

Nineteenth-century historical geographies of the Holy Land

Yehoshua Ben-Arieh

The amount of publications on the Holy Land by nineteenth-century Western writers is enormous. This body of literature contains also some research works attempting to tackle issues pertaining to the historical geography of the Holy Land. A critical analysis of the structure and content of these books reveals their historical-geographical approach. This paper includes the main following subjects: the historical biblical approach—the “Holy Land”, territory and boundaries; physical background: division into geographical regions; the historical-geographical uniqueness of the Holy Land; land and people in the nineteenth century; summary and conclusions—a retrospective view.

Over twenty years ago, in 1965/6, I was in Britain for my post-doctorate, at the Department of Geography, University College London, which was then headed by Clifford Darby. Attending his lectures and seminars during that academic year, as well as through our private discussions, I became acquainted with his views on historical geography. Toward the end of that year Darby invited me to his room for a short meeting, at the end of which he surprised me, saying he was about to confide to me a secret he had kept all that year. Going over to a shelf in the corner of the room he came back with a portfolio full with papers and laid it on his desk; on it was written, “Historical Geography of the Holy Land”. Mystified, I duly asked for an explanation, and was told the following story.

In the 1920s, while reading for his doctorate at Cambridge, he had hoped to write a book on the “Historical Geography of the Holy Land”, having been greatly impressed by George Adam Smith’s book on this subject.^[1] However, having realized in the course of writing his doctorate on the Fenlands the significance of the Domesday Book as a source for historical-geographical reconstruction, he had since become engulfed in the study of the geography of that important source, abandoning the dream of his youth. I borrowed the manuscript, and while reading it could indeed detect the strong influence of Smith’s book, as well as that of the Scriptures’ descriptions of the Holy Land.

Two years ago a group of British geographers came to Israel for a short visit. On their return to Britain, one of them, Robin Butlin, summarized this short visit appropriately, by publishing in the *Journal of Historical Geography* an important article on George Adam Smith and his historical geographies on the Holy Land.^[2] Butlin speaks of the great success that Smith’s works had at their time, and how valuable they still are for research in historical geography. While praising Smith’s creative writing, Butlin also comments on its strong association with the great wealth of historical geographies on Palestine by other important nineteenth-century authors—such as Edward Robinson,^[3] Carl Ritter,^[4] A. P.

Stanley,^[5] and E. Huntington.^[6] Smith's works are indeed the ultimate achievement in a long series of publications on Palestine written toward the end of the Ottoman Period, up to the First World War and the British occupation of Palestine in 1917/18.

The amount of publications on Palestine by nineteenth-century Western writers is enormous. I have mentioned elsewhere that R. Rohricht's bibliography on Palestine^[7] lists some 2,000 writers who were in Palestine during the period from 1800 to 1877, and wrote about it books or articles. Since a great number of those writers published more than one book each, as well as books of several volumes, and in view of the fact that Rohricht's list reaches only to the late 1870s, we may estimate the number of volumes written on Palestine during the period under discussion at some 5,000, perhaps even more. The greatest part of this literature was written by Western people who travelled in Palestine or resided there; it includes itineraries, letters, memoirs, reports by missionaries, physicians, consuls, etc. However, this body of literature contains also some research works attempting to tackle issues pertaining to the historical geography of the Holy Land.^[8] Such are G. A. Smith's books, and those by the other authors mentioned above. A critical analysis of the structure and content of these and some other books of the same category may reveal their historical-geographical approach, which could perhaps be instructive for the writing of historical geographies today.

The historical-biblical approach: "The Holy Land", territory and boundaries

The most striking feature of nineteenth-century historical geographies on the Holy Land is, no doubt, their biblical orientation. The bulk of nineteenth-century literature on exploration and travelling in Palestine was written either by scientists engaged in biblical research, or by travellers, who had been attracted to this land by their deep interest in the Bible and other holy scriptures. Thus, the titles of Edward Robinson's books are: 'Biblical Researches' and 'Later Biblical Researches'; the sub-title of A. P. Stanley's book is "Sinai and Palestine in Connection with their History", while G. A. Smith was primarily a theologian and a distinguished Bible scholar.

