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CASSELL'S
HISTORY OF THE WAR IN THE SOUDAN.





PRINCE HASSAN, BROTHER OF THE KHEDEVE TEWFIK.

(High Commissioner of the Egyptian Government in the Soudan.)

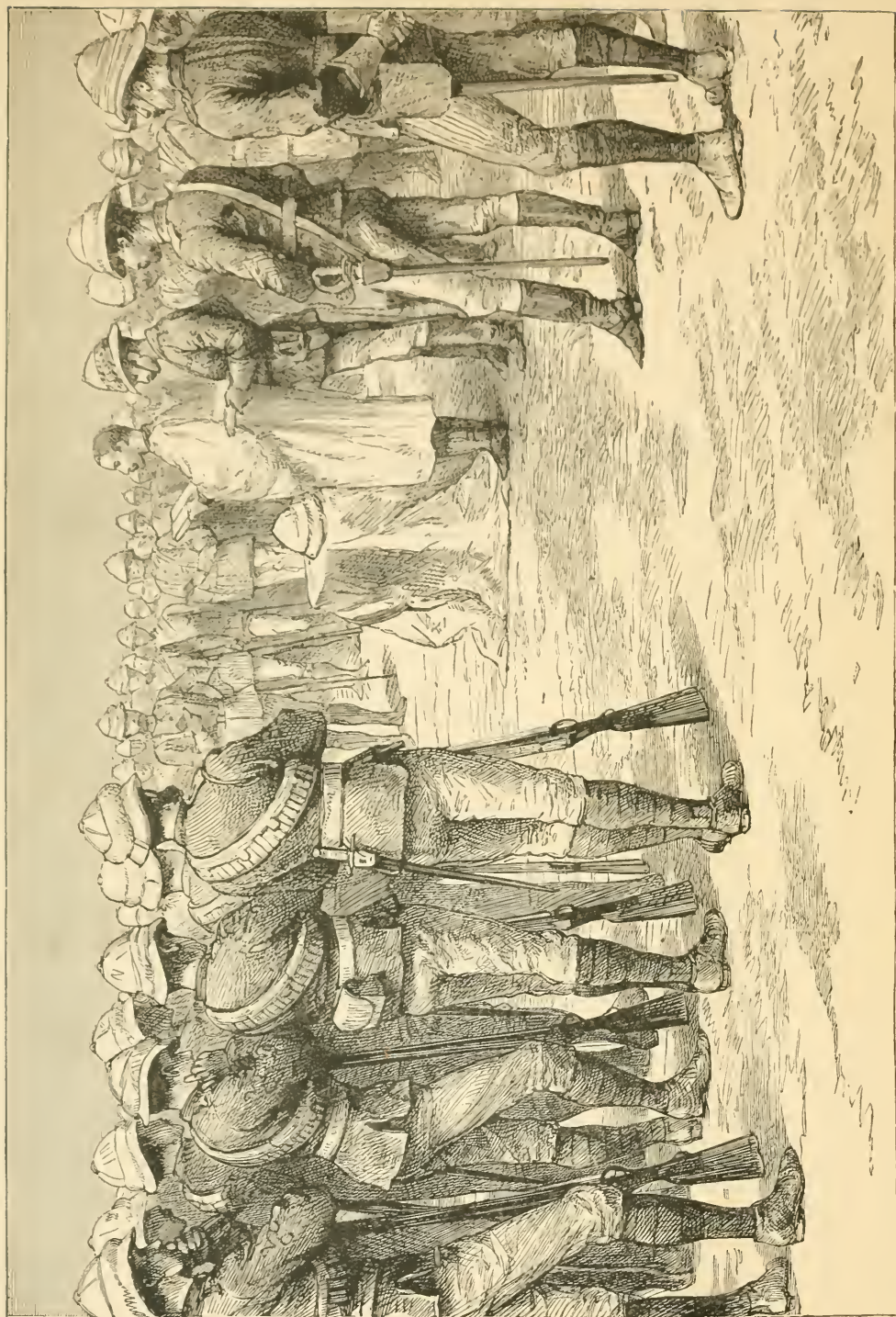


WITH THE CAMEL CORPS—COMING DOWN A STEEP PLACE.

(After the Drawing by Frank Dadd.)



ISMAIL PASHA, EX-KHEDIVE OF EGYPT.



CHURCH PARADE AT KORTI ON CHRISTMAS MORNING (1881).

(After the Picture by G. Durand.)





SIR EVELYN WOOD.

CASSELL'S

HISTORY OF THE WAR

IN THE

S O U D A N.

BY

JAMES GRANT,

AUTHOR OF "BRITISH BATTLES ON LAND AND SEA," ETC. ETC.

Illustrated.

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CONTENTS.



CHAPTER I.

INCIDENTS BY THE WAY.

PAGE.

The National Aid Society—Deserters from Berti—The <i>Bosphore Egyptien</i> —Policy of the Ministry—Lord Wolseley's Despatch to the Government—Reconnaissances from Suakim—A New Camel Corps—The Canadian Voyageurs	1
--	---

CHAPTER II.

AN UNEVENTFUL INTERVAL.

Operations at Suakim to the end of April—The Stern-wheel Steamers—Mr. Brewster's Reconnaissance—The Troops at Suakim—The <i>Iberia</i> Transport—The Wavering Tribes—The Jamming of the Rifles—The Advance Postponed—French Troops in the Suez Canal—The Foe again Active—Their Designs on the Railway—Lord Wolseley on the Behaviour of the Soldiers	12
---	----

CHAPTER III.

REVOLT AGAINST THE MAHDI.

Departure of the Mudir of Dongola for Cairo—The British Camp at Dongola—The Mahdi in Difficulties—The New Mahdi—The Suez Canal—The Zebeln Pasha Controversy—The Mission of Prince Hassan—The <i>Bosphore Egyptien</i> —The French Flag hauled down	32
--	----

CHAPTER IV.

LORD WOLSELEY AT SUAKIM.

Condition of the Troops at Kurot—Daring of the Arabs—The Patrol Train—Osman Digna and his People—Arrival of Lord Wolseley at Suakim—Wail from Debbeh—The Canadian Voyageurs—Death of Colonel Kennedy—Expedition to Dhakdul—Inspecting the Troops at Otao—Questions in the House—Review at Suakim—The Hospitals at Suakim	51
--	----

CHAPTER V.

TROUBLES OF THE MAHDI.

The Garrison of Kassala—Crocodile Fishing—The Fight near Sennaar—Dormer in Command on the Upper Nile—Siege of El Obeid—The Question of Retaining Dongola—The Rival Mahdis	75
---	----

CHAPTER VI.

BREAKING UP OF THE SUAKIM FIELD FORCE.

Gossip at Suakim—Another Parliamentary Paper—Military Correspondents and General Graham—Osman Digna again—Hard Case of an Officer—Departure of the Australians—Lord Wolseley's Last Order—Sir G. Graham's Despatch—Sir Gerald's Farewell—The Queen at Netley Hospital—Reception of the Marines	81
--	----

CHAPTER VII.

PAGE

RETROSPECTIVE.

Fatal Brawl—Departure of Lord Wolcott—His Farewell Orders—A Rival Mahdi—The Slave Trade—Ismaïl Pasha—Kitchener's Report—Khartoum during the Siege and after the Fall—Gordon's Bonds	101
---	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

MISSION OF ADMIRAL HEWETT TO KING JOHN OF ABYSSINIA.

Invitation in Abyssinia—Designs of France—Massowah—The Mission and its Members—Incidents <i>en route</i> —The Native Horsemen—The Admiral's Interview with Ras Aloula—At Adowa—Terms of the Treaty—Return of the Mission—The Assuan Boundary—The Future of Egypt	118
--	-----

CHAPTER IX.

THE FUTURE OF THE SOUDAN.

Plans for the Defence of Suakim—Skirmish at Hasheen—Excitement at Alexandria—Dongola Refugees—Victory of the Mudir's Men—Efficiency of the Medical Staff—Soudanese Statistics—Fertility of the Nile Valley—Osman Digna again—Gordon's Opinion of the Berber Railway	132
---	-----

CHAPTER X.

THE RED SEA PORTS.

The Blue Book—The Ports of Zeila and Berbera—Mission of Major Hunter—Strange Controversy with the Porte—Tadjurah annexed by France—Egypt and the Italians—Mancini's Despatch—Protest by Assym Pasha	144
---	-----

CHAPTER XI.

GENERAL GRAHAM'S LAST DESPATCH.

The Services of General Greaves—The Volunteer Engineers, &c.—The Chaplains—New Military Arrangements—Refugees from Khartoum—A Capture at Adig—Suez Canal Commission—Whalers on the Nile—Dongolese Fugitives—The Mahdi's Prisoners—The Suakim Railway at Woolwich	152
--	-----

CHAPTER XII.

HOME COMING OF THE AUSTRALIAN CONTINGENT.

Operations at Suakim—Admiral Hay's Despatch—Riot at Suez—The Dongola Fugitives—The Khedive at Alexandria—Arrival of the Australians at Sydney—Address of Lord Augustus Loftus—Sir Evelyn Baring—Letter from the Mahdi—Ranaikim	163
--	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

DESERTED DONGOLA.

Letter of a Twenty Years' Resident—Narrative of Two of Gordon's Soldiers—Dongola Deserted—The Bazaar there—The Christian Quarter—Messenger from Kassala—The Terror of the Abandoned Tribes—Kassala still holding out—Olivier Pain—Change of Government in England—Meeting of Osman Digna and the Mahdi—Ismaïl and Nubar—The Tewfik Dynasty	172
--	-----

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Berbera, on the Gulf of Aden	1	Sir Redvers Buller	57
Morning Prayer of a Bedouin Arab	4	The Raid on Dhakdul	60
Garden on the Road to Heliopolis	5	Lord Wolseley Inspecting the Garrison at Otao	61
Sir Evelyn Baring	8	View at Dhakdul	65
On the Old Canal, Cairo	9	Suakim—Southern Half, from the Sea	68
“Chums”—Sketch on the Suakim-Berber Railway	12	Arab Sportsman of the Soudan	69
Encamped at Otao	13	Forty Miles from Suakim: Leading out Camels at	
Mr. Henry Benbow, R.N.	16	Dawn	72
Private of the Guards Company of Mounted Infantry	17	Suakim—Northern Half, from the Sea	73
Sentry of the Grenadier Guards	20	View near Massowah	76
The Messahhar, or Crier of the Morning	21	On the Road to Berber, Eighty Miles from Suakim:	
Beyrout	24	A Midday Halt	77
Meeting of General Graham and the Friendly Amaras,		Master and Slave—Sketch on the Blue Nile, Khartoum	80
under Mahomet Ali, at Otao	25	The Nile at Old Cairo	81
Young Wife of Fellah	28	Zeriba and Tents at Otao	83
Chamber in the Musafir Khana, Cairo, in which the		Osman Digna	84
Ex-Khedive, Ismail Pasha, was born	29	March through the Desert	85
Crocodiles of the Nile	32	In the Desert—Left to Die	88
Encampment in Upper Egypt	33	Bir Handuk Wells, near Suakim	89
Cairene Maiden	36	Sinkat	92
General Mohammed Nussli, Military Commander of		Sports at Suakim: Tent-Pegging on a Camel	93
Gordon's Steamers at Khartoum	37	Tokar	96
Street in Suez	40	Arab Singer	97
The Governor's Cottage, Gibraltar, where Zebehr		Mr. Frank Roberts, Reuter's Special Correspondent	
Pasba and his Sons Resided	41	at Suakim	100
View on the Bahr-el-Gazelle	44	The Wells at Handoub: Lancers Watering their	
Colonel Mahmoud Tarlhat, Commander of the		Horses	101
Steamer <i>Sofia</i>	45	On the Gulf of Aden	103
Street in Cairo	48	Kassala	104
Bazaar, Cairo	50	Netley Hospital and Abbey	105
Street in Berbera	52	The Ex-Khedive Ismail and Suite Driving out at	
Royal Engineers Clearing the Railway near Suakim		Cairo	108
of Burning Sleepers	53	Arab Bath-House, Cairo	109
One of Osman Digna's Scouts of the Hadendawa		Major Ali Redha' Effendi, Commander of the	
Tribe	56	Steamer <i>Tell-el-Haw'na</i>	112

	PAGE		PAGE
Village in Kordofan	113	Wahaby Arab	152
Soudanese Encampment	116	Terrace Cisterns, Aden	153
Admiral Sir W. Hewett's Embassy to King John of Abyssinia : A Glimpse from the Maiensi Pass	117	Old Cairo	156
Sir W. Hewett's Embassy : An Awkward Part in the Maiensi Pass	120	Camel Market	157
View in Abyssinia	121	Exit of the Hannek Cataract : View from Abu Fatueh	160
Ras Aloola's House, Adi Tecklai	121	Wahaby Arabs Scouring the Desert	161
Captain Tristram Speedy in a Dress of Honour	125	The Harper of Sheikh Mahommed Ali, of the " Friendly " Amaras, Playing to some Guardsmen	164
Abyssinian Priest	128	Scene in Suez	165
Sir W. Hewett's Embassy : Abyssinian Water Girls Bringing Water to Camp A Lady of Adowa	129	Off Alexandria	168
Corn Dealers in Upper Egypt	132	A Night of the Ramadân	169
Mosque-Tomb near Assouan	133	The Nile : Dangerous Part of the Hannek Cataract	172
Native of the Soudan : The White or Sacred Ibis	136	Looking down the Nile to Abu Hammed Fort	173
Village near Assouan, on the Borders of the Arabian Desert	137	Arab Donkey Boy	176
Friendly Natives Bringing Captured Sheep and Goats into Suakim	140	Sugar-Cane Harvest in Upper Egypt	177
View in Nubia	141	The Nile : Entrance to the Hannek Cataract View from Kobodi	180
Tombs at Cairo	143	Abyssinian Horse-Soldier	181
Arab of the Environs of Aden	144	Native of Assouan	184
Aden	145	Arab Eating-House in Cairo	185
March of Turkish Troops Across the Desert of Arabia	148	The Nile : The Batu-el-Hajar View from the Rock of Abu Seir	188
Jiddah	149	Recruiting under Mehemet Ali	189
		The Pyramids and Sphinx	192

LIST OF PLATES.

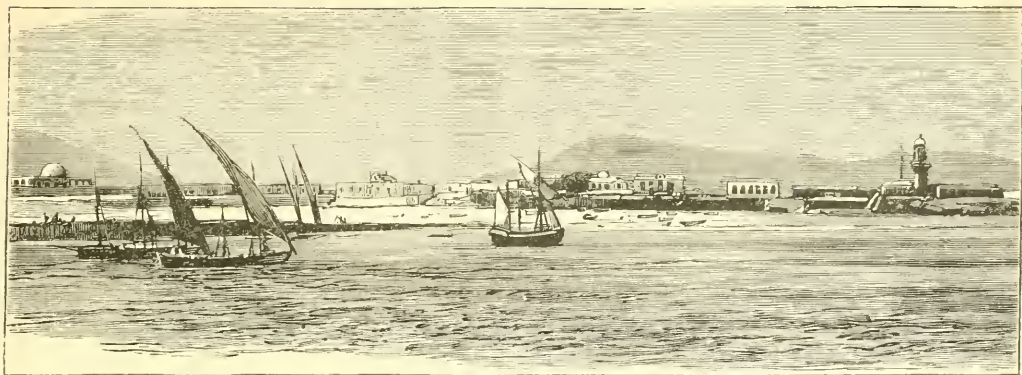
SIR EVELYN WOOD.

CHURCH PARADE AT KORTI ON CHRISTMAS
MORNING (1884).

ISMAIL PASHA, EX-KHEDIVE OF EGYPT.

WITH THE CAMEL CORPS COMING DOWN
A STEEP PLACE.

PRINCE HASSAN, BROTHER OF THE KHEDIVE TEWFIK.



BERBERA, ON THE GULF OF ADEN.

CASSELL'S HISTORY OF THE WAR IN THE SOUDAN.

CHAPTER I.

INCIDENTS BY THE WAY.

The National Aid Society—Deserters from Berti—The *Bosphore Egyptien*—Policy of the Ministry—Lord Wolseley's Despatch to the Government—Reconnaissances from Suakim—A New Camel Corps—The Canadian Voyageurs.

By the 10th April the railway was laid down to within half a mile of the zeriba that stood midway to Handoub, but nothing was seen of the enemy, who were reported to be so much in want of food as to be compelled to eat their camels. The interest in affairs diminished greatly among the troops when the conviction became general that Osman Digna was crushed. All eyes were turned to the East, the liveliest excitement prevailed, and new hopes arose among officers and men at the prospect of a war with Russia on the Afghan frontier, and their transference thither from the hated Soudan.

The advance of any force beyond Handoub was postponed for a time because of the negotiations in progress with the Amaras of Mahomet Ali Bey. They now announced their willingness to come in and submit; but only on condition of the continued occupation of the country being guaranteed to them.

At this time the National Aid Society was doing a useful and benevolent work in a quiet and unostentatious way. Through its representatives the soldiers received most welcome gifts, while a well-known firm of tobacco manufacturers sent out a ton of

tobacco for distribution. Another firm sent out a consignment of 25,000 oranges, and other luxuries, which in such a climate as that of the Soudan were most acceptable, and for all of which the soldiers were sincerely grateful.

On the 11th of April General Graham telegraphed thus to the Secretary for War:—

"Inspected the line of rail and Handoub to-day. Convoy of 1,100 camels and thirty-five carts, with water and supplies. The Engineers' stores arrived there with the Scots Guards; all precautions taken for the protection of the convoy. The Berkshire and Marines escorted it part of the way; Cavalry well out. The Australians from Handoub met the Scots Guards on the way. Working parties at the head of the railway, covered by the East Surrey and a squadron of Bengal Cavalry scouting. The railway now advanced to No. 1 Station, with one company in the Blockhouse there. East Surrey and Shropshire encamped in rear. All satisfactory at Handoub; excellent work done in cutting (down) wood, and in the defensible forts and camp. In force 1,600, only five sick. Water, plentiful for cattle and washing purposes, found only three feet below the dry bed of a water-course. To-morrow a force, 500 strong, Australians, Cavalry, and Engineers, will move from Handoub to Otao, eight to ten miles of open country, and with them Mahomet Ali, on a friendly mission to the Amaras, to try and get them over."

The advance to Otao was postponed, however, as several sheikhs offered to submit when the British advanced to Tambouk. It was now confidently thought that Lord Wolseley, who had arrived at Cairo from the camp at Dongola, would come to Suakim; "but," adds the *Standard*, "he has no idea of abandoning the autumn campaign in the Soudan, for which he is making every preparation. Stern-wheel steamers and other boats necessary for

ascending the Nile are being got ready, and Lord Wolseley hopes yet to take Khartoum." Moreover, it was stated that Sir Henry Bulwer had made an offer of 5,000 Zulu warriors for service in the Soudan; but Lord Derby was unable to accept the proposal.

On the 12th the heat was overpowering at Suakim, and several men suffered from sunstroke, while glanders broke out among the horses. The Cavalry made a reconnaissance from Handoub to Hasheen. Only half-a-dozen Haden-dowas were seen by them in the distance; the village was deserted, but small bodies were known to be at the Hasheen and McNeill zeribas.

About this time two Egyptian soldiers, deserters from the Berber garrison, arrived at Merawi, and gave themselves up to our officials. They stated that they had deserted when the enemy fell back from Berti, and that their force then consisted of two thousand men, all armed with rifles, who were compelled to abandon Berti owing to the scarcity of food, as the district had been swept of all supplies while our column was there. The aspect of these two men confirmed their story. Their faces were hollow and haggard; their clothing was in rags, and they begged to be allowed to return to their homes in Lower Egypt, which they were permitted to do.

Negotiations with the Amaras were still in progress, and it was known that if we succeeded in gaining that powerful tribe as allies, the future course would be comparatively easy; but the question depended entirely upon whether Gene-

ral Graham could offer them guarantees for their future protection, a promise beyond his power of fulfilment. "This," said a correspondent, "will be a work of difficulty after their past experience of the vacillation of British policy towards the friendly natives at the time that Mr. Brewster was conducting negotiations with them as Deputy-Governor of Suakim, under Admiral Hewett."

The Cavalry now visited Otao on 13th April, eight miles in front of Handoub, and found the district free from hostile Arabs, and it seemed that there would be no difficulty in completing the railway to that point. The reconnoitring party purchased goats and other supplies from the natives, who seemed disposed to be friendly, if their fears of Osman's vengeance, when the British withdrew, could be overcome. The correspondent of the *Daily News* at this time insisted that a fixed policy was essential to the success of our operations, as the natives were afraid to declare themselves on our side, and urged that this fear would undoubtedly continue so long as any uncertainty prevailed as to our ultimate occupation of the country.

The incident of the *Bosphore Egyptien* now began to assume such grave proportions that it was thought that it might lead to the fall of Nubar Pasha. M. Taillandier, the acting French Consul, demanded from him a full reparation for the suppression of that obnoxious paper. Nubar inquired what it was that he wanted. M. Taillandier replied the immediate reopening of the *Bosphore*

printing-office, and the dismissal of the official who had laid hands on the French Chancellor. Nubar said that this was out of the question. The French Consul-General then demanded if he was prepared to take the consequences of refusing to comply with his request, and on receiving a brief reply in the affirmative, at once left the Ministry.

The situation was undoubtedly becoming strained. Thus, notice was given to the printer of the paper that should he present himself at the offices next day he might reopen them and continue his business, conditionally on his agreeing no longer to print the *Bosphore*. But he ignored the notice, and, in consequence of the Chief of Police anticipating disturbances, on the 14th of April the guards were doubled at Cairo and the troops confined to barracks. Though an attempt was made by a low class of French residents to organise a demonstration before the office of the suspended paper, the effort proved a failure.

On the 17th the formal protest of the French Government against the action of the Egyptian and British authorities in suppressing the paper reached Cairo. Its terms were courteous, but decided. On the 20th Nubar Pasha replied that the Capitulations having been agreed to by the Porte, he could not give a definite answer until after a consultation with the Ottoman Government as to the form of reply which that of Egypt should give, and time was to be accorded him for this not unnecessary step.

On the following day, however, the French diplomatic agent intimated to him, that the French Minister for Foreign Affairs was not satisfied with the reply made to France for reparation on account of the suppression of the *Bosphore Egyptian*. The French repre-

printing-office, and entered an action for damages against the Egyptian Government, notwithstanding that he had daringly printed in Arabic the Mahdi's proclamation calling upon all Egypt to revolt and destroy the power of the Khedive. It was insisted on at



MORNING PRAYER OF A BEDOUIN ARAB.

sentative added that he was instructed to give the Egyptian Government until four o'clock in the afternoon of that day to reply. At that hour Nubar informed him that the Porte approved of the action taken by the Egyptian Government in the matter, and Nubar further stated that he was in communication with the British Government concerning it.

M. Serrière declined to re-open his

Paris, that there had been an absolute violation of the domicile of a French subject, and that acts of violence were committed against the representatives of French authority. On these grounds it was maintained that France had a right to demand reparation, although the French Government would not make any claim relative to the suppression of the paper, as it came under the regulations of the press in Egypt.

On the 22nd April the *Journal des Débats* said: "As Mr. Gladstone does not disclaim the responsibility of his Government in the affair, it is to Britain

Notwithstanding the intemperate utterances of a section of the Parisian press, the representations of the French Government were received in a con-



GARDEN ON THE ROAD TO HELIOPOLIS.

that we must address ourselves to obtain satisfaction. We would fain believe that the British Government does not share the violent and rancorous passions which the English press displays against us. In any case, we shall maintain our rights and assert them. We shall not lack the means to that end."

ciliatory spirit, and ere long the matter was settled, through Sir Evelyn Baring, in a manner satisfactory to all parties, in accordance with the legal merits of the case, and eventually the *Bosphore Egyptien* was allowed to re-appear, but only for a time.

While stern-wheel boats were being

constructed, and other preparations made for the advance to Khartoum, as told to the troops by Lord Wolseley, the policy of the Ministry was curiously illustrated by the correspondence, given in the Blue Books about the same time, regarding that step from which Lord Wolseley was distinctly averse—a general withdrawal from the entire Soudan.

This correspondence included a long despatch from Lord Wolseley, dated 6th March, in reply to the Government's first intention to destroy the power of the Mahdi at Khartoum, and one from the Marquis of Hartington, dated 13th April, stating that: "In the condition of Imperial affairs it is probable that the Expedition to Khartoum may have to be abandoned, and the troops brought back as soon as possible to Egypt."

In replying to this startling announcement, Lord Wolseley telegraphed from Cairo on the 14th of April: "There will be no difficulty in withdrawing the troops; but for the position in Egypt it is most essential that the announcement of withdrawal should be accompanied by an authoritative statement from you that you are determined to leave a British garrison;" and on the 15th April Lord Wolseley telegraphed to Lord Hartington thus:—

"Mine yesterday dealt exclusively with military matters, unconnected with policy of retreat indicated in yours of 13th inst. I venture to express the following opinion upon that policy. At and south of Assouan I have about 7,500 British fighting soldiers. Retreat policy will require at least 2,500 on the frontier, leaving 5,000 available. For the sake of this handful, is it advisable to reverse the Soudan policy? Retreat from Dongola hands the province over to the Mahdi, and renders the loyalty of the Ababdehs

and other frontier tribes very doubtful. On them we rely very much for peace in Egypt. Troops now in the province of Dongola seriously threaten the Mahdi; block his advance northwards, and encourage his enemies. He might now at any moment be joined by his regular troops, the backbone of his military strength. Many circumstances may lead to his sudden disappearance; time is a great element in our favour if we rest on our arms where we are. This policy entails no risk, for we could concentrate near Dongola or Hannek, whenever we wished, and I would strongly recommend its adoption as most befitting our national dignity, and most likely to secure eventually the objects we have in Egypt.

"Withdraw Graham's force if necessary, this will not seriously disturb Egypt; but hold on to the Dongola province. As long as you do this you prevent Mahdism spreading into Egypt, secure the allegiance of frontier tribes, save henceforth trouble, disturbances, and possibly local risings, which a policy of retreat will probably entail, and which will necessitate increased garrisons in Egypt, and the military occupation of large towns."

In another and long despatch, dated Cairo, April 16th, Lord Wolseley wrote thus:—

"From questions recently put to Ministers in Parliament, and from articles in such journals as have yet reached me, on the subject of the best policy to adopt in the Soudan, it appears to me that the reasons which make it almost imperative upon us to destroy the Mahdi's power at Khartoum are not at present fully grasped in Britain. I propose, therefore, to lay before your lordship some of the conclusions which my experience of Egypt and the Soudan has led me to arrive at. The result of that experience is, that I hold in the strongest possible manner, that both from a military and a financial point of view, and also with regard to the wellbeing of Egypt proper, the growing power of the Mahdi must be met, not by a purely defensive policy on the frontier, whether at Assouan or Wady Halfa, but by his overthrow in the neighbourhood of Khartoum. In fact, the programme enunciated by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons, and communicated to me in your lordship's telegram of the 7th February, must be carried out in its entirety.

"It is, I believe, the intention of Her Majesty's Government to maintain the British garrisons in Egypt till such time as this country is strong enough

to stand by itself. Until then, we are bound to prevent its falling a prey to the Mahdi, or any other invader, and to take such steps as may be necessary for the preservation of order and internal tranquillity. As long as our troops remain in Egypt we are responsible for its safety against external attack and internal revolution. The task of destroying the Mahdi's power and influence therefore falls on us. We can do this in two ways; either by pursuing our original plan of advancing and destroying his power in the neighbourhood of Khartoum, or by adopting a purely defensive attitude on the frontier of Egypt. The first is an operation of which we can see the end. If adopted, it would ensure the inhabitants of Egypt, and many of the frontier tribes being well disposed towards us; and if these tribes did not actually side with us, they would certainly refrain from acts of aggression and hostility. Many of the preparations also for this advance have already been made, and much of the necessary expense has already been incurred. The second course would result in a long series of petty operations, almost certainly winding up with a war as serious as that now before us; it would turn against us all the frontier tribes, would unsettle the minds of the native Egyptians so much that British garrisons in towns like Kench and Tanta, and others would become a necessity, and would derive no benefit from—in fact, render absolutely wasted—all the money that has been spent and all the lives that have been lost in the campaign just concluded. . . . To sum up. The struggle with the Mahdi, or rather perhaps with Mahdism, must come sooner or later. We can accept it now, and have done with it once and for all, or we can allow all the military reputation we have gained, at the cost of so much toil and hard fighting, all the bloodshed and all the expenditure of the past campaign, to go for nothing, and stem the final struggle off for a few years. These will be years of trouble and disturbance for Egypt, of burden and strain to our military resources, and the contest that will come in the end will be no less than that which is in front of us now.

“This is all we shall gain by a defensive policy. In conclusion, I will only observe that I have in this despatch carefully abstained from entering upon general matters of policy, or of touching upon the question which of the two courses is most befitting to our national dignity and honour. To do so would be beyond my province, and were it not would be hardly necessary. There can be but little difference of opinion as to which line of action is the more worthy of the British nation.”

On the 3rd of May, Sir Evelyn Baring informed Lord Granville that the reports he received of the state of Upper Egypt were very disquieting, and he earnestly hoped that Government would reconsider that portion of their policy which related to the withdrawal from Dongola, believing it would be far the wisest plan to remain at and about that city for six months, or perhaps till the end of the year.

But we are somewhat anticipating the current of events.

The movement to Khartoum was still on the tapis in the middle of April, when orders were issued to all officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the Reserve Depôt at Cairo, of the Nile Expeditionary Force, to be in readiness to join their respective corps.

In handing over the Egyptian army to General Grenfell, Sir Evelyn Wood wrote thus, in orders:—

“The Sirdar thanks most warmly the officers of all ranks for the support he has invariably received from them in the difficult task in which they have been associated with him for two years. He believes that no body of British officers have ever worked with more unremitting devotion to duty; and Sir Evelyn Wood knowing how much he is indebted to their efforts for the measure of success now obtained, assures them he will ever remember the aid received from each of his comrades.”

After the Gymkana sports of the Indian Contingent were over—sports to witness which all in camp gathered to see the tent-pegging and superb riding of the Bengal Cavalry, on the 13th of April—General Graham ordered a reconnaissance from Handoub to Otao, where two wells were found. Those at the former place proved to be full of

organic matter, and the water was unfit for human consumption.

In view of a forward movement, all the horses and camels were carefully inspected by the veterinary officers, and were reported to be in excellent health :

hostile to us, and who was reported to be at Hasheen with a large armed band.

Near Deberet, a convoy of sheep and camels, guarded by Hadendawas clad in the uniform of the Mahdi, and *en*



SIR EVELYN BARING.

but there were now at Suakim fifty-one officers and men on the sick-list irrespective of the hundreds sent home in medical charge. Mr. Brewster with a party of friendly natives reconnoitred in the direction of the Wady Otao ; and on the following day, the 15th, the Mounted Infantry advanced by the the lower slope of the hills to capture, if possible, Adam Saadoun, chief of that portion of the Amaras which was

route to Osman Digna, was captured after a slight resistance ; and the Mounted Infantry brought into camp 40 prisoners, including women and children, 12 camels, and 500 sheep.

On the same day a large consignment of railway plant, sufficient to cover fifty miles, arrived from England, for the extension of the Nile line running between Wady Halfa and Sarras to Farik ; and for the Berber-



B. Brandmann & A. Kuper, sc.

ON THE OLD CANAL, CAIRO.

Suakim line, there arrived, some time after, twelve hundred plate-layers and labourers under Captain Constable, from Bombay, in the *Jumna* transport. Meanwhile transport carts, with broad wheels to travel easily over the sand, were being prepared at Alexandria, for the expected new campaign in the Soudan.

The strength of the Egyptian regular forces, now co-operating with ours south of Wady Halfa, was 150 officers, 3,290 non-commissioned officers and men. The Cavalry was composed of 15 officers and 347 men; the Artillery of 14 officers and 210 men, with 10 guns, 130 camels, and 34 horses. The Infantry comprised 112 officers and 2,530 men; the Camel Corps 6 officers and 125 camels.

The *Times* correspondent at Suakim, under date the 15th April, wrote, that there was something "comic" in the manner in which it was proposed to open up communications with Osman Digna. Not being able to find him or discover precisely where he was, "or get him to come to us or at us by terrestrial means or terrestrial messengers, it was determined to reach him through the air." Letters were prepared by General Graham and Major Chermiside, addressed to Osman, inviting him and his fighting men to come to terms. "The letters," he continues, "will be sent up in a balloon and dropped at Tamai and Tamanieb. Major Templar has charge of this celestial post-office; and it is hoped that this experiment may at least draw some reply from the strangely silent enemy."

Nothing had been seen of the latter for some time; but there was every reason to believe that Osman was endeavouring to re-muster his scattered forces, and make good his threat of driving us into the sea. He had invented many plausible explanations of his past disasters, and was wont, by turns, by menace and cajolery to induce the tribesmen to rally round his standard once more. It was considered doubtful at headquarters if he would succeed in getting together more than a few hundred fanatics, and even then, he would have to lose no time in attacking Graham's column, which commanded all his facilities for obtaining food and water.

It was proposed now that Handoub should be the secondary base for operations.

The prisoners taken by the Mounted Infantry were set free. Our people offered to purchase their cattle and sheep; but on second thoughts it was deemed more advisable to requisition the whole for the Commissariat Department.

General Graham now completed his arrangements for the formation of a Camel Corps, on the pattern of that which Lord Wolseley had found so useful elsewhere. The Royal Marines contributed a captain and 30 men; the Berkshire Regiment, a subaltern and 40 men; the East Surrey Regiment, 30 men; and the Shropshire Regiment an entire company of two officers and 90 men. It was the General's intention to use this Camel Corps as a flying force, concentratable at any point or moment, when the railway was menaced.

A captain of the Scots Guards was appointed to the command, according to the *Times*, and it was confidently hoped that this corps would be of immense service in future operations, which would be of a somewhat different character to those that had marked the campaign so far.

On the 16th, the Scots Guards, one squadron of Cavalry, with two mountain guns, and a company of the Royal Engineers, marched to Otao, and proceeded to construct a zeriba there. Although a general feeling of doubt prevailed as to whether the British Government really intended to persevere with the various works undertaken in the Soudan, the military measures showed no sign of abated energy.

On the following day a deserter from Osman's camp was brought in by some vedettes of the Bengal Lancers. According to his statement Osman had only a hundred men with him, all in want of food. The Indian camp followers taken at Hasheen were in his camp, where they were badly treated and kept hard at work. One had a hand struck off by order of Osman, who resented his complaints of want of food. It was also stated that the tribes were broken in spirit by the heavy losses they had sustained, and would, in most instances, submit, could they be assured of permanent protection; but Osman always pointed to the vessels in the harbour, saying that the Infidels were about to pursue their tactics of last year, and deterred the tribes with threats of the vengeance of the Mahdi.

The Canadian voyageurs having now

all returned home, Lord Wolseley addressed the following letter with reference to their services to the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Governor-General of Canada :—

“ Cairo, April 13.

My Lord,—The Canadian voyageurs who have recently been employed with the Nile Expedition, having now all returned to Canada, I am anxious to express to your lordship my high sense of the services they have rendered, and of the value they have been to the Expeditionary Force. With a few exceptions they have been thoroughly competent boatmen; they worked exceedingly well. They have undergone the hardships of this arduous campaign without the slightest grumbling or discontent; and they have, on many occasions, shown not only great skill, but also great courage in navigating their boats through difficult and dangerous water. I much regret that in so doing some of them should have fallen victims to the dangers they were attempting to overcome. The officers, and especially Colonel Denison, have shown much energy and goodwill, and have proved themselves of considerable value. I beg to ask that your lordship will have the goodness to convey the purport of this letter, both to the officers and men of the Canadian voyageurs and also to the authorities in Canada, certain unfounded statements having appeared in various papers, to the effect that their employment has been attended with unsatisfactory results. I desire to place on record, not only my own opinion, but that of every officer connected with the direction and management of the boat columns, that the services of these voyageurs have been of the greatest possible value, and, further, that their conduct throughout has been excellent. They have earned for themselves a high reputation among the troops up the Nile. It was, moreover, a source of much satisfaction to these troops to find the Canadians represented on this expedition, and sharing with them their privations and risks. At a time when English, Scottish, and Irish soldiers are employed, the presence with them of Canadians shows in a marked manner the bonds which unite all parts of our great Empire. In the advance up the Nile next autumn, I propose to employ a considerably larger number of voyageurs than that employed in the past winter. Lastly, I am anxious to express to your lordship personally, my sincere thanks for the trouble you have taken with regard to the engagement of these voyageurs, and all the other arrangements connected with them.”



"CHUMS"—SKETCH ON THE SUAKIM-BERBER RAILWAY.

CHAPTER II.

AN UNEVENTFUL INTERVAL.

Operations at Suakim to the end of April—The Stern-wheel Steamers—Mr. Brewster's Reconnaissance—The Troops at Suakim—The *Iberia* Transport—The Wavering Tribes—The Jamming of the Rifles—The Advance Postponed—French Troops in the Suez Canal—The Foe again Active—Their Designs on the Railway—Lord Wolseley on the Behaviour of the Soldiers.

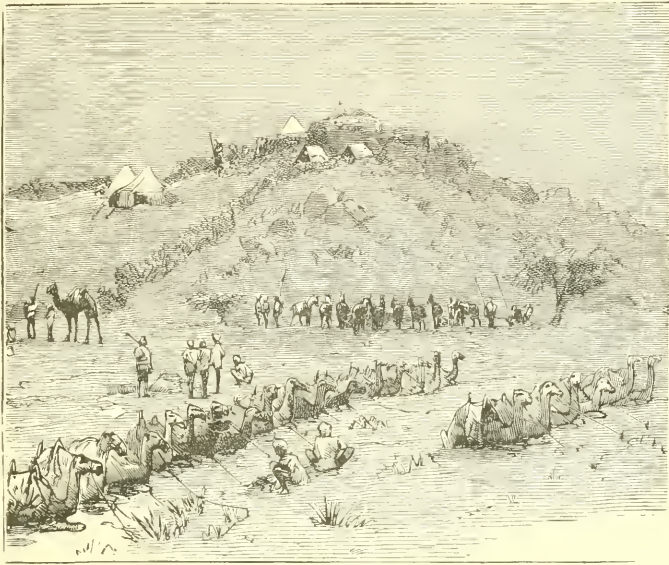
If anything were needed to convince the troops that the proposed Expedition to Khartoum was to be carried out in its entirety it was the accounts of the stern-wheel steamers which appeared in the public prints about the middle of April, as being in preparation for the use of the force that was to "smash up" the Mahdi, and avenge General Gordon.

Though they struck many as novelties, they had been familiar to

the Americans for fully thirty years, as they used them on the smaller tributaries of the Mississippi and elsewhere. In the autumn of 1884, the Messrs. Yarrow of Millwall were first commissioned to build two stern-wheel steamers, for the use of Lord Wolseley. Being ordered late, they arrived after the operations had actually begun. One was bolted together at Alexandria, the other was carried in portions by steamer, railway, and nuggar to

Semneh, and there constructed. Both the *Water Lily* and the *Lotus*, as they were named, were of great use, and found very fast. Complaints were made that the vibration was too great, and though considerable, it was thought scarcely sufficient to justify the assertion made by officers and seamen, "that

build others—two of 120 feet in length, 23 feet beam, and 18 inches draught; and three of the same length and beam, but armour-clad, and having a draught of 27 inches only when in fighting order. They were inspected by Colonel J. Alleyne of the Royal Artillery, who served as a subaltern on the Red River



ENCAMPED AT OTAO.

it was impossible to sleep, eat, write, or read on board of them."

Messrs. Yarrow urged, with justice, that they could have constructed the vessels so as to lessen this rough vibration, if they had been allowed slightly to modify their designs, especially if they had been informed that their steamers were for the conveyance occasionally of sick and wounded. These two craft were 75 feet long by 18 feet beam, and only 18 inches of draught when light. For the advance to Khartoum Messrs. Yarrow began to

Expedition, in command of the seven-pounder mountain guns, who had been sent home in April to examine them, together with Mr. Benbow, the engineer, now popularly known in the service as "the man who mended the boiler," a service most inadequately recognised.

The first five steamers were to be used, as the *Lotus* and *Water Lily* had been, in the transport of stores up the Nile, and sick and wounded down. The three fighting steamers were made in floatable sections, so that riveting-

up on the Nile would be avoided. The construction of these boats was very peculiar. The machinery was on the main deck, protected by armour, while every part was accessible in a moment if repairs were needed. The vessels were sheltered by a hurricane deck from the rays of the sun, and upon it was a cool and convenient saloon, with bunks for the crew, while invalids were to occupy cots and stretchers. On this deck was also the pilot-house, placed in American fashion, and giving a fine view all round.

Each vessel was armed with two one-inch four-barrelled Nordenfeldt guns forward and two aft, so as to be able to sweep the banks of the river with streams of bullets; while the powerful rudders, three in number, would give the most complete control over each vessel, either in the narrow passages of the cataracts, or in the more perilous straits between hidden rocks and sand-banks, where the fullest command of the vessel is often imperatively needful, within the limit of a few inches.

A very ingenious apparatus, for discovering the draught of the river ahead, was invented by the Messrs. Yarrow. This, in their own words, consisted of employing two poles about 50 feet long, at the end of which were suspended two vertical iron rods, the bottom extremity of which came about one foot below the level of the boat itself. One pole projected from the port side, the other from the starboard. Attached to each of these was a wire rope, which passed on board and was connected with the whistle on the boiler, and the gear was

so arranged that immediately this indicator touched a hidden rock or sandbank the steam-whistle blew. This plan, in the first instance, drew the pilot's attention to the fact, and also pointed to him on which side of the vessel the rock or bank lay, and thus warned him in what direction to steer.

"This," said the contractors, "is the more important, when it is borne in mind, that the river Nile at some periods of the year, is even worse in opaqueness than the Thames."

Now these objections, wrote a correspondent, present themselves to those who know the Nile well. In the first place, its banks are so shelving that the rods will frequently prevent the steamer from getting alongside a good landing-place. In the second, the rods would infallibly be broken, if the steamer took the ground at full speed. And in the third, the Nile when it is muddy is deep, and when it is shallow is clear enough for the pilot to see from his perch aloft all that he needs to know of surface indications, of rapids, rocks, or sand-banks; and it was feared that if all this gear, could not, at will, be raised above the surface, it might do quite as much harm as good, when the advance began. One admirable appliance, afterwards to be added, must be noticed.

This was a steam capstan on the main deck, so fitted that the vessel could haul herself up the rapids, either by getting a rope ashore, or by laying-out a stream-anchor, with the aid of the Dongola swimmers. At the construction of these remarkable vessels, the men

of Messrs. Yarrow worked in relays by day and night. "It may seem to some people," wrote a correspondent at this time, "that we are spending a great deal of money in this direction, when we know that the campaign in the autumn may, after all, be countermanded; but it might well be wished that no more money were wasted than on these steamers, for they will be needed, and be most useful on the Nile for years to come, even if there should be never another shot fired between Wady Halfa and Khartoum."

Mr. Brewster, a Scotsman in the Egyptian Civil Service, and one of the most distinguished Arabic scholars in the country, on the 18th of April, with a party of "Friendlies," pushed on to Tambouk, which he found deserted, while a preconcerted reconnaissance was made by the 15th Sikhs from Suakim, the Mounted Infantry and Australians from Handoub, and the Scots Guards from Otao, who scoured all the hills beyond Hasheen, the three columns meeting in the Deberet Valley; but of the enemy nothing was seen, save some two hundred Arabs on camels making off into the obscurity of the desert about five miles away. Next day the Scots Guards proceeded to Tambouk, the other two battalions of the Guards, and the Second Brigade, also advancing another stage.

Ever since Graham's expedition to Tamai, Mahmoud (or Mahomet) Ali, sheikh of the friendly portion of the Amara tribe, had urged the General to allow him to make a raid or rush at Tamanieb, and endeavour to capture

Osman Digna, whose following had dwindled away again, and whose circumstances were desperate. General Graham finally consented, and the old sheikh, whose services and losses in the British cause deserved all the confidence that could be reposed in him, started with seven hundred of his men on this expedition, which proved a failure; while, on the very day he departed from Suakim, a sensational report was spread in the Bazaar that Osman had fallen a victim to the growing disaffection of his men, and been slain by some who rebelled against his authority.

Every effort was now made to push on the railway beyond Handoub, which lies twelve miles from Suakim, while Tambouk is twenty-five, as the crow flies. On the same day of the reconnaissance from Deberet, a messenger came to General Graham with one of the usual tantalising rumours that the Amaras and other tribesmen, to the number of 5,000 men, were willing to join him and fight against Osman Digna.

The reconnaissance of the 18th showed the enemy that we could move through their hilly districts, and by marching from three different points we covered a considerable amount of country. The Scots Guards from Otao marched for twenty miles over steep hills without a man falling out. The Australians marched fourteen miles through a most difficult pass for nine hours, the commanding officer conducting in an excellent manner, and only one man fell out. The Sikhs from

Suakim marched twenty miles at a swinging pace, only three men falling out.

On the 19th, the Scots Guards and a wing of the Coldstreams, with two pieces of cannon, half a company of

head of the railway the Berkshire Regiment, the Marines, and the Madras Sappers; at Handoub the Colonial Contingent, the Shropshire and Surrey Regiments, a squadron of Lancers, half a company of Mounted



MR. HENRY BENBOW, R.N.

Engineers, and half a company of Mounted Infantry, advanced to Tambouk, without meeting with any opposition.

"On Tuesday next (April 21st) the following will be the position of the troops," wrote the *Standard* correspondent:—"Those enumerated above will be at Tambouk; at Otao there will be half a battalion of the Coldstreams with two guns, half a company of Engineers, and a company of Mounted Infantry; at the

Infantry, four guns, and a company of Engineers. The remainder of the force will be at Suakim, whence it will advance on Wednesday morning with General Graham and staff to Handoub, where it will remain for some time. The 17th Bengal Native Infantry Regiment will guard Suakim. General Graham and staff will proceed to Tambouk to-morrow, and return to Suakim in the evening."

Early in April, the *Iberia* transport,

Captain Shannon, belonging to the Orient Company, which left Suakim with wounded, came into Portsmouth Harbour. She had a good passage, during which her wounded and invalided passengers, for the most part,

transport, were buried at sea. There were few invalids on board the *Iberia*, but most of them were suffering from gunshot wounds, and curiously enough, a large proportion of these were in the back—the result of fighting in a square,



PRIVATE OF THE GUARDS COMPANY OF MOUNTED INFANTRY.

made good progress. A private of the Berkshire Regiment died from dysentery, and two of the Guards and one of the Commissariat died from gunshot wounds. Private Ellis of the Royal Engineers also succumbed during the voyage; he was so terribly mangled by spear thrusts and gunshot wounds that it was astonishing he lived to reach the ship. All these poor fellows, like many others with each returning

all sides of which were assailed at once.

These men had formed part of General Graham's division, and received their wounds either at Hasheen on the 20th of March, or McNeill's zeriba on the 22nd, or as members of the convoy on the 24th. The officers who returned in the *Iberia* were Colonel Gildea, Assistant - Quartermaster - General (to General McNeill), who came on board

invalided; Captain Sir Rodney Riddell, paymaster of the 90th Regiment, invalided; Major Robertson, 9th Bengal Lancers, with a spear wound in the leg; Captain the Hon. N. C. Dalrymple, of the Scots Guards, whose shoulder-blade was smashed in the engagement of the 24th, while acting as Brigade Major of the Guards; Lieutenant Gunn, R.N., invalided; Lieutenant the Hon. Alan Charteris, Coldstream Guards, with a spear wound; and many more.

Three men had each lost a leg and two were minus an arm. "In one hammock lay a man of the 49th Berkshire, watched over by two nurses, and, under their kindly influence, he looked forward without dread to having a leg amputated to stop the hæmorrhage from his wounds. Here was to be seen a head bandaged; there an arm in a sling; elsewhere a man walking slowly about the deck assisted by his sick comrades." Most of the men were confined to their hammocks, and all were in the best of spirits to see their native shore again, and anxious to get to Netley Hospital. Several suffered from dysentery and sunstroke, but with the exception of one fatal case, they all made satisfactory progress.

On the 20th General Graham reported to the War Office, that he had visited Tambouk in the Hadendowa country, a post held by General Fremantle, with the Scots Guards, two screw guns and a company of Engineers, while Otao was held by the Coldstream Guards, with one company of Mounted Infantry. He found both positions strong; the health of the

troops good, and no appearance of the enemy. That great essential, water, was abundant at Otao; but at Tambouk, only six hundred gallons a day could be got from the wells, where it was found to be five feet lower than last year, and the boring was arrested by rock at a depth ten of feet. Beyond dry water-courses he found the country to present few obstacles to the line of railway.

Near Tambouk he found a very deep water-course with banks at least twenty feet high. The bed of the valley was flat, covered with loose rocks and bush, with occasional high cliffs, round the base of which the rail could wind; but beyond Tambouk the line would enter among wild hills, where there was not a drop of water to be found for fully twenty miles; thus a further advance was, for the time, postponed. But now the Arabs in the country north of Suakim, hearing of the reverses suffered by Osman Digna, and fearing to be cut off by these successive advances of the British troops, moved southward, and four hundred of them were seen moving westward of our works at Tamanieb, to rejoin the force hovering among the hills near that place.

Mahomet Ali with his friendly Arabs was still out among the hills; but the presence of the tribes in some force now, in the Deberet Valley, rendered it very doubtful whether he would be able to achieve the *coup de main* he projected for the capture of Osman Digna; indeed we need scarcely say that it proved a failure.

"I arrived here [at Handoub] early

from Suakim," wrote the correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle*. "Whilst galloping along during the night, I met some Amaras, who were coming from the opposite direction. At first sight their intentions appeared doubtful, and I had already seized my revolver, when my servant pronounced them to be friendly, and they shortly afterwards disappeared in the direction of Suakim, whence I had come. On arrival here, I found some little stir, as a body of rebels had been seen near the railway. Beyond this, however, nothing was certain; but an extra guard was placed on duty against a possible surprise. Spies report that Mohammed Ali is among the hills, treating with various tribes for the capture of Osman Digna. His success, however, is dubious. The friendlies state that Osman is again at Tamai with 500 followers, and eager to face us again. The railway works are proceeding briskly, and the track is already nearing Otao; but Tambouk, the next station, has been found to contain only a poor supply of water. As this is the case, the troops at present there will be withdrawn to Otao again, as the work of sending daily convoys has been found too great a strain upon the transport. Once, however, the railway links the two places, all difficulty as to supplies will at once disappear."

Mr. Brewster, who served as Chief of the Intelligence Department, came to headquarters to urge the necessity of giving some definite reply to those wavering, but would-be friendly tribes, who sought some guarantee for their

protection in the future. "The best possible reply to them," wrote the *Standard*, "would be to hoist the British flag over Suakim. This would be equivalent to the presence of two brigades at Suakim. In any case it is imperative that the Government should arrive at a decision, as otherwise the fruits of the campaign will certainly be lost. Unless all results are to be abandoned, a considerable force will have to be retained here throughout the summer."

Lord Wolseley still seemed to expect an advance to Khartoum, for when passing through Wady Halfa, towards the end of April, he spoke in most decided terms against the adoption of the Suakim route, and declared his intention to return by the way of the Nile when he resumed the command in July.

The subject of defective cartridges and stores now cropped up again, when on the 20th April it was stated in Parliament that the troops in some parts of the Soudan "were without clothes, except the rags of what they had started in," and that the newspaper and parcel posts had been stopped, and thus they would get nothing sent to them.

To this the Marquis of Hartington replied that the Ministry had not received any account showing that an extraordinary amount of suffering prevailed among the troops on the Nile. All arrangements for their accommodation had been made locally. Large supplies of clothing and other requisites had been sent out, but it would

be impossible to state how far the means of transport at the disposal of the military authorities in Egypt enabled the troops to reap the advantage of them. The subject then dropped.

Inquiries instituted at Suakim re-

and breaks in the men's pouches when it is carried loose, as it must be. If kept well greased it does not jam; but this is not always possible in such a climate as the Soudan.

The general opinion was that the case should be "solid drawn," thus



SENTRY OF THE GRENAДИER GUARDS.

garding the occasional jamming of the Martini-Henry rifle resulted in the conclusion that the desert sand was not so much the cause of it as the defective manufacture of the cartridge metal, which was reported to be altogether "too thin and papery," and in too many pieces. When the charge is fired the metal expands, and thus jams in the chamber; while the case of the cartridge is so thin, that it often bends

obviating the necessity for so many component parts. The cartridge was regarded as a theoretical one, which failed in active service and left the soldier defenceless. In fact, wrote the correspondent of the *Times*, the officers and non-commissioned officers have had to employ themselves in action, in driving out the jammed cases with the cleaning-rod; but this is not long enough until a piece called the "jag"

is screwed on, and, when this is done, the rod cannot be returned. A man cannot in action use the rod, but must lie down or pass the rifle to another,

useless, and this occurred under the enemy's fire—the British soldier being supplied with cheaper ammunition than the Soudanese! The men threw them



THE MESSAHHAR, OR CRIER OF THE MORNING.

and the delay and danger of such an operation, especially in close fighting, must always be serious.

The colonel of one of the regiments most hotly engaged in the critical battle of the 22nd March stated that some of his men's rifles were jammed at the very first shot and rendered

away, and took up the rifles of their dead or wounded comrades. The sand, in the Colonel's opinion, had nothing whatever to do with the jamming, as the whole of the rifles were inspected the same morning, and were seen to be in perfect order. With the rifle itself no fault was found; it was voted a perfect

weapon, the deadly efficiency of which was at once proved by the terrific slaughter at McNeill's zeriba. It was also mentioned again that the bayonets did not all stand the work which had to be done, as after the battle many were found bent, twisted, and useless. Another lesson taught by this campaign was the absurdity of arming mounted infantry with long rifles, which are unsuitable to saddle work in a dense bush, and for which a repeating carbine should have been substituted.

At this very time, when orders were issued to test the swords of the 2nd Dragoon Guards and 7th Hussars at Aldershot, more than one half were found unfit for use even after recruit drill. "The lives of our soldiers are precious," wrote a correspondent with reference to these matters; "they surely run sufficient risks, and it is villainous and unpatriotic that these risks should be greatly multiplied by sending them to fight with cheap, defective weapons, through the oversight or connivance of stay-at-home officials."

The disclosures of the gross defects of the rifle cartridges in the Soudan brought about, in September, 1885, an important change in the construction of the ammunition for that weapon. It was then decided that the complicated wrapping of the thin sheet brass was to be used no longer, and that drawn brass tubes be substituted. The advantages of the change were obvious, says the *Army and Navy Gazette*. The new form of covering is often described

as a "solid-drawn tube," but it is, of course, a paradox to call any tube solid.

On the 22nd of April the startling news came to Suakim of Mr. Gladstone's statement, that, after all the toil, suffering, blood, and treasure wasted in the Soudan, further operations there were to be suspended. But the tidings were certainly welcomed by many, as the prospect of an indefinite occupation of the seaport, without any tangible purpose, and unrelieved by the excitement of actual warfare, was almost universally distasteful, and the effects of the daily increasing heat were beginning to be severely felt.

The hope that some improvement in this respect might prevail as soon as the advanced condition of the railway would allow the troops to encamp in the hilly regions, had not as yet been realised. The heat in the enclosed valleys of Tambouk and Otao was greater even than at Suakim, 105° having been registered as a day temperature under canvas. Sickness, in consequence, began to increase; and, though hitherto the general health of the troops had not been satisfactory, they had to reckon on a further increase of some twenty degrees in the temperature during the summer months.

Under these circumstances, which tell upon the *morale* of troops not less than their physique, the chance of those impending events which might draw the forces to a scene of more stirring warfare, evoked the greatest enthusiasm, and nothing was spoken of in camp but battles on the Afghan frontier.

"One of the most satisfactory features of the Eastern Soudan campaign of 1885," wrote the correspondent of the *Standard* at this time, "has been the great improvement in the Transport, Commissariat, and Medical Departments since 1882. The praise already given in my telegrams to the Naval Transport, under Captain Fellowes, is equally due to the Land Transport, under Colonels Walton and Robertson and Captain Decasson, upon which the most severe demands have been made, more especially in the matter of water convoys. The above officers were ably assisted by Lieutenant Bayley, especially detailed from the Indian Army, and by the Hon. Guy Dawnay, Member of Parliament for the North Riding of Yorkshire, who has now returned to England. The Commissariat, notwithstanding the difficulties thrown in their way by perpetual changes at headquarters, have supplied the enormous requirements of the Expedition with hardly a hitch. With regard to the medical service, I cannot do better than quote the words of a distinguished professor who came out specially to study surgical cases. He said:—'I have never seen, and still less did I expect to see, such perfect arrangements, whether at the base or in the field.' The censorship of the Press unhappily prevents my mentioning some quarters in which praise is not equally applicable."

The Cavalry remounts committee now ceased to purchase horses; but Major Hutton was ordered to Beyrout, with instructions to proceed to Con-

stantinople, if necessary, with letters from Sir Evelyn Baring, to facilitate the export of two hundred and fifty horses recently purchased, but which the Turkish authorities would not allow to leave Syria; and meanwhile, as General Graham had not received any fresh instructions from the War Office he continued the construction of the railway, and also made preparations for an advance with the Camel Corps to Es Sibil, nearly fifty miles from Suakim.

The excitement prevailing there received a new impetus when it was announced that another French transport had arrived in the Suez Canal. These two had two thousand French troops on board. Their orders were not clearly known; but they stayed a week in the canal, followed and closely watched by the British Ironclad, *Invincible*, whose sealed orders, it was believed, were to prevent the landing of these French troops, anywhere in Egypt. Unless in connection with the *Bosphore Egyptien* incident, it is difficult to know what brought them into the Canal.

Notwithstanding Mr. Gladstone's statement, the stores for the railway continued to arrive fast. By the 22nd of April, the harbour authorities, work as they might, found it utterly impossible, with the small landing-place, to keep pace with the arrival of stores from Britain; and at that date, no less than twenty ships, all laden with the railway plant, were awaiting their turn to unload.

After a little interval of quiet, the enemy began to reappear once more,

and caused a thrill of excitement to pervade the monotony of camp life at Tambouk, Otao, and Handoub. Day, then, passed after day, under a scorching sun, without any incident more interesting than the arrival and depar-

there was only one post, known as "Station No. 1," where, as stated, a blockhouse and wooden tower had been built. There, Lieutenant Haggard, of the Kings (Shropshire) Light Infantry, with thirty men, five of whom were



BEYROUT.

ture of convoys; but the Scots Guards, in their advanced post at Tambouk, had the hardest time of it, owing to the scarcity of water. Only six gallons for twenty-four hours, were yielded by the wells, though, of course, the convoys from Otao kept the garrison supplied with condensed water from Suakim.

Between the town and Handoub

Lancers, for scouting, was placed in a small but strong zeriba.

On two successive mornings parties of the enemy, on foot and on camels, were observed skirting the mountains in the direction of Deberet, where recently a brief reconnaissance had been made. Haggard's little detachment remained under arms the entire night; for as darkness closed in, the peculiar

signal whistle of the Hadendowas, which resembles the shrill cry of a bird, was heard in the bush all round the zeriba; but no attack was made, though it seemed likely enough that Osman's fanatics had made up their minds to

dan, the line was pushed vigorously on, and there were no signs of an approaching retreat. A body of Hadendowas, were now reported to be in arms among the hills, two miles distant from Tambouk, where the new Camel



MEETING OF GENERAL GRAHAM AND THE FRIENDLY AMARAS, UNDER MAHOMET ALI, AT OTAO.

measure strength with us once more; either by falling headlong on us, when the next step forward was taken, or by attacking the convoys.

Six new wells were now dug by the troops at Otao; and a platform a hundred yards in length was constructed for the discharge of supplies arriving by railway, and in spite of the telegrams received, announcing the intention of our Government to abandon the Sou-

Corps arrived at midday on the 23rd of April.

On the following morning General Graham with his staff rode to Tambouk, to inspect the position, and returned to Suakim by train from Handoub, while a force of six hundred of the Camel Corps, fifty Mounted Infantry, and two hundred of Mahomet Ali's friendly Arabs, marched from Tambouk to Es Sibil; but they returned

the same evening, as Mahomet, who had a private feud with the chief sheikh of that place, declined to remain there during the night with so small a force. On the preceding night several rifle shots—one account says forty—were fired into Tambouk, but did no damage.

On the 24th a balloon was sent up at Ambuk, with some friendly Arabs in the car. They had a good view of the country for fifteen miles around, but saw only a few stragglers of the enemy mounted on camels. The main camp of the Scots Guards beyond the Wells of Tambouk was a strong position at the foot of high hills; three of these were occupied with screw guns. The camp was girt by a zeriba, and the great stones that encumbered the adjacent ground, and might afford cover to the enemy, were all cleared away to form roads and camp surroundings.

Almost every night now parties of Osman's men came down from the hills and harassed the advanced camps. To check this, on the night of the 25th, Colonel A. H. Paget, of the Scots Guards, with twenty picked men of that corps, went out and lay in ambush on a hill a thousand yards due south of Tambouk, from whence the enemy had fired on the preceding night; but, greatly to their disappointment, none of the Arabs appeared. The whole force in Tambouk had orders to be in readiness to fall back on a three hours' notice. More firing on Tambouk and Otao ensued on the night of the 27th.

In reference to the alleged interference with the newspaper and parcel post, we may here quote a General

Order issued at this time:—"The General officer commanding in Egypt has drawn attention to the inordinate number of newspapers which have been sent out for the use of the Nile Expeditionary Force, many of which have to be detained at Wady Halfa, owing to the difficulty of transport up the Nile. He advises the friends of officers and soldiers in the Soudan to restrict the newspapers to a limited number of weekly papers. He remarks that a large quantity of daily papers, from their bulk and weight, interferes with the delivery of parcels, the quick transport of which is of far more importance. The General officer also recommends that parcels should be packed in boxes of tin or wood, sewn up in strong sheeting, and very legibly directed, in order to ensure their safe delivery at their destination."

The laying down of water pipes along the railway line was now abandoned, and a great stir was caused in camp by the receipt of instructions from London directing the Royal Marines, who had been serving under General Graham, to return to England with the least possible delay, there to be transferred to various vessels ordered for foreign service; and so peremptory were these instructions, that the Marines were embarked on the following day on board the transport *Australia*, which sailed on the 29th, on the night of which the Arabs again opened a fire on the camp at Otao, and the railway was now ordered not to be continued beyond that point till further instructions were given.

On that night also the Arabs scooped the sand from under the sleepers of the railway at Handoub and set them on fire.

These were Hadendowas from Hasheen, who also burned a large pile of sleepers near the line, and carried off some telegraph wires and a quantity of other material.

Their fire into the camp at Otao wounded three of the Coldstream Guards and several camp-followers, but was responded to by a rifle fire, a few rockets, and shells from the screw guns. And next morning, at half-past eight, a body of Hadendowas opened fire upon the camp at Tambouk, but at 2,000 yards, consequently it was quite harmless, and a dread of our screw guns prevented them from lessening the range. About the same time some more of these restless Hadendowas—encouraged, no doubt, by rumours of the approaching retreat of the British troops—assisted by Egyptian convicts who had made their escape to Osman Digna—cut the telegraph wires and destroyed the metals in several places between Handoub and Suakim; while spies brought the information that 300 of them had solemnly sworn on the Koran to rush one of our positions, cut off a convoy, or do something equally desperate.

On the 30th the Cavalry and Mounted Infantry issued from Handoub, and rode six miles up the Hasheen Valley to Theroubat, where it was known that the rebels had been in hundreds that morning; but they had dispersed before our troops reached

the spot. The same force, together with the Camel Corps and Mahomet Ali's Amaras, made a reconnaissance as far as Es Sibil, of which nothing came, though a belief was prevalent that they might capture Osman Digna alive or dead.

From Major Templar's balloon a look-out was kept above Tambouk, with a small pilot balloon in a higher current of air; and two "friendlies," who were taken up as "a treat" in the former, came down very sea-sick, to the amusement of the soldiers in camp.

The temperature at six o'clock in the morning then averaged 63°; at noon 92° to 102° under a double tent; and night and day the limelight of the heliograph sparkled from the tops of the fortified hills over the zeribas, to the terror and bewilderment of the hovering Arabs.

Some mining engineers, who were officers of the Australian contingent, found, when experimentally blasting a reef of rock two miles from Tambouk, a promising quantity of copper ore.

On the 30th, with a view to check the annoyance caused by the night attacks of small bodies of rebels, a portion of the 70th Regiment marched out of Handoub in the afternoon and posted themselves in ambush, and the expectation that they would renew their attempts to injure the line was justified by events.

About dusk some 200 Arabs passed in a body right along the front of our ambushed men, who opened a rattling fire on them. So scared were they by this unexpected reception, that

they made no attempt to return the fire, but fled across the hills. Our men fired carefully, and evidently with effect, for numerous gouts of blood were seen when day broke, indicating

ham had received from Lord Wolseley a long despatch containing details in connection with the embarkation of the troops at Suakim.

The convoys to the advanced posts

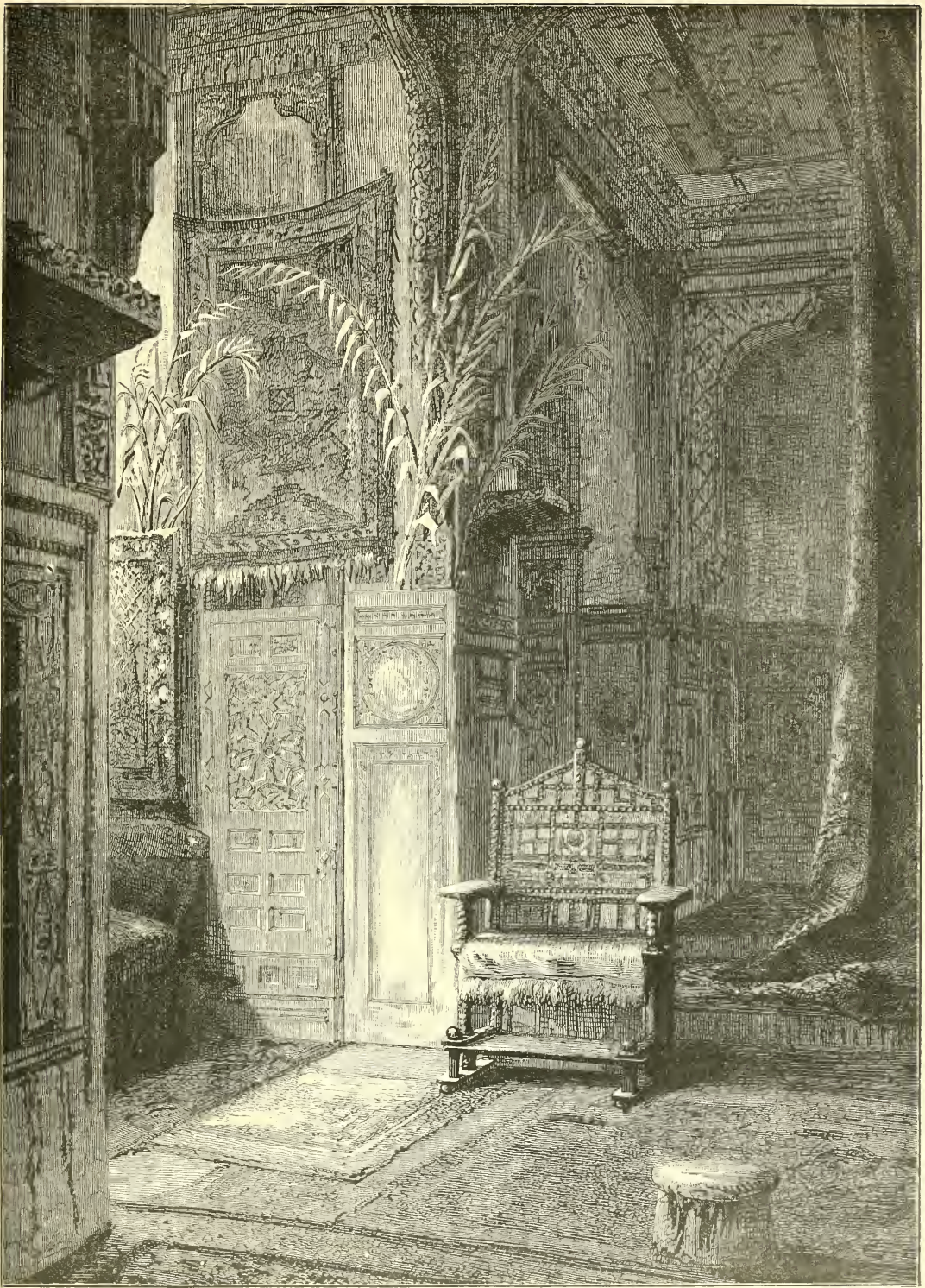


YOUNG WIFE OF FELLAH.

that several of the enemy had been hit; but, as usual, they had succeeded in carrying off their killed and wounded. The men of the 70th were in excellent spirits with the success of their manœuvre in meeting the wily enemy with their own tactics.

Two days before this General Gra-

were more amply protected now, as, under Osman Digna's renewed threats, in the face of the vow sworn by 200 of his fanatics on the Koran, the General could not entrust 300 camels *en route* to the escort of half a squadron of cavalry, as he had been doing lately. "Although there seems to be little



CHAMBER IN THE MUSAFFIR KHANA, CAIRO, IN WHICH THE EX-KHEDIVF,
ISMAIL PASHA, WAS BORN.

doubt," wrote a correspondent at this time, "that Osman Digna suffered a far more serious loss than we knew of at the time in the victory of the 22nd of March, which was gallantly snatched from the jaws of defeat by the British private soldiers, and that he is too crippled for further serious attack, it is certain that he is now sufficiently recovered to renew his harassing tactics."

Definite news regarding the imminence of a war with Russia was now eagerly awaited by all our army in the Soudan, and a feeling of relief and enthusiasm pervaded all ranks at the prospect of more active and worthy service; and in every tent and hut, Cyprus, Gallipoli, Smyrna, and India were discussed as the possible destination of the force, which would undoubtedly have formed the nucleus of a fine fighting army. In such speculations as these many a weary hour was whiled away pleasantly enough.

At Suakim the proposed abandonment of work upon the railway to Berber and the return of the several hundred coolies who arrived in the *Jumna*, puzzled and bewildered the column of Sir Gerald Graham; but not more so, perhaps, than many other remarkable occurrences during that most singular campaign. "In existing circumstances," wrote a correspondent, "the line, as it is at present being constructed, could hardly reach Berber within two years. As there has been, and can be, no satisfactory declaration of our policy to the tribes through whose country the rail must pass, if we really intend to lay it all, the general

impression is, that fifteen or twenty miles of railway, ending abruptly in the desert, will be an admirable type of Britain's past policy towards the Soudan. Doubtless Osman Digna and Sheikh Taher, the religious head of the insurrection, and that scoundrel Saadoun, will so proclaim it, and when we retire will proceed to give the Suakimese another lively summer, by coming down to the harbour and firing into their windows nightly. Mr. Wyllie will have another bullet-hole to show in his side-board, and M. Marquet, the French Consul, will again barricade his bed on the house-top. Then in the autumn, Britain, or some other power, will have to begin again to stem the tide, which has not lost much of its strength through any effort of ours during the past six weeks." This view of the situation was strongly flavoured with pessimism, as this narrative has already shown, and subsequent events abundantly confirmed.

In his despatch of the 30th May, to Lord Wolseley, Sir Gerald Graham refers thus to the occurrences at Suakim in April:—

"Looking upon all these operations merely as trying the qualities of the troops, it cannot be denied that they were severe tests, and that no troops could have stood them better. The harassing night alarms, with enemies having all the stealthy cunning and ferocity of wild beasts prowling about in their midst, only served to increase the vigilance of the men in outpost duties, and while teaching caution, made them more eager to meet their

enemy in fair fight. The long marches and toilsome convoy duties under a tropical sun; the repulse of the enemies' sudden charges in the bush; the toilsome ten nights' watch in the zeriba, amid the carnage of a battle-field, are achievements of which any troops may be proud. As an instance of the high spirit that animated the whole force, I may mention, that the 1st Battalion of the Berkshire Regiment, who bore so glorious a share in defeating the enemy's sudden and desperate onslaught of March 22nd, continued to form part of the garrison of the zeriba until the final advance, and though suffering great hardship, declined to be relieved.

"During the progress of the railway," continued the General, "the troops were not annoyed by the enemy beyond desultory firing at night, and some attempts to injure the telegraph and railway. They had, however, heavy duties to perform in clearing the bush, and the heat continued to increase. Although the enemy was now cowed, full preparations had to be made to meet any attempts to interrupt the progress of the railway; and successful reconnaissances were directed in advance, and also into the neighbouring valleys, to clear them of Arabs, who, according to the information received, were collecting for the purpose of harassing our line of communication. The troops who took part in these reconnaissances showed great spirit and powers of endurance. On one occasion the 2nd Battalion of the Scots Guards marched

a distance of nearly twenty miles, over rough mountain passes, without a man falling out. The 15th Sikhs on several occasions displayed their splendid marching powers, and at the surprise of, and attack on, Mohammed Adam Saadoun, in the Thakool Valley, the Camel Corps and Mounted Infantry marched all night, dismounted at day-break, came fresh into action, and then, after climbing steep hills in pursuit of the enemy, they returned to camp, having made a march of over forty miles, half of which had been under a hot sun. This was done without a loss from over fatigue.

"Not only did the troops cheerfully undergo the strain put upon them by their heavy duties in such a climate, but they readily responded to any call on them for extra duty, especially for any service involving some chance of adventure. Volunteers were easily obtainable for night ambuscades on the railway or for service in the armoured train; and the Camel Corps was to a great extent manned by volunteers. Before the great heat came, men also volunteered for work on the railway."

Lord Wolseley's generous tribute to the gallant behaviour of the British soldiers in the Soudan war was certainly richly merited by these brave men. This History will have been written in vain if the author has not succeeded in demonstrating that the qualities of perseverance, patience, and pluck, were evinced to a very high degree by our troops.



CROCODILES OF THE NILE.

CHAPTER III.

REVOLT AGAINST THE MAHDI.

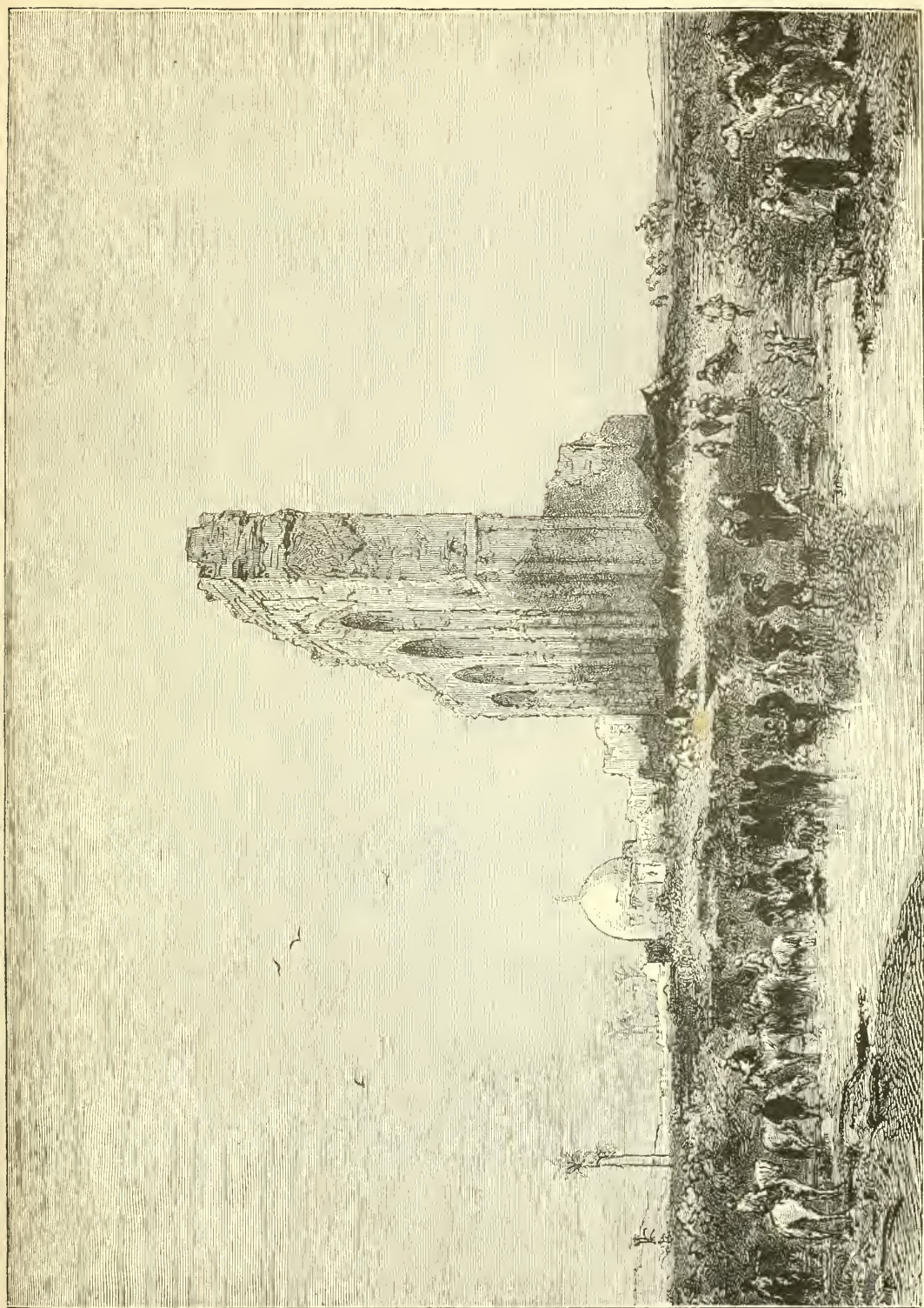
Departure of the Mudir of Dongola for Cairo—The British Camp at Dongola—The Mahdi in Difficulties—The New Mahdi—The Suez Canal—The Zobeir Pasha Controversy—The Mission of Prince Hassan—The *Josphore Egyptian*—The French Flag hauled down.

On the 3rd of April, our ally, the Mudir, accompanied by his harem, household, and personal staff, left Dongola at sunset for Cairo, and many assembled to bid him farewell, believing that, under the pressure of British influence, he was about to be superseded. There was no demonstration of any kind, except by an old woman, who threw dust at him as he was passing. The Coptish Christians regarded his departure with delight; but the Arabs, jealous of his alliance with us, were indifferent about it, and a petition drawn up in the form of a testimonial, testifying to his loyalty, influence, and the respect he commanded, proved a complete failure. The Vakeel performed his duties in his absence.

Next day some deserters from Khar-

toum reached Merawi, with tidings that a portion of the Kordofan army had left the Mahdi and set out on their return home, stating that they had been a sufficient time under arms, and that in capturing the city the object of the campaign had been achieved. The Mahdi pursued them with a body of troops, but was defeated by their leader, Abdul Hamed Walad Essawad, after heavy fighting, near El Obeid. Yet he announced that he would attack Dongola, in three months, after the feast of Ramadân.

The health of the troops in General Dörner's camp was then good, the sick having much improved since leaving Korti. The camp was strongly guarded, with a line of out-pickets established on hills that rose on both its flanks.



ENCAMPMENT IN UPPER EGYPT.

The Hassaniyeh tribe round Berti were still actively hostile.

On the 7th of April news came from Abu Gusi, stating that a brisk slave trade was carried on from the province of Kordofan; but the traders carefully avoided the vicinity of every station occupied by British troops; and on the same day the following proclamation, from Constantinople, regarding the Mahdi, was circulated at Dongola and elsewhere:—

“CONSTANTINOPLE, April 7.

“The false Mahdi having acted hitherto in a manner contrary to the principles of Islamism, and consequently in opposition to the elevated ideas and conciliatory views of his Majesty the Sultan, it is not impossible that he may have carried his audacity and seditious spirit so far as to issue a fresh incendiary proclamation against the Ottoman domination.

“The existence of such a proclamation is, however, doubted, as nothing is known of it by the authorities of the Hedjaz or Yemen, whom the Arab population, in their fidelity to the Imperial Government, never fail to keep informed of the acts of this impostor.

“However this may be, there is no doubt that the Arabs, in all the regions of the Empire inhabited by that race, show their devotion to the Imperial throne and the Caliphate by constantly sending deputations to Constantinople; and that the Arabs, equally with all other Mussulmans, will treat this new appeal made by fanaticism and barbarism with the same profound contempt as previous incitements of a similar character.

“The proclamation in question, therefore, will produce no effect on the minds of the Mussulman population, who regard the Soudanese agitator as nothing but an impostor and a robber chief of the worst kind.”

On the 13th deserters reported that the rebels had left Berti and retreated to Berber, while those that were in Metemneh, under an Emir, had been withdrawn to Khartoum; and large numbers of Bishareen Arabs, who had

joined Osman Digna, had received such severe lessons in their conflicts with the British troops, that they had left his country with their families and retreated to Berber.

“We are leading an uneventful life here,” wrote the correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle*, from Dongola, under date the 20th of April; “but though we have very little in the way of excitement, we have by no means settled down to the dull monotony of hot weather in the Soudan. There is still hut-building going on, and news telegrams, especially just now, furnish topics of conversation which help to make us forget our surroundings. Most of the troops are in huts. The 19th Hussars are still in tents; but they were the last to arrive at Dongola, and consequently are behind the others in hut-making. The general plan of the huts is twenty feet by forty, with two or more doors, and they are about eight feet high. A framework of uprights and crosspieces is first made, and over all this are lashed mats of dhurra stalks, which are made by the natives. Two layers of mats afford an ample protection against the sun, and serve to keep out the dust, whilst a mud wall, about a foot or eighteen inches high, keeps the dust from being blown in at the bottom. One of these huts hold from fifteen to twenty men. The officers’ pattern is a long hut divided into three compartments—one for each officer, twelve feet by twelve feet.”

Dongola proved to be the best of the summer stations on the Nile. There were more provisions obtain-

able there than at others, such as milk, butter, and eggs, though all of an inferior quality, and very dear. There were also plenty of vegetables—pumpkins, onions, and tomatoes—and the natives lost no time in planting rows of water-melons on the island opposite where the falling Nile had left the mud, and where their daily growth was watched with intense interest by the thirsty garrison.

The Dongolawi, as countrymen of the Mahdi, did not like us, nor cared to conceal the fact, but they seemed determined to make the most they could out of our troops while there. The people were fairly respectful, but they taught their children to say, as the soldiers passed them, "*Inglees mush kwyees*" ("English no good").

The Nile was very low now at Dongola, so low that even the whale boats were constantly grounding, and the Guards' Camel Regiment had crews in daily training for certain projected regattas. Their mess hut was burned by accident, and with it perished their entire mess kit with four officers' huts, which sent up the price of knives, forks, and spoons in camp to a premium.

"The announcement a few days ago," wrote a correspondent, "of the recall of the Camel Corps was received with cheers by the Guardsmen here, but their faces looked very long when it was officially denied next day; they are a cheerful lot, however, and intend to make the most of the Dongola season. The officers have built a truly magnificent mess hut (in the best style

of Captain Pearson, Royal Marines, the architect of their hut-barracks), where every one receives a welcome, and can get a drink of cold water or even ginger-beer, both of them most acceptable drinks in this hot, liquor-forsaken country. The Greeks who have brought up stores so far as this deserve all praise, though their prices are exorbitant. They are the only people who have attempted to supply us with tinned provisions, and one of them penetrated even as far as Gakdul."

It was curious that, while our troops were settling down so quietly in the camps on the Nile, the Mahdi should have such a rough time of it in Khar-toum and elsewhere; and the troops were not without surmises that when autumn came his life, or at least his power, might be ended. Meanwhile the news of further preparations continually arrived in the camp at Dongola, though many then urged that the preparations were on too petty a scale for an advance, and were rather intended for a movement down the river.

A certain amount of khaki clothing was served out to the troops all round; and not a moment too soon, as they were clad in rags. Umbrellas also arrived, but were chiefly used by orderlies; and from the General came that (to smokers) most timely gift—the briarwood pipes, prior to which one pipe frequently did duty for fifteen men. The health of the troops was good, the percentage of sick being 7·81, which, the Medical Staff alleged was less than would be the

case if the camp were down in Lower Egypt. With reference to Lord Wolseley's incessant references to boy soldiers, "it must be remembered," said the *Daily Chronicle*, "that nearly all the

wrote one, "and the difficulties with Russia give us an excuse for saying openly that we are sick of it."

It was now known confidently at Dongola that the tribes in revolt



CAIRENE MAIDEN.

weakly—in fact, practically speaking, all—have been weeded out long ago, and only the fittest survive in the Soudan."

It was on the 22nd of April that news of Mr. Gladstone's remarkable speech reached Dongola, and was received with joy by the troops there. "Every one is sick of the Soudan,"

against the Mahdi—those of Fellata, Gowameh, Ghodiat, and Hawazura—had defeated him with heavy loss at Dar el Ahomdah. They were led by the Sheikh Abuonga; and on the following day, the 17th of April, news came from Sennaar that the garrison of that place was holding out valiantly and well against him, having been

reinforced by the Mudir of Tokar and Said Osman, though fresh troops were sent from Khartoum against it under a warlike sheikh named Walad Joubara, and camels were forcibly collected for troops going against that brave garrison, and for warfare in Kordofan.

Sheikh and Hawazura Arabs had pillaged El Obeid and carried off the spoil to Gebel Dair. And on the 25th it was stated that the troops in Omdurman were wavering in their allegiance, and that smallpox was raging among them. A brisk sale in slaves



GENERAL MOHAMMED NUSSHI, MILITARY COMMANDER OF
GORDON'S STEAMERS AT KHARTOUM.

Matters were said to be fast becoming worse for the Mahdi, as on the 20th it was stated at Dongola that the Arabs on the White Nile above Khartoum were deserting him, as he was robbing every one of anything worth seizing, and that those in Berber were in open revolt against him, under the leadership of a sheikh named Migummi, the quarrel having its origin about some treasure; while the Mawai

still went on in Khartoum, and all the Christian prisoners taken were said to have been sent to the island of Abba.

At Dongola the heat about this time was intense, the thermometer registering 113 degrees Fahr. in the shade.

Abu Anga, one of the Mahdi's most trusted lieutenants, was now slain in Kordofan, and a paper emanating from an orthodox Mussulman, refuting the

latter's claims, was being circulated among the native population, by whom it was eagerly read.

It was now reported at Dongola that a new Mahdi, named Muley Hassan Ali, made a triumphant entry into El Obeid on the 12th of March. He bore a naked sword in his right hand, rode on a pure white horse, and was followed by a dervish of the town, by prisoners, and by his adherents with their swords drawn. When he passed the people prostrated themselves and kissed the ground, and during his prayers in the mosque, a large pile was made on which a copy of the new Koran, prepared by the old Mahdi, Mohammed Achmet Shemseddin, was publicly burned. The new Mahdi, Muley Hassan Ali, told the assembled people that Mohammed, the Prophet of Mecca, had given him the sword he bore, wherewith to extirpate the old Mahdi and all his followers.

"Reports," said a correspondent at Dongola, "continue to reach headquarters here, almost daily, of the rising in Kordofan, and all confirm the belief that it is of the most serious character to the Mahdi. I have received to-day important information on the subject from a trustworthy source. The rising is something more than mere discontent on the part of the Mahdi's rank and file, for it is directed by two formidable sheikhs, old antagonists of the Mahdi, and able men. One of them, Abdul Essawad, was one of those leaders who opposed the Mahdi's first attempt to conquer Kordofan. Abdul Essawad raised a formidable force, with which

he defeated the Mahdi at Gebel Dair. He could not, however, prevent the subjugation of Kordofan; but he retired with a portion of his forces, and, as a matter of fact, never sustained a defeat at the hands of the False Prophet. The other malcontent is El Nawai, Sheikh of the Hawazura tribes, a well-known warrior, possessing considerable influence. There seems to be little doubt that the whole of Kordofan is now in open revolt, and that Abdul Essawad and El Nawai may yet simplify Lord Wolseley's task, by relieving him of the necessity of 'smashing' the Mahdi. El Obeid has been closely invested by the rebels for some time past. Reports have reached here that the place has been taken by storm and sacked; and that Abdul Essawad has retired for a while to Gebel Dair with his share of the plunder; but this is by no means certain. It is reported, also, that the garrisons in Sennaar and Kordofan still hold out."

A messenger who left Khartoum about the end of March reached Dongola, with information that the market in the former place was literally glutted with slaves, male and female, who were sold at prices varying from five to thirty dollars a head. He confirmed the report that the garrisons of Sennaar and Kassala were holding out gallantly; but he bore terrible marks of ill-usage, having been captured, pillaged, and beaten by robbers, who teemed about all the wells in the Bayuda desert.

On the 28th April, the Sheikh Salem Isawi, of the Kabbabish tribe, was

solemnly invested with a robe of honour by the British authorities at Dongola, in recognition of the valuable services he had rendered during our advance towards Khartoum, not only in supplying camels, but in capturing convoys of the enemy.

About this time the regular troops of the Mudir of Dongola made a most successful raid upon Abdassi Island, near Berti, and slew its principal sheikh, who for a long time had been a strong advocate of the Mahdi, and prevented the people from paying their taxes; but on the 28th, when the villagers of Nourri, eight miles from Dongola, were holding their weekly fair, they were attacked by the Hassaniyeh tribe from the Sarniyeh wells, who killed a number of their leading men, and carried off many women and cattle (the former to be sold as slaves) almost within cannon-shot of the British troops, who were now experiencing great difficulty in getting sufficient wood and matting for their huts.

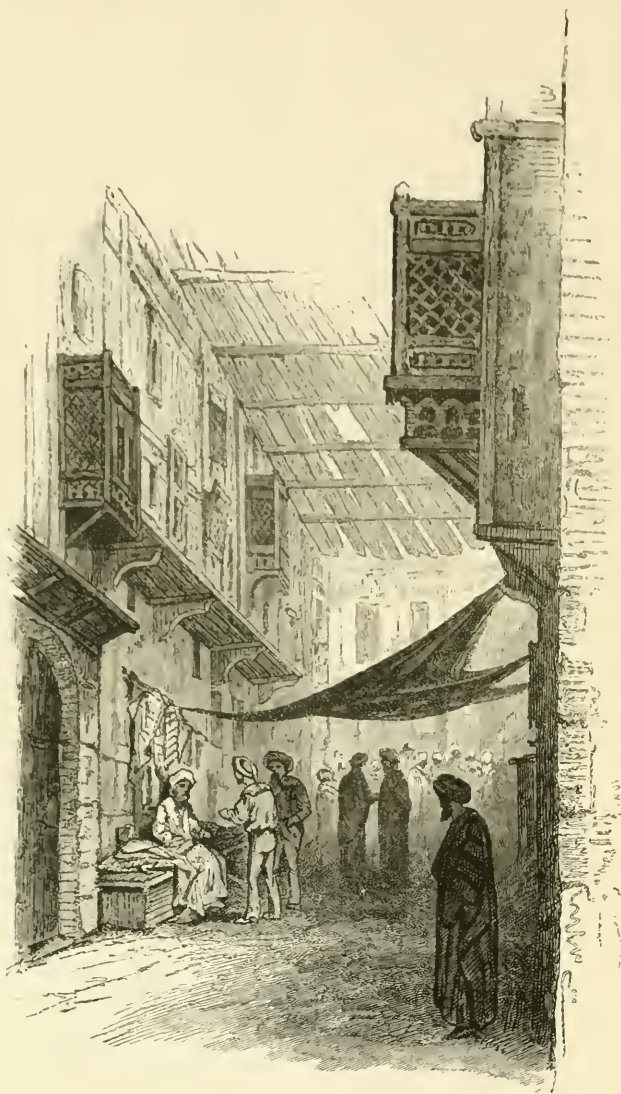
To turn elsewhere, the Sub-commission charged with that important subject, the regulations for the freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal, was fast approaching the completion of its task. At the sitting held on the 1st of May an accord was come to on all the points of which the delegates of the Powers had made reservations. In addition to this, the text of the clause, stipulating that in case of damage being done to the Canal by ships of war, the Power to which they belonged should reimburse the Suez Canal Company for that damage, the repairs being under-

taken at once by the Company, was adopted unanimously. The Committee held another sitting next day, at which the proposal made by Britain, and accepted by France, to the effect that the territorial Power was to be charged, to the utmost of her ability, with the observance by all the Powers of the regulations enacted for the freedom of navigation through the Canal, was officially discussed. "From unofficial conversations which have been entered into by the delegates there seems every reason to believe that this question will not give rise to any serious divergence of views. As for the principle of the right of the Powers to exercise supreme supervision over the application of the regulation for the freedom of navigation, it has been unofficially recognised by the delegates of all the Governments. This being the case, and France being willing to accept any fit means that may be proposed, it is confidently hoped that this last point will be settled to the satisfaction of all the Powers, and that by the end of next week, at latest, the International Commission will have brought its labours to a successful termination."

We have detailed in its place the sudden arrest of Zebehr Pasha, who, on the 12th of March, with his two sons, his foster-son, and one faithful servant, was brought to Gibraltar in H.M.S. *Iris* (from Alexandria *via* Malta), where they were placed in what is known as The Cottage, the Governor's summer residence, where all arrangements were made for their comfort. The barrier gates which isolate

the residence and its garrison from external communication were ordered to be kept closed day and night,

ended in communicating with these five prisoners, as the interpreter at Gibraltar did not understand Oriental Arabic.



STREET IN SUEZ.

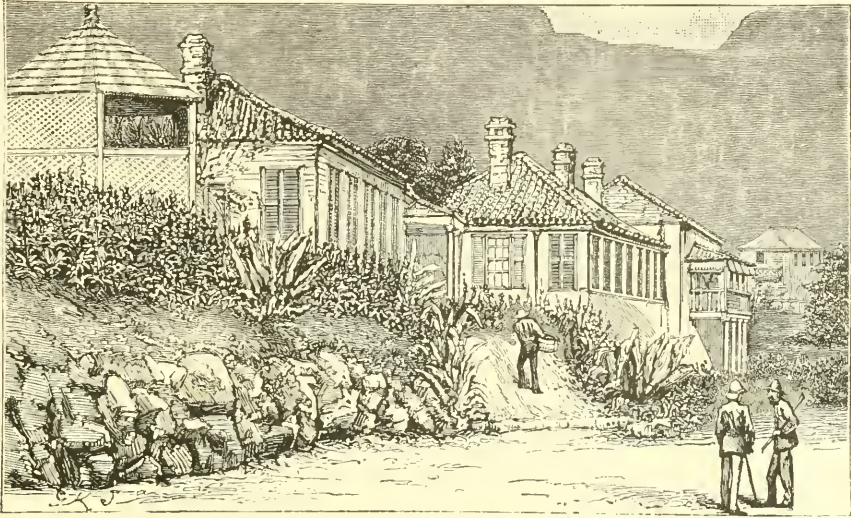
while a subaltern, with eleven non-commissioned officers and men, were told off as a strict and permanent guard on this secret friend, and now known coadjutor, of the Mahdi. On the first evening the greatest difficulty was experi-

The Government, though pressed strongly by their agents in Egypt, had kept silent as long as possible about the late General Gordon's clamant applications for Zebehr. The Opposition getting some knowledge of it,

displayed an anxiety to damage the Government, and, *coûte que coûte*, began to raise a hue and cry against Zebehr. Public opinion, no doubt uninformed, and unaware of the arguments which were used by Gordon and Sir Evelyn Baring, was, for a time, outraged by the very suggestion of Zebehr's appointment. "But," said a print of the time,

was not surprising, considering all the circumstances of the case.

Before reproducing General Gordon's renewed application for Zebehr to be sent to Khartoum, we may quote Lord Kimberley's emphatic declaration as to the duty of acting upon Gordon's recommendations of the then undiscovered traitor:—



THE GOVERNOR'S COTTAGE, GIBRALTAR, WHERE ZEBEHR PASHA AND HIS SONS RESIDED.

"if the public had been placed in possession of the facts laid before Government, the appointment of Zebehr would have been approved, nor would it have excited more serious opposition than the slave-holding proclamation. Ministers, however, lacked nerve. Mr. Gladstone alone in his Cabinet ventured to insist that General Gordon should have his way. He was more or less supported by Lord Hartington, but the rest of the Cabinet, headed by Lord Granville, would not have Zebehr at any price." This hesitancy, however,

"In the case of a place so distant as the Soudan, they must interfere, if they interfered at all, with very much less knowledge than those upon the spot; and he thought it would have been a great mistake to have taken the responsibility upon themselves, and have dictated to General Gordon everything he should do in regard to affairs about which he must know a great deal more than the Government. Was it possible to conceive an operation of greater difficulty, or one in regard to the carrying out of which they must

more completely trust the man they employed? It was out of the question for the Government at home to devise the exact measures by which he was to succeed. It was only the peculiar qualities of General Gordon, and the peculiar knowledge he possessed of the country, that gave him a chance of success." But when these peculiar qualities and knowledge were brought to bear upon the question of what Government was to be set up at Khartoum, the Ministry overruled them.

In a series of telegrams in March, 1884, General Gordon explained why Zebehr must be sent to him, thus:—

"I see the impossibility of the immediate withdrawal of all the Egyptian employés, and the remedy I propose is to send up Zebehr as my successor, who would receive for a time a subsidy from the Egyptian Government to enable him to maintain an armed force. As to Egyptian employés, I mean that I appoint men of the Soudan to places which they do not care to accept for fear of compromising themselves with the Mahdi, and that is my difficulty, which arises from haziness of the future. This would be all over if Zebehr was here.

"The combination at Khartoum of Zebehr and myself is an absolute necessity for success, and I beg you and Lord Granville to believe my certain conviction that there is not the slightest fear of our quarrelling. To do any good we must be together, and that without delay. . . . Believe me I am right, and do not delay. Things are not serious, although they may become

so if delay occurs in sending Zebehr. My weakness is that of being foreign, and Christian, and peaceful, and it is only by sending Zebehr that prejudice can be removed."

Thus wrote the luckless Gordon, in ignorance of the secret character and schemes of the man for whose co-operation he prayed. And on this point the equally ill-fated Colonel Donald Stewart was quite as strong:—

"It seems to me," he wrote, "that it is impossible for us to leave this country without leaving some sort of established Government which will last, at any rate, for a time, and Zebehr is the only man who can assure that. Also, we must withdraw the Sennaar and other besieged garrisons, and here also Zebehr can greatly assist us. . . . I assure you none are more anxious to leave this country than Gordon and myself, and none more heartily approve the Government's policy of evacuation. Unless, however, Zebehr is sent here, I see little probability of this policy being carried out. Every day we remain finds us more firm in the country, and causes us to incur responsibilities towards the people which it is impossible for us to overlook."

But on the 5th of March Lord Granville still refused to appoint Zebehr, and in Parliament he said:—

"General Gordon went for the double purpose of evacuating the country, by the extrication of the Egyptian garrisons, and of reconstituting it by giving back to those chiefs their ancestral powers, which had been withdrawn or

suspended during the period of the Egyptian Government. I have told the House already that General Gordon had in view the withdrawal from the country of no less than 20,000 persons in the military service in Egypt. The House will see how vast was the trust placed in the hands of this remarkable person. We cannot exaggerate the importance we attach to it. We were resolved to do nothing which should interfere with his great pacific scheme—the only one which promised a solution of the Soudanese difficulty—by at once extricating the garrisons and reconstituting the country upon its old basis and local privileges. It was our duty, whatever we might feel as to the particular position of the garrisons, to beware of interfering with Gordon's plans generally, and, before we adopted any scheme that should bear that aspect, to ask whether, in his judgment, there would or would not be such an interference."

Gordon still continued to urge that Zebehr, being a native of the country, could rally all the well-affected round him, as they knew he would make his home in Khartoum, and that giving him a subsidy for some two years or so would be in contradiction to the policy of entire evacuation.

"As for slave-holding," he wrote, "even had we held the Soudan, we could never have interfered with it. I have already said that the treaty of 1877 was an impossible one; therefore on that head Zebehr's appointment would make no difference whatever. As for slave-hunting, the evacuation of the

Bahr-Gazelle and Equatorial provinces would entirely prevent it. Should Zebehr attempt—after his two years' subsidy was paid him—to take those districts, we could put pressure on him at Suakim, which will remain in our hands. I feel sure that Zebehr will be so occupied with the Soudan proper, and with consolidating his position, that he will not have time to devote to those provinces.

"As for the security of Egypt, Zebehr's stay in Cairo has taught him our power, and he would never dream of doing anything against Egypt. He would rather seek its closest alliance, for he is a great trader. As to progress made in the extrication of garrisons, all I have done is to send down from Khartoum all the sick men, women, and children of those killed in Kordofan. Sennaar is quite safe and quiet. Kassala will hold out without difficulty, after Graham's victory, but the road there is blocked, as is also the road to Senaar. It is quite impossible to get the roads open to Kassala and Sennaar, or to send the white troops, unless Zebehr comes up. He will change the whole aspect of affairs," continued Gordon, in his blind and perfect confidence. "It is impossible to find any other man but Zebehr for governing Khartoum. No one has his power. Hussein Pasha Khalifa has power only at Dongola and Berber. If you do not send Zebehr you have no chance of getting the garrisons away. This is a heavy argument in favour of sending him. There is no possibility of dividing the country between Zebehr and the other chiefs;

none of the latter could stand for a day against the Mahdi's agents. . . . There is not the least chance of Zebehr making common cause with the Mahdi. Zebehr here could be much more

light of the discovered secret correspondence, and the arrest and deportation of Zebehr.

"He is also of good family," continued Gordon, "well known, and fitted



VIEW ON THE BAHR-EL-GAZELLE.

powerful than the Mahdi; and he would make short work with the Mahdi. The Mahdi's power is that of a Pope; Zebehr's will be that of a Sultan. They could never combine—Zebehr is fifty times the Mahdi's match."

All this praise reads curiously in the

to be Sultan; the Mahdi in all these respects is the exact opposite, besides being a fanatic. I dare say Zebehr, who hates the tribes, did stir up the fire of revolt, in hopes that he would be sent to quell it. It is the irony of fate that he will get his wish if he is sent up." But better reasons were needed.

To all this Sir Evelyn Baring replied that sending Zebehr and giving him a command was in harmony with the principle of evacuation, and that he had always contemplated some arrangements for the future government of the Soudan. As to slavery, he pointed

to General Gordon's last and vehement request:—

“With regard to ourselves we have had confidence in Gordon, and believe it will be fully justified. I would remind you that Henry IV. expressed great remorse, and gave a pledge for



COLONEL MAHMOUD TARLHAT, COMMANDER OF THE STEAMER "SOFIA."

out that we must either virtually annex the country or accept the inevitable consequences of abandonment, adding, "I believe that Zebehr may be made a bulwark against the approach of the Mahdi." But the Government still refused to alter their decision, and Lord Granville spoke thus in the House of Lords on the 6th of March, the day after he had finally declined to accede

the future, when he found that one of his best ministers had been prevented doing that which was for his—the King's—good, in consequence of the too strict injunctions with which he hampered him; and I would go much farther than he did. I happened to open an interesting book the other day on Chinese literature, and the first thing I found was a sentence attributed

to no less a person than Confucius. It was, 'If you suspect a man do not employ him, but if you do employ him do not suspect him.' I cannot help thinking that this maxim is as applicable in this country at this time, as it was a great many thousand years ago with regard to the administration in China."

But notwithstanding all this, when subsequently General Gordon appointed Zebehr, on his own account, Deputy-Governor-General of the Soudan, the Government wisely prevented his departure, as we have related elsewhere, by the action of their police.

Early in March, 1885, when Zebehr alleged a reason for declining to accede to Miss Gordon's request that he should intercede with his correspondent, the Mahdi, for the recovery of her brother's papers and effects at Khartoum, he had the effrontery to say that he could not communicate with Mohammed Achmet Shemseddin, as the latter was quite unknown to him, and in no way allied with any of his—Zebehr's—people.

On the 2nd of April a Maltese, who spoke several languages, was arrested at Assouan as a suspicious character, and on being searched several letters written by Zebehr to the Mahdi were found on him, and the contents of these alone justified the Government in arresting Zebehr and deporting him to Gibraltar. The Maltese was forwarded, under a strong guard, to Cairo.

On the 17th Zebehr's interpreter arrived at Gibraltar, with the whole of his correspondence in Arabic, to be

submitted to the Governor for perusal. The latter frequently visited Zebehr, who refused to take exercise within the guarded precincts of the house he occupied, and boldly stated that he ignored the Mahdi, and came from the interior of the Soudan simply to transact private business at Alexandria.

On the 20th of the same month one of the Orderly Dragoons, carrying letters to the citadel of Cairo, was shot at twice, in mere wantonness, by a Soudanese, a relative of Zebehr Pasha. The soldier was not injured, but the police arrested the man in his house, to which he had fled, and it was resolved to make an open example of him for the sake of public order.

During March and April, 1885, Prince Hassan came on a bootless mission to the Soudan. He was the second brother of the Khedive, and was born in 1853. He married, in January, 1873, Khadijