks was the feeding of the crew. As the caravan drew on to regions poor in boars, the solution of this problem remained almost entirely to Sámuel Teleki. No wonder that some of his writings outline an endlessly cruel figure: *My men stole a lot of meat; I confiscated the meat and let 15 persons be beaten* (26th November); *this night tama was stolen from the tent; I let the guards be caned* (8th December); *The day before yesterday I distributed 250 strokes for 8 men because they stole flour* (13th February 1888). Many of the weaker members of the caravan, who suffered anyway from exhaustion, hunger and different diseases, could not hold out the straining voyage. Some of their fellows found this, as it seems, a further possibility to mislead count Teleki: *The porter Omar, son of Wasiri, died on a fever; very many of my men are sick, the rest simulate* (26th January 1888). This rest did not have to wait much, however, to realise; they failed of success: *My caravan advanced very well, the people are fit, all the sick got well as they saw dissimulation was useless* (9th February).

The study has browsed up to this point mainly those writings by Sámuel Teleki that list the difficulties related to his crew. The following documents, originating principally from the second part of the expedition, reveal clearly that the porters still meant to him more than shrewd black men whose only task was to carry the packs they were in charge of. Teleki felt sincerely sorry for the faithful and trustworthy persons that they had lost for various reasons during the journey.

[23] Older form of the German word *Notzucht* "rape".
[24] Correctly *moralisch* "moral" (from German).

Although he did not show this to his caravan, he formulated candidly in his diary: *Bwani bin Juma died underway. We could not even bury the poor fellow, but covered his body with thorns.* (14th August 1887); *Yesterday I gave Manua Sera and Meri a cheque for O'Swald; I send them home because they are ill. I lose two hearty good men* (16th December 1887); *many of my men are sick and two* askars *too. Hamis Jinger died in the afternoon; I felt deeply sorry for my grunt from Zanzibar. I looked at him and paddled on him for a long time; it may be catalepsy, but he was, alas!, dead* (20th February 1888); *poor little Sadalla is missing; I regret him cordially; he was a good and very well-behaved boy, he had plausibly fallen asleep; later lost his way between the rocks to perish with hunger so woefully* (7th March 1888); *yesterday it was reported that Tanyalla Balosi got lost. Because of the late report, I let Kamhi's boss be beaten. Mabruki la Barakaden died, a strong and good porter, just as Juma Mafaka. I have already noticed that if a carrier reports he cannot take his load onwards he is dead in a few days* (20th March 1888); *My dead men's bones are mouldering at each farm; here lie Juma Mafaka and Tanyalla Balos. I would like to wake them, come on, we bend our steps homeward* (25th May 1888); *My crew eat now some mushrooms; I feel really sorry for them; they became infirm; Juma and Sado died because of poor nutrition, but what should I do* (20th July 1888); *The men can hardly walk due to inanition; 20-30 will be dead in a few days* (21st July 1888). He resumed the losses of the caravan on the way back home (8th August 1888): *My exploratory voyage, as tiresome and woeful as it sometimes was, cost the life of 35 of my men, whereof 22 died, 13 got lost*.

Back to Zanzibar, in the letter addressed to Ágnes Teleki on 2nd November, he also mentioned these people – by this time he wrote in a tone different from that of the beginning: *I won't like to bore You with the description of the numerous miseries, fights, plunders; although I survived, the whole trip cost the life of 60 of my staff, who, in the fashion of black Muslims, carried out my orders committedly, and, extenuated by hunger and tiredness, hid in the dense bush near the track so that they pass into Allah's paradise undisturbedly, offering their clods to the hyenas. These afflictions are over now and I brought home almost 200 of my 340 men. […] My crew perished to such an extent that, on a battle day, three remained lay on the roadside; they sent to me in the night for provision, but I had nothing; the following day, I sent after them; two were dead, the third was brought to me so that he died before my very eyes. Such scenes have been ordinary for a few months; it happened that a black had agonized for 2-3 days near my tent and no one cared for him; he discommoded none; we were used to it so much. Generally, Rücksichtlosigkeit*[25] *is the main quality of a traveller, if he aims for success, men and ware perish, get lost, but the evening command comes; tomorrow we leave on time.*

[25] Correctly *Rücksichtslosigkeit* "ruthlessness, inconsideration" (from German).

This is the pointed summary of the circumstances experienced on the African voyage. The successful outcome of the expedition, no matter what difficulties and losses they had to face, depended only on Sámuel Teleki's resolution. He was from afar not on friendly term with his men. It can be stated that he treated them distantly and with reservation. No matter if the expedition had taken any longer, the Count could have not adopted different methods than rigid discipline. The great number of his people alone would have required that, because such a big troop cannot be kept together or chastened merely with fine words. Although the invisible barrier that divided Teleki and his African porters, built of differences in birth and rank, fell in hardships (e.g., when warriors from indigenous tribes attacked them, they fought the enemy side by side), the Count had to discipline the troop later on severely, not boggling to use the cane either.

SÁMUEL TELEKI AND THE INDIGENOUS TRIBES

After having examined the state of the Count's own caravan, let's discuss his relation to African indigenous tribes, who, just as his own men, not once, raised difficulties in front of him. As they headed for the interior of the continent, Teleki regularly mentioned these people in his writings. The annotations testify that the count came up to them friendly, without prejudices. True; these sentiments changed mostly within a few moments. This was the case when he visited the Sultan of Usambara, Sembodja. As the registries from 4th and 5th March reveal, Teleki gauged quickly that the leader was not candid and aimed only to beg for as many useful utensils as possible, by means of various artifices: *Sembodja sent a messenger that I should go to Masindi […]. The palace is fenced separately; there are a lot of huts besides, two kitandas*[26] *in the two ends, otherwise crammed with stinky black men. The air, although the premises were open, was not fresh […]. I took my presents with me […] To his son [too], as he had sent word I should give him too […]. The* sauri *began, he wants nothing, takes everything thankfully. Later he called Qualla out, and requested money, rifles and medicine of all sorts. […] Semb. got down of his throne, and begging started off*. After having spent several months in Africa, the Count knew his way about and settled the issue with Sembodja firmly up: *This old beggar won't see me again* (6th March 1887). He spared himself the "friendship" of the acquisitive leader, and shook the dust from his feet.

They set out for Taveta, a popular place among the caravans, where they settled in for a longer period, as they started from here to climb Mount Meru first, then the Kilimanjaro. Neither the local people impressed the Count positively. He wrote on 30th March 1887: *The inhabitants of Taveta are dirty, honest, but very stupid folks. They beg all the time, despite the fact that they got plenty to eat.* He mentioned then another, already familiar, mutiny in his own crew: *One day, my*

[26] "Bed" (from Swahili).

men started to revolt;after two of them were thoroughly beaten, peace was restored.

From the camp in Taveta, they went into the surroundings of Mount Meru. In transit, they visited, firstly, the young Sultan Miriali from the Kilimanjaro-region. He entertained the Count in his own home. As a proof of their excellent relation, the young monarch presented Teleki with a parcel with view upon the Kilimanjaro. Teleki put down on 14th April 1887, after their encounter, the following words about his newly made friend: *He is a quick-witted man*. The next day, he added: *He is indeed like a foreigner, does not beg. The natives are, in turn, stalwart and loud, are not afraid of me at all, getting slowly intolerable.* Later on, the warriors from Arusha and then those from Meru vindicated permanently, several times a day, the hongo, i.e. "present". No wonder the Count felt no deep sympathy for them either. Besides, the natives robbed the caravan, only to assure them of their amicability later, at the sight of Teleki's rigorous countenance. The experienced Count concluded on 28th April 1887: *The bosses excused themselves and remained peaceful as they had seen us ready to fight them. I do not believe this insidious folk.*

He assessed his own situation well indeed; the precedent was followed by other cases when the indigenous tribes hindered them: *The Sultan came in the morning, a big, strong, indolent man, the hongo should be payed definitively. […] Round 3 o'clock, in the forest, morans stop us, demanding hongo* (30th April 1887); *About 200-250 morans gathered, new hongo. By now, I ran out of patience, I ordered "tajari pigana"*[27]*, and refused everything else. As they saw us ready for the confrontation, the thief wakwafi*[28] *became placid, and the Sultan told me I should give but a small present and everything would be all right* (1st May 1887); *Morans have come already several times from Arusha to invite me; some arrived again, this time to rob […] I refuse to pay the hongo; they ban the women from my camp and prohibit the selling of food. I remained relentless, and gave order to fight […] In 5 minutes, the moran and the blood brother came as usual with pathos and green branches. The moran was a thief with a straight look and large crooked nose. He told me he won't make a nuisance of himself, as if I won't go to Arusha, he would get in serious trouble because he had bundled off the foreigners. If I gave him something, well, if not, also well. […] Begging is incessant from all sides, without exception* (3rd May 1887).

These cases did not contribute to the rapprochement between Sámuel Teleki and the autochthons. Not surprising that the antipathy provoked earlier by his own men grew towards the natives wishing to make a convenience of him. Still at the beginning of his expedition, he had to give up the climbing of Mount Meru, despite

[27] Pigana "fight" (from Swahili).

[28] "The name Mkwafi, of which Wakwafi is the plural form, seems to belong to the Bantu stock, but its meaning is not known even to the traders frequenting this district. The Wakwafi themselves object to the title, and prefer to take their name from the districts in which they happen to live, calling themselves Swahili, Waarusha, Wataveta, Wanyemps, and so on." (Höhnel, 1894, vol. II., p. 2).

lengthy haggling and multiple payments – and not only due to unfavourable weather conditions. His rows from 6th May 1887 are out-of-the-way: *Many of us have fallen off. 8 donkeys and 9 men perished. I confess I always lour when a truthful escort leaves me.* This kind tone is rather rare related to his crew. But the circumstances made it impossible for the Count to be given over to sentimental rumination. Nuisances persisted: *The folks from Meru […] are burglar and robber, to keep your word – such stupidities do not exist here. Yesterday, I paid the promised hongo to the Sultan, but he refused to hand it over to the morans, stating that was a gift from me to him. In the end, the morans confronted the Sultan with Jumba, so that the former had to give the stolen goods to the morans… The big pots do not steal only back home at us.*

The above lines also allow the conclusion that Sámuel Teleki judged the people with whom he had to do with not on the basis of ancestry, but according to their honor. On 12th May 1887, in rainy weather, the people of Pangani presented Maasai dances to amuse him. *This ended up in presents*, but the Count did not complain about that, contrarily to the many hongos demanded from him underway. Besides, he helped the natives; for instance, on the occasion when he gave first aid to a victim of a crocodile attack: *His tendons hung like white ribbons. I have patched him for an hour; it will be proper, if it heals.* On 14th May 1887, he recorded that the indigenous persons resented him when he shot colobus monkeys, *as, according to their faith, their dead's souls move into them*. It seems as if he reproached himself for this deed. He put down the same day: *the natives are wakwafi, and I found the first people here [in Kahe] and in Arusha who were friendly and did not beg.* These passages confirm the supposition; Sámuel Teleki did not only want to command and rule the people of Africa. In case they did not want to stiff or plunder him, or, first of all, if they did not detain him in getting on, then he made them a gift or occasionally helped them.

Before climbing the Kilimanjaro, the Count and his troop returned to the monarch Miriali. They arrived on 10th June 1887: *I ordered my staff to shoot a lot (this is an honour here; Miriali came out and greeted me as an old friend very cordially, and shook my hand for a long time). […] He held an oration from my tent to his folk, so that they would behave themselves well, because the whole world would know what had happened here, and they did indeed keep to that.*

After a few tranquil days, they set off for the peak with the leading of the Sultan's men. A day before, the well-known inconveniences had started again, as the appointed kirongozis[29] found the payment offered for their services was too little. Miriali decided the controversial question, with a firmness unusual for autochthon rulers: *Each demanded much; thereupon, Miriali came down and told them there was nothing to discuss about […]. You are obliged to take the Mzungu up on the mountain […] Other Mzungus will say I am a bad man, but you are my*

[29] "Leader" (from Swahili).

men and will go. […] Most wondrous words from a Saracen. I have not thought Miriali was such a hearty boy (13th June 1887). On the day of their departure, he feasted both Teleki and Höhnel with a delicious meal. The Count commented the event as it follows: *Surely no European has ever started so pleasantly on the Kilimanjaro; the people are all friendly and are afraid of Miriali and me, so we are until now fine* (14th June 1887).

It was the first time since they had travelled through Africa that none and nothing obstructed them in pushing through their plan. It was for other reasons that, in the end, they could not get to the top. Teleki's rows dated on 15th June 1887 reveal that, on their way upwards, some minor issues occurred with the leaders: *At 2.32, my men started to get tired; we stopped; at this point, my kirongozis, who had already got 3 guos (2 merikans*[30]*, 1 bindera), jibbed and did not want to go on until they received one guo each. I answered them they would get beaten if they did not progress. This was new for them, as they had made with Johnston*[31] *whatever they wanted; therefore, Johnston had promised everything. […] The fright was great because I promised I would shoot them if they tried to flee. The stubborn monkeys then started.* The Count disciplined the staff at high altitude too severely. Back at Miriali, however, he wrote about them in a friendly tone: *Miriali welcomed me with his usual cordiality and intervened not to let the kirongozis caned because downwards they lead us poorly. But I should not have dreamt of doing that. I rewarded them instead, as they bore hunger and cold placidly on the mountain* (21st June 1887).

It is no overstatement to say that, out of the people he got to know during his African expedition, Miriali was the dearest for Sámuel Teleki, irrespectively of rank or other aspects. No other native leader had been so informal and friendly with him during those three months spent in the region; he achieved, understandably, the Count's full respect. The caravan moved along on 26th June 1887. Teleki recorded the farewell too: *I stopped my men before Miriali's house and commanded loud shooting. He escorted us then until the river, where we took fond leave of each other.*

The Count mentioned the young Sultan in his letter to Ágnes Teleki too (Taveta, 10th June 1887): *Firstly, I went to Miriali, a very gentle young monarch, with whom we made intimate friends, and spent some pleasant days at him.* They whiled in Miriali's land, indeed, substantially longer than in other locations. Perhaps their Tavetan camping and their voyage of several weeks through the Kikuyu-land could be mentioned as only exceptions. As they progressed on the continent, Sámuel Teleki had to face greedy, primitive and violent tribes

[30] White cotton textile.

[31] Sir Henry "Harry" Hamilton Johnston was a British explorer; in 1884, he climbed the Kilimanjaro. Between 1885 and 1888 he was vice-consul at the Gulf of Guinea, afterwards being appointed as consul in Portuguese East Africa. From there, he travelled into the near lying African Great Lakes region. One of his many works is *The Kilimanjaro Expedition* (1886).

innumerable times. His feelings towards them were unconcealed. But, during the journey among the putatively dangerous Maasai, he confuted the Scottish traveller, Thomson's[32] false statements one after another, having experienced just the very opposite: *As I got home, I found the camp crammed with Maasai, who glared at Höhnel. They are a good, friendly, timid people, a much higher race than the other blacks, obedient, satisfied with everything; the women are pretty, the men upstanding and of modest behaviour* (2nd August 1887). He continued, on 9th August 1887, like this: *Back home, the campground was full of Maasai; I paid them a small hongo; these are too good folks; I found nothing of the sort of curiosity Thomson wrote about, good and friendly people.*

It does not mean that no nuisances at all occurred with the Maasai, but these were quite a trifle as compared to the entanglements experienced in the region of Mount Meru: *We reached a dry riverbed where Maasai dwelt in lodges dug into the ground and stone troughs near them, where their cattle drank. We were cordially received here, too, but we had to pay for the – sodic – water* (14th August 1887). The next day he added: *The same soil, long-drawn mild slopes, getting higher towards northeast, wild nothing; here are also many wells dug into a dry riverbed, troughs nearby, each in someone's possession; a good old man, as he saw the other Maasai are fussing, gave all our cattle water for free.* Thefts happened here too. The Count received the news thoroughly, even-temperedly: *Yesterday, two of my goats were stolen; the thief threw down one of them, so that I got it back, the other one is gone. The stealers are mainly lajons*[33]*, 12-15-year-old kids* (14th August 1887); *The Maasai would steal me here blind; three cases have already happened. A warrior stole a big cooking spoon. Ali Hassan caught him and brought him as prisoner in the camp. The hero was not on the defensive, rather very scared. I let him go* (15th August 1887); *When I got home in the camp, there were numerous new Maasai, impertinent kids; in my absence, a moran ran between my men and threw his lance among them. The lance was confiscated until my return. I demand an ox as punishment for it; besides, these morans received no gifts apart from the hongo* (17th August 1887).

A great characterization of the Maasai is contained in Teleki's letter written to Rudolf, Crown Prince of Austria, on 4th November 1887: *It is but mere lye what Thomson writes*[34] *about the Maasai. They are a peaceful, wise and honest ethnic group. A party of 4 or 5 may get about safely; if the travellers come into their village, they provide them with food. They desire a small hongo from the caravans;*

[32] Joseph Thomson was a geologist and explorer who played an important part in the Scramble for Africa. Thomson's gazelle and Thomson's Falls, Nyahururu, are named after him.

[33] "Little children of both sexes amongst the Masai are called ngerai; a young boy is a lajon, who, as he grows older, becomes a barnoti (Höhnel 1894. I, p. 244).

[34] In a recension of Thomson's book, the *Földrajzi Közlöny [Geographical Bulletin]* quotes a passage from the work: "The Masai, the most infamous sacking tribe from Central Africa, differ at all points from the other inhabitants of Africa." (György, 1885, p. 132).

once paid, peace is unbreakable. The morans are childish, sometimes excessive, but always helpful, excellent leaders; at hunting, they take the role of the hound, and the greatest reward for the long chasing is when one allows them to stick the wounded quarry with their long laces.

He did not omit to write to Ágnes Teleki about the Maasai either (7th November 1887): *The Maasai are right now wandering with their flocks, […] they are behaving tamely, as the news of our victory*[35] *has spread through the whole country. The Maasai are always very peaceful, but now even the excessive moran gentlemen are containing themselves. In a word, Maasai are gentlefolks among the blacks, witty, apprehend the good word – and I am telling them many of the sort.*

One of the great aims of Sámuel Teleki's expedition was to cross the land of the Kikuyus. During that time, he highlighted their detailed description in his diary, and later in his letters. This stage was, despite the resolution for amicability, the hard way. Although the Count meant not to leave a negative impression in the natives through their encounter with civilization, he could not avoid some battles between the fearsome autochthons and his troop. On 30th August 1887, they made friends, in accordance with the Kikuyu ceremony. In return for their unperturbed journey, Teleki promised them even rain. *The process of fraternization has started […] It seems they are a very timid folk, of middle stature, with wide shoulders, their faces proportional; they are very anxious, unquiet and they run here and there like rabbits* – wrote the count about them. According to local customs, he paid the hongos one after the other, gave gifts to leaders of different regions. His principal aim was to avoid confrontation, but his efforts failed: *I went out to reconnoitre tomorrow's way, met a Kikuyu troop, they stopped me […] I asked Juma Mussa to explain them; who comes in the land to fight that does not bring presents etc. […] I gave gifts to the heads in the camp and sent presents to the people of the main samaki*[36] *Uajaki Uahingi too* (8th September 1887). His peaceful approach was only partially successful. At this time, he recorded almost daily the nerve-trying annoyances caused him by the Kikuyu warriors heading him off. On 10th September 1887, he wrote full of self-reproach: *In the night, I kept vigil until 12, then went to bed because everything was silent. I cursed the thought to come here. I could have remained on Maasai territory rich in quarry, whereas here I must scare, manoeuvre*[37] *and watch all day long.*

Nevertheless, he tried to avoid an armed conflict even when a Kikuyu warrior shot a poison arrow on them or attacked his men bringing water. Sámuel Teleki's diary entry from 12th September 1887 offers an interesting segment of the natives' life; it is as if he wrote it from a land different from that of the Kikuyus, in another period: *Three of the neighbour samakis have come. We declared that we need not become friends; they know us and know that we won't bear the road away, just*

[35] Count Teleki refers here to the successful combats with the Kikuyus.
[36] "Chief" (from Swahili).
[37] Probable meaning of a Germanism used by Teleki here.

want to pass through. […] Slave trade is flourishing; Jumbé bought a girl and a boy, one of his people a man, Jama Mussa 2 slaves, for which I am going to let him be beaten tomorrow. I receive offers day by day. Today, a man called me and made a sign; I asked him what he wanted. He showed two tits with his fists. I understood, but followed him not. Then, so as to be clearer, his neighbour pulled out his dick and showed with his finger, this should be put in the backside. The following day, it was peaceful again: *Today I became blood brothers with two people and made some other simple friends.* The endless fraternization was almost pointless, as it could be foreseen; the Kikuyu warriors nevertheless attacked his caravan the next days. *If one is too kind, Europeans say he is a jackass, Africans say he is afraid* – concluded Teleki on 15th September. On 24th, out of patience, he put down the following lines about the indigenous people: *Unbearable folk, coward, loud, thievish, quarrelsome.* They had had an armed conflict three times until they got out of the region, at the beginning of October. By this time, the Count detested this land and locals with all his heart, as his words from 6th October 1887 testify: *The Kikuyus' characteristics are: they are coward, loud, quarrelsome and stupid, grasping, would sell everything dear to them, they rejoice over stealing and shooting one down with bow and arrow on the sly.*

Contrary to the Maasai, he hardly mentioned them in his November letters to the crown prince and Ágnes Teleki and prepared only a short chronicle of the weeks spent in their land. He admitted, too, that his placid intentions had no positive effects: *I made a huge mistake when I did not let my men rifle and kill, because the Kikuyu thought I was afraid* – wrote the count on 4th that month. As the history of the expedition reveals it, Sámuel Teleki did not come in contact with other tribes for such a long period. Their description lies therefore on occasional observations, and cannot reflect the author's attitude towards them. One can only suppose what was he thinking as he left the Arushans and their Sultan behind; he mentioned about them on 4th May 1887: *The Sultan is sitting in front of me and is playing with his penis. These good savages piss where they are staying at the moment when they have to ease nature, in my tent too, but I throw them out at these times, and are sensitive about taking a shit, and asked me to send my men in a single direction to shit. Otherwise, they won't eat anything killed or prepared by someone else; it seems they are very finicky, but painted with laterite and oil, which is very stinky. If they flatter, they firstly scratch their chin, later on pull out the hair from around their dicks long, and if that does not work either, then they get angry.*

The Count wrote later about the Turkana living in the environs of Lake Rudolf that they were peaceful and friendly people, the most robust of all African folks he had met before. On 11th June 1888, he summed up his remarks: *The locals are petty […] Moral is maintained, just as in Europe, only through fear; the girls joke with my men, showing at their backsides, throwing up their aprons, until their lover or master ends the fun. Otherwise, they are very merry people, always joking, singing, dancing.* Two days later he added: *I wish we were gone, because the whole*

people is sitting here, all weaponless; they feel themselves quite cosy […] They are very boring by now. Above that, blacks are all alike; they do not respect your words; only fear tames them; if they get used to the strangers and make friends with the wonders of a mirror, a spoon and matches, they become impertinent; today, two women raided my men, who dared to pass only amidst them.

There remained nothing remarkable about the Suk either in Sámuel Teleki's diary. As his caravan passed through this folk's land, they had to deal with most serious problems regarding provisioning. His men had received no regular food for weeks by then, and the natives wanted to accept nothing except for tobacco as swap, but Teleki's troop did not dispose of it. On 10th July 1888, possibly in his passion, he wrote about them in his diary as it follows: *The folk is pint-sized and scruffy, the most wretched blacks I have ever seen; their women are small and ugly. Their weapons are poor: lance, bow, and arrow are poor; I cannot comprehend how is that all their neighbours are afraid of them.* The following day, a short comment: *They want tobacco for everything, stupid worn-out folk.*

It was not the first time an indigenous woman offered her services to the Count. On 13th July 1888, he mentioned such a case in his diary: *Mr. Arole's good lady, a woman from the people of Nyemps, made an offer to me, which I refused, showing at my white hairs, what did not keep her from sitting and sleeping beside my chair and begging continuously.* Rather cynicism than respect made Teleki to name the natives "Mr." and "Good Lady", as the African circumstances did not afford, by far a conduct appropriate for the European decorum.

On the homeward journey, although the members of the caravan have long shaken together, and escapes on the part of the porters were not daily anymore, the autochthons tried to plunder them wherever they could. Exactly that happened on the return to Lake Baringo from 30th July 1888. The Count reacted in his usual manner: *The people of Nyemps want to steal; I ordered that they be shot.* The next day he added briefly: *They wanted to steal today; my men shot on them, but without result; impertinent, rowdy and coward folk as every Wakwafi.* On 8th September 1888, he characterized the locals from Joro's surroundings similarly: *They are loud and impertinent with necessary cowardice, just as each Bantu race.* The Rendille, El Molo or Reshiats received even less attention from Count Teleki in his diary. He devoted to them generally only a few sentences in his letters too. These people and the time spent with them are known, therefore, only from Höhnel's book.

CONCLUSION

One may get only a superficial image when trying to reconstruct Sámuel Teleki's relation to natives and his own escort on the basis of written documents from his time spent in Africa. This image is nevertheless richer than leaning alone on Höhnel's book. The Count's travelogue is hardly classifiable; neither a prototypic hunting journal, nor a collection of ethnographic descriptions or of novelties of natural history – but

each are contained in it in shorter or longer details. Local people appear in its focus when they come in direct contact with Teleki and influence the life of his caravan. That is the reason why the different tribes, ethnic groups or categories are not represented proportionally in his writings. Not to forget either the era in which his lines were put down; at the end of 19th century, the autochthon blacks originating from the hardly explored continent were, near expensive ivory, a gainful commodity for the merchants living on the flourishing slave market.

Other days, other ways: today's reader may be shocked by the sometimes brutal methods used in Teleki's caravan to maintain discipline and punish. The great achievement of the developing world, the declaration of human rights was, at that time, unknown. Hence, it would be anachronistic to judge the above-mentioned happenings exclusively on the basis of today's value system. Nowadays, people would think differently of a hunter posing in front of a freshly killed lion, elephant or other animal than in Teleki's own time. One must, therefore, interpret his sentences about natives or porters in their specific context. Otherwise, when making use of today's terminology, one could call the Count a racist – unduly, it must be added. It mustn't be forgotten either that his opinion on the different tribes, especially the one from his diary, are an immediate echo of his feelings on a particular day, regarding a particular happening, put down, in great part, in his passion, of his immediate reactions that do not reflect a deliberate opinion or standpoint. The writings for private use were not aimed to propagate any ideology at all. No matter on which aspect the analysis focuses, it will reveal, all the same, only a small segment of Sámuel Teleki's real thoughts and sentiments for something or somebody.

The Count, seemingly, did not meddle in the matters of either the colonial powers' functionaries or of native chieftains, as these were far from his own world. On the coast and in Zanzibar, one must admit, he would not have had enough influence for that. Just like a good diplomat, he tried to remain on friendly terms with every party, what proved to be a more or less successful striving. His only aim, as mentioned in his letter, was to carry out the expedition at all hazards. He went to any length for this purpose and expected the same from his companions too. In the end, it is appropriate to cite a passage from the autobiography of Eugénia Odescalchi, the Count's niece: *Uncle Sámuel brought home from Africa one of his loyal black servants who had followed him everywhere during his expedition. Ahmed – as this was his name – was a man of high stature […] Everyone loved him, the whole personnel, the valets too; despite the fact that he enjoyed serious privileges, they accepted him in their company and were not jealous of him. […] He got about in the castle and in the garden, his figure showed up here and there, but I have never seen him working. In the mealtime, he stood behind uncle Sámuel's chair, he poured him the wine, water, but did not serve out anyone else. […] He [Sámuel Teleki] observed, too, the homesickness torturing Ahmed. The son of the tropics paced up and down in the house and in the park, and endured our climate ever harder. They had to take farewell soon. Uncle Sámuel set him up richly – and sent him back home to Africa.* (Odescalchi, 1987, p. 49–50).

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