The first question which presents itself in connection with nineteenth-century historical geographies on the Holy Land is, to what territory did the term "The Holy Land" refer? The boundaries of the territory termed thus had never been clearly defined before or during the nineteenth century. A political unit, mandated to Britain and bearing the name Palestine (Eretz-Israel), was formed only after the First World War. Before and during the nineteenth century, the "Holy Land" was part of the Ottoman Empire, which was divided into provinces (the Ottoman terms were: *vilayets* or *pashaliks*), that were in turn sub-divided into districts (*sancaks*). Western explorers, utterly ignoring the Ottoman administrative division, based their concept of "the Holy Land" on what they had learned from the Bible and other historical sources pertaining to this area. Despite their differences regarding the boundaries of the territory that came under this or similar names, all acknowledged its individuality. The concept of the Holy Land as a region set apart became more dominant in the course of the nineteenth century, as evidenced by the growing usage of this term, which is remarkable in view of the fact that it was not a separate political entity at that time.^[9]

This land was considered holy owing to its biblical history. Here historical events of a religious nature had taken place and "holy persons" had lived. The Jewish "Temple" had stood here, and other sites, associated with the Jewish Judges, Kings and Prophets, could be found. Here also Christianity had originated and grown, and Moslems, too, had their sacred place, such as the traditional site of their Prophet's ascent to heaven, and many other sacred sites. But what was the territory of the Holy Land? Where were its boundaries? On one point all the authors who wrote on the Holy Land seem to agree, that the city of Jerusalem is the core of this land. Of the numerous explorers and travellers touring the Holy Land in the nineteenth century there was hardly anyone who failed to visit Jerusalem, which occupies a central position in all their writings. George Adam Smith does not discuss the subject of Jerusalem in *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, dedicating instead a separate, two-volume book to this city. In Huntington's work, the areas in the Judaeen Mountains surrounding Jerusalem are discussed in the first chapter, "The Heart of the Land (Judea)", before the general treatment of the whole country as a unit. Second in order of importance were the regions lying west and north of Judea. In the west, the Shephelah and southern Maritime Plain stretched from Gaza in the south to Jaffa in the north. This area was usually called The Land of Philistines. North of Judea lay the mountainous area of Samaria. In the north was yet another region belonging to the Holy Land—Galilee. Apparently, it was held equally holy as the other regions mentioned above; together they formed the central main territory of the Holy Land (see Fig. 1).

The Palestine Exploration Fund Survey, that was conducted during the 1870s, and was the most important scientific study of the Holy Land by nineteenth-century European explorers, dealt only with western Palestine, from Wadi Kasimiyah—Litany valley, in the north, to the line Gaza—Beersheba, in the south. The eastern boundary of the territory covered by this survey ran from the Litany to the sources of the Jordan river and from there, following the river line, to the Sea of Galilee, then to the Dead Sea.^[10] The first stage of the Survey did not include eastern Palestine, nor the Negev. This supports our contention, that the main territory first regarded by nineteenth-century Western explorers as the Holy Land was that of western Palestine, which was surveyed and mapped by the Palestine Exploration Fund surveyors, and was commonly referred to by its biblical name as the territory from "Dan to Beersheba". The lands in eastern Palestine and the Negev having been considered secondary, as it was here, in the order of holiness, their survey and mapping were postponed for the second stage in the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund and other organs, although this too was concluded before the First World War (Fig. 1).^[11]

Beyond the regions described above were others which were also regarded from time to time as part of the territory of the Holy Land, in a sort of third-rate importance; these were: the Sinai Peninsula in the south, the Hauran and Damascus in the north-east and Phoenicia and Lebanon—up to the line Beirut-Tripoli-Ba albek—in the north-west. (Fig. 1)

Further on lay lands and regions which sometimes came together under the name "Bible Lands", owing to their being mentioned in the Bible in connection with various events that had taken place there in biblical times; still, they did not come under the geographical term "the Holy Land". Those were: Egypt and Mesopotamia, northern Syria and Anatolia, and sometimes also Greece and its adjacent islands—Crete and Cyprus.

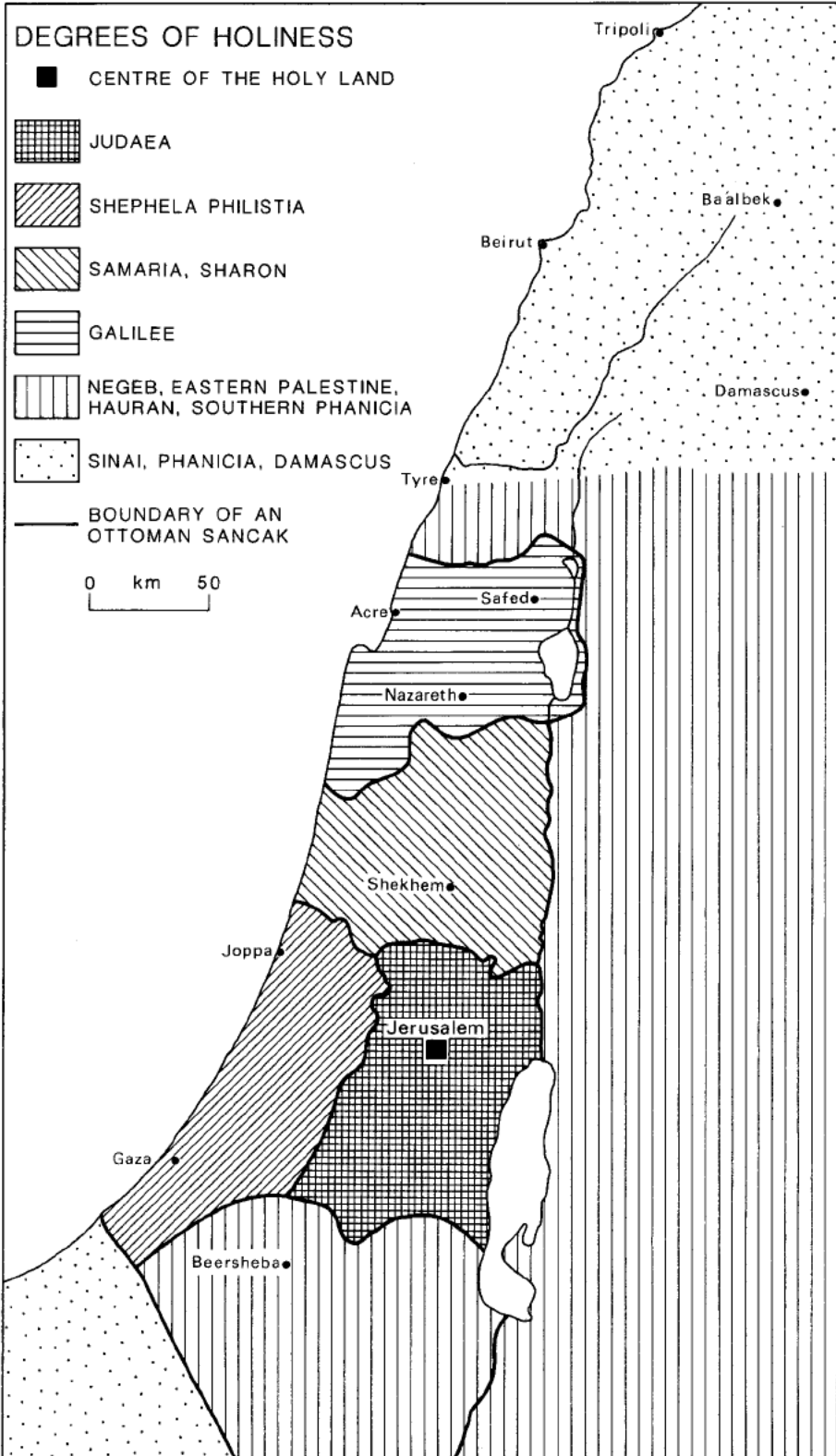


Figure 1. Degrees of holiness in the Holy Land

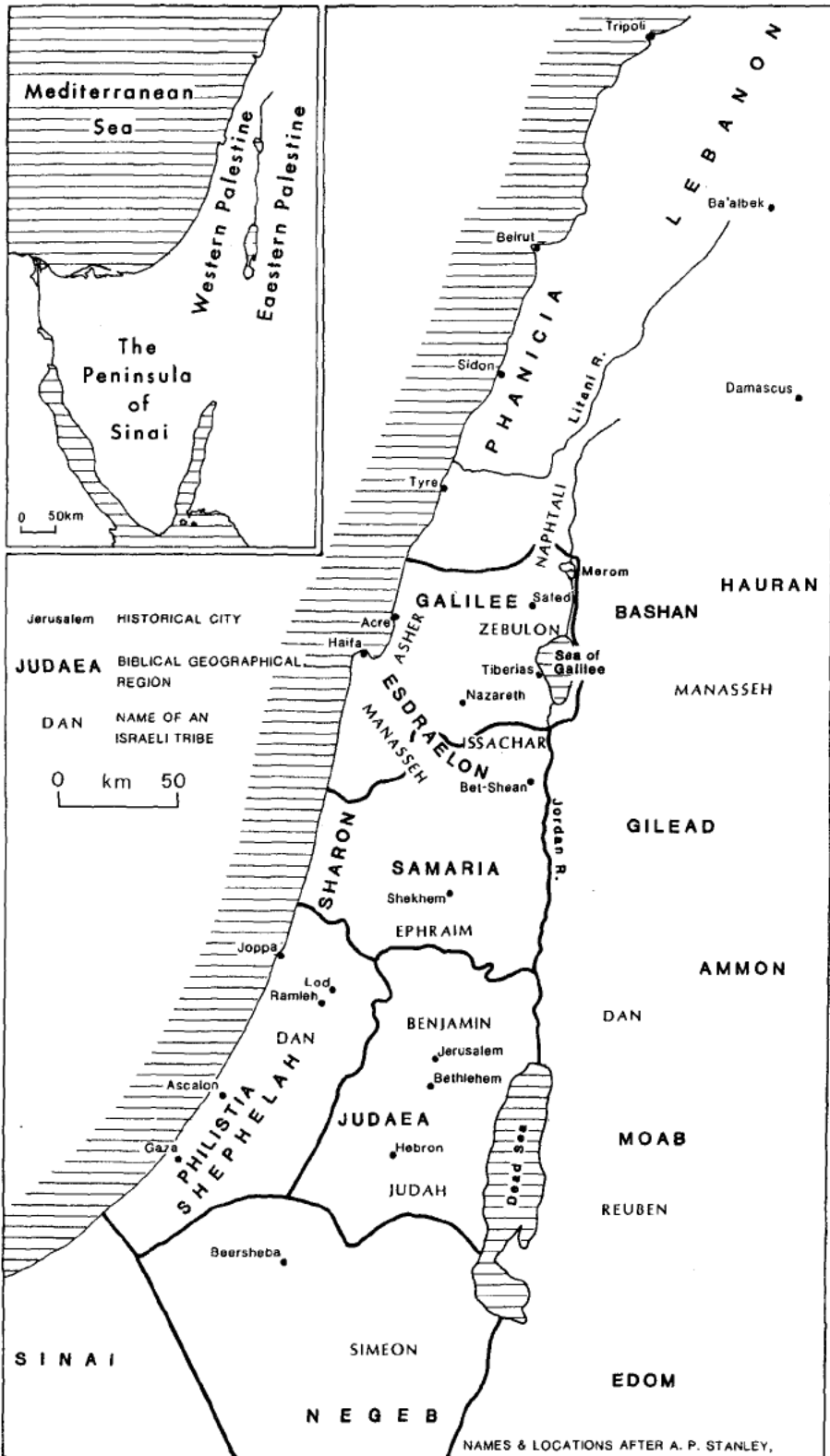


Figure 2. Historical-biblical regions of the Holy Land

This, then, is the picture of the various circles of the Holy Land which emerges when studying nineteenth-century historical geographies.

All regarded the territory of western Palestine, between Dan and Beersheba, as the principal territory of the Holy Land.

Physical background: division into geographical regions

Another prominent feature of nineteenth-century historical geographies on the Holy Land is their minute treatment of the physical-geographical elements of the land, often including, among other things, the general layout of its structure and its division into geographical regions. Since this division, as well as the names of the various regions, conformed with the historical-biblical approach, the names applied to regions, towns and various other localities were biblical, rather than native contemporary ones.

The central mountain blocks in western Palestine are called: Judaea, Samaria and Galilee. In the west we encounter such names as Shephelah and Sharon. Eastern Palestine presents such names as: Edom, Moab, Gilead and Bashan. Other biblical names are: Esdraelon, Lake of Meron, Sea of Galilee, Negeb etc. . . . In many cases attempts have been made to name geographical regions after the Tribes of Israel supposedly inhabiting them in biblical times: Benjamin, Ephraim, Manasheh, Asher, Zebulon, Issachar, Naphtali etc. (Fig. 2).

There were also detailed descriptions of places and sites, with the aim of identifying in them biblical or other historical places and sites. Edward Robinson, particularly, excelled in such identifications, referring to this line of investigation as "historical topography". In collaboration with his companion, Eli Smith, he gathered from various sources the names of settlements and sites, the geographical identification of which had been hitherto unknown. Many such places were located and identified owing to this research work. Robinson thus laid the foundations for extensive research in the historical toponomy of the Holy Land, which became widespread during the nineteenth century.^[12]

A detailed description of Palestine is found in G. A. Smith's work. Following a general discussion of the common features of the Holy Land as a whole; there is a systematic treatment of its various regions, taken in order of their geographical location from west to east: The Coast, the Maritime Plain, the Shephelah, Judaea, Samaria, Esdraelon, Galilee, the Lake of Galilee, the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea (Fig. 2). The third section of his book concentrates on the various regions of eastern Palestine.^[13]

The structure of the nineteenth-century historical-geographies of the Holy Land seems to have been shaped along the lines of a common model, the perfect form of which is revealed in G. A. Smith's important work. This model consists of two main parts, one dealing with the individuality of the Holy Land as a whole historical-geographical unit, the other consisting of separate detailed descriptions of its many regions and localities within them. The common characteristics of the first, general, part will be discussed below; as for the preoccupation of nineteenth-century historical geographers with detailed geographical descriptions of regions, sub-regions and various places, there seem to have been several reasons for this.

In the first place, the target public of this literature lived outside Palestine and was thus unfamiliar with its geography. In order to comprehend the historical development of the Holy Land, these European readers needed first to get some idea about its geography; this had become possible for the first time through the

details of structure, landscape and physical elements provided by the authors of nineteenth-century historical-geographies.

Another, related, reason was that a great portion of this target public did have some knowledge—usually obtained from the Holy Scriptures—about the land as a physical complex and of some places within it. The Bible and other holy scriptures had been translated in former centuries into several European languages, and the invention of printing enabled their wider distribution; thus they became in the beginning of the modern era an important element in Christian-European culture. During the nineteenth century, a growing number of people became interested in Palestine, eager to learn more about landscape and places they had first encountered in the Bible, wishing to identify biblical localities and events and mark them on maps, even preparing to go out there and see for themselves those biblical sites. Nineteenth-century historical geographies supplied these people with the necessary information.^[14]

Yet another, perhaps the most remarkable reason, for nineteenth-century writers' preoccupation with detail in their physical-geographical descriptions of the land must have been their conviction that the history of the Holy Land was tied closely with its geography; hence, in order to understand its unique history one must first become acquainted with the layout of the land and its physical-geographical structure. This approach is expressed particularly in their general introductory chapters, which are devoted to the historical-geographical uniqueness of the Holy Land.

The historical-geographical uniqueness of the Holy Land

Edward Robinson, who may be regarded as the founder of historical-geographical research on the Holy Land, was guided principally by the assumption of interrelations between the physical background of the land and the development of its history. Although his travels and work had been inspired mainly by the Bible, he also had an exceptionally keen eye for the morphological outlines of the land. Before his first journey to Palestine (1838) he intended to engage only in biblical geography; but after his second visit (1852) he was already contemplating a series of works to sum up the physical geography, historical topography and historical geography, first of Palestine, Lebanon and Sinai, then of their neighbouring countries.^[15]

Robinson considered himself a disciple of Carl Ritter, to whom he dedicated the German edition of his first book, which was published concurrently with the English version, in 1841. The general introduction to Carl Ritter's book on the Holy Land, presenting the author's geographical philosophy in general, puts forward his view that physical conditions are a determining factor in the historical development of any land, the geography and history of the Holy Land being no exception to this rule.

It would certainly be impossible to conceive of the development of such a history as that of Israel taking place anywhere else than in Palestine. Nowhere else on the earth could that series of events and the peculiar training which the people of God had to pass through have found a theatre so conspicuous to the eyes of all the world as that narrow land of Palestine.

To grasp such a fact as this in its more general relations, and to hold it up; to make every man understand how much is involved in the individuality of each land, in what is peculiarly its own physical features, and how deep and wide their influence is upon man—is what gives the science of geography its dignity and worth.^[16]

Among the geographical attributes of the Holy Land that have affected its

people and history, Ritter emphasizes especially its geographical situation: isolated on the one hand, bridging and linking, on the other. "Palestine was from the very outset a land set apart as Israel was a people set apart; and for two thousand years it remained so"^[17] and further: "There was no country situated in relation to three great continents and five great bodies of water; so that when the fulness of time had come, there was no delay in sending the gospel to the very ends of the earth."^[18] This is followed by a discussion of individual regions and geographical units and the historical-geographical character of each.

A. P. Stanley had been apparently much impressed with Carl Ritter's works, which are referred to in the introduction to his book as "the connection of Sacred History and Sacred Geography". This reflects his belief that the reasons for the holiness of the land and its unique history are to be found in its geography. It also echoes Ritter's view on the interrelations between the Chosen Land and the Chosen People.

G. A. Smith, too, looks for the distinguishing traits in the historical geography of the Holy Land, dedicating to this subject the first part of his book. Analysing, like Ritter, in great detail the geographical situation of Syria—on the fringes of Arabia, bridging three continents and facing westward—he wonders to what extent this geographical situation could have affected the religions of this area. He attaches great significance to the topography of the land, to the great geographical variety over such a small territory, and to the influence these must have had on its unique history. Pointing out the differences regarding climate and water sources between Syria's big neighbours—Mesopotamia and Egypt—with their hydraulic-agriculture, and Syria itself, depending on "rain from heaven", he assumes they must have affected major historical developments. Soils fertility, desert areas and various landscapes are also regarded by him as contributing factors. This same attitude is apparent also in his treatment of individual regions. According to Smith, the geography of the land has not only influenced its history, but is responsible to a great extent also for its having become holy. More suitable than its neighbours for producing spiritual ideas, it became the cradle of abstract monotheistic thinking.^[19]

G. A. Smith's writings demonstrate the prevalent approach in nineteenth-century historical geographies—known as "Geography behind History"—the chief concern of which was to look for physical elements and other constant data—such as size, location, distance etc.—and find out the degree and manner of their impact on historical developments.^[20]

Land and people in the nineteenth century

Oddly enough, most of nineteenth-century historical geographies on Palestine ignore almost entirely the issue of contemporary native population, as well as the shape and state of the land in those days. Whenever these subjects are touched upon, it is mostly in relation with past conditions, particularly in biblical times, the main purpose being to reconstruct the past from the contemporary situation, which in itself held no interest for them as a subject for research.

This general trend of focusing on the past is noticeable also in the P.E.F. (Palestine Exploration Fund) Survey, the most elaborate scientific effort in historical geography embarked upon at that time in Palestine. The greatest part of the Memoirs accompanying the maps of this survey is devoted to

historical-archaeological sites, ancient ruins and monuments, with maps, charts and illustrations. Other parts of this extensive work are dedicated to details of the natural landscape, topography—with important details concerning villages and towns—and particularly relief. Then there is a detailed discussion of hydrology and descriptions of roads. Attention is drawn to every new occurrence or change beginning to affect the landscape at that time. Yet very little is said on the native population, its customs, habits, and everyday life. Here and there we find data on the population's structure by religious affiliation, details concerning religious life, descriptions of holy sites and religious ceremonies, as well as some details on various tribes; but the tendency to study the land from a religious historical angle still prevails.^[21]

This neglect of contemporary geographical subjects is particularly marked in the works of G. A. Smith. In *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land* there is almost nothing on the state of the land and its population at the time of his visits to Palestine. The few exceptions are references to important new occurrences; for instance, this book contains a short appendix concerning the new Jewish colonies in Palestine, and another—discussing the introduction of wheeled vehicles in Greater Syria. Later editions contain also an additional chapter on the British occupation of Palestine in 1918. The same disregard of the nineteenth century characterizes also his book on Jerusalem and his historical-geographical atlas. Smith's historical geography concerns biblical and other historical periods, examining historical events in the light of constant geographical conditions.²²

However, some nineteenth-century historical geographies on Palestine do not comply with the model described above. Several nineteenth-century authors began to pay more and more attention to the flora and fauna of Palestine. One of the most prominent figures in this field was Henry Baker Tristram, who issued on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund a special volume on this subject. But as far as other subjects were concerned he, too, adhered to the “model” described above.^[23]

As a growing number of European explorers began to prolong their visits to the Middle East and Palestine, some of them started to gather information and write research works on the native population—the *felahin* and the *Beduin*—their life style and customs, their religion and so on. Some attempted to establish a link between contemporary and biblical life styles and customs. An example of this kind of writing is *The Land and the Book*, by the American missionary W. M. Thomson, who had lived in the Levant for many years and was well acquainted with its inhabitants and their ways of life. His book bears also an epitomizing sub-title—“Biblical Illustrations Drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery of the Holy Land”.^[24]

There were also other studies on the native population, its customs, clothing and manner of life and work. But for the main part their object remained to derive from this information a picture of life in the Holy Land in biblical and other historical times.^[25]

Summary and conclusions: a retrospective view

When we attempt today—150 years after Edward Robinson's first visit to Palestine (1838), and some 95 years after the publication of G. A. Smith's book on the historical geography of the Holy Land (1894)—to evaluate

nineteenth-century historical geographies on Palestine, the main question presenting itself is: where lies the strength of this literature? What were the reasons for its success in the nineteenth century, and what is the secret of its enduring attraction for modern readers?

We have emphasized here the great flaw of this literature, namely its neglect of contemporary human geography in Palestine. It suffers also from the influences of prevailing nineteenth-century theories on physical determinism; nevertheless, it seems to possess great vitality, apparently arising mainly from its distinctive approach, which has several aspects.

One aspect is its preoccupation with specific periods in the history of the Holy Land. Nineteenth-century historical geographies of Palestine concentrated on biblical times and other important periods in the history of the Holy Land in which it had played a unique role, thus satisfying the immense universal curiosity regarding these periods and their events which prevailed in the nineteenth century, as it does today. At other times, including the nineteenth century, the Holy Land occupied but a marginal position in a much wider geographical space, so that any historical geography concerning such periods had to deal with that wider space, with special emphasis on its important centres outside the territory of the Holy Land, while taking little notice of the Holy Land itself.

Another aspect is the comprehensive comparative outlook of this literature. Its authors were not interested in reconstructing, nor concentrating on, any single period. They were looking for the common features characterizing the unique historical geography of the land as a whole and of its separate regions. Comparisons were made between different periods, explanations were sought for similarities and differences between regions and periods. Some of the answers they came up with seem today strange and incorrect, yet the very posing of their questions constituted an important step forward in historical-geographical thought and writing, particularly so in view of the fact that the questions were those that occupied many minds of nineteenth-century Western society, and seem to be crucial even today.

On some matters, however, nineteenth-century historical geographers seemed to have reached sound conclusions. Starting to abandon explanations based exclusively on physical determinism, they began to appreciate the value of culture and society, recognizing their great influence on human geography everywhere, and their share in the individuality of the Holy Land's historical geography. If they had hitherto believed, that physical environmental factors and other constant elements were responsible for the uniqueness of the Holy Land's geography, they were now beginning to realize that the societies, cultures and religions originating and growing here were the source from which had sprung the notions of this land's essential and eternal holiness that had made it unique; and that its historical-geographical individuality actually lies in the very existence and world wide diffusion of such notions. Nineteenth-century writers of the Holy Land's historical geographies were mostly people of deep faith. The contents of their writings, as well as the questions they raised and their absolute conviction that they were dealing with a land that had witnessed the revelation of Divine Presence, support our conclusion that the uniqueness of the Holy Land's historical geography springs primarily from concepts and attitudes of culture and faith.

Notes

- [1] G. A. Smith, *The historical geography of the Holy Land* (London 1974). References in this article are from the fourth impression of the twenty-fifth edition, revised throughout, 1931. The first edition was published by Hodder and Stoughton in London in 1894
- [2] R. Butlin, George Adam Smith and the historical geography of the Holy Land: contents, contexts and connections *Journal of Historical Geography* 14 (1988) 381–404
- [3] E. Robinson, *Biblical researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea in 1838* (London 1841) 2 vols; E. Robinson, *Later Biblical researches in Palestine and the adjacent regions; a journal of travels in the year 1852* (London 1856)
- [4] W. L. Gage (Ed.), *The comparative geography of Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula*, by Carl Ritter, translated and adapted to the use of biblical students (Edinburgh 1866) 4 vols
- [5] A. P. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine in connection with their history* (London 1864)
- [6] E. Huntington, *Palestine and its transformation* (Boston and New York 1911)
- [7] R. Rohricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae Chronologisches Verzeichniss der von 333 bis 1878, Verfassten, Literatur uber das Heilige Land* (Berlin 1890)
- [8] Y. Ben-Arieh, *The rediscovery of the Holy Land in the nineteenth century* (Jerusalem-Detroit 1979); C. G. Smith, The geography and natural resources of Palestine as seen by British writers in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, in M. Ma'oz (Ed.), *Studies of Palestine during the Ottoman Period* (Jerusalem 1975) 87–100
- [9] L. I. Vogel, *Zion as place and past: an American myth. Ottoman Palestine in the American mind perceived through Protestant consciousness and experience* (University Microfilms International, Ann-Arbor—London 1984) 24–26
- [10] C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener, *Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine* (London 1881–3) 3 vols; *The map of Western Palestine* 26 sheets, on the scale of 1 inch to the British mile (London 1880)
- [11] Y. Ben-Arieh, *op cit.*, 219–221; C. G. Smith, *op cit.*, 91
- [12] G. Armstrong, *Names and places in the Old and New Testaments and their modern identification*, Palestine Exploration Fund (London 1888); F. G. Bliss, *The development of Palestine exploration* (London 1906); H. V. Hiprecht, *Explorations in Bible lands during the nineteenth century* (Edinburgh 1903) 579–622
- [13] G. A. Smith, *op cit.*, Contents
- [14] L. I. Vogel, *op cit.*, pp. 40–45
- [15] E. Robinson, *Physical geography of the Holy Land* (London 1865); Y. Ben-Arieh, *op cit.*, p. 154
- [16] W. L. Gage (C. Ritter), *op cit.* II, Chapter I: A general comparative view of Syria, 5
- [17] *Ibid*, p. 7
- [18] *Ibid*, p. 8
- [19] G. A. Smith, *op cit.* 43–50; G. A. Burton, *Archaeology and the Bible* (Philadelphia 1976) 94
- [20] H. C. Darby, On the relations of geography and history *Transactions, Institute of British Geographers* 19 (1953) 1–11; H. C. Darby, 'Historical Geography', in H. P. R. Finberg (Ed.), *Approaches to History* (London 1962) 127–156.
- [21] C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener, *op cit.*, Survey, 3 vols
- [22] G. A. Smith, *op cit.*
- [23] H. B. Tristram, *The Land of Israel, a journal of travels in Palestine* (London 1865); *The fauna and flora of Palestine* (London 1884)
- [24] W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book, or Biblical illustrations drawn from the manners and customs, the scenes and scenery of the Holy Land* (London 1881); (First Edition, New York 1859)
- [25] For instance, E. Pierotti, *Customs and traditions of Palestine, illustrating the manners of the ancient Hebrews* (London 1864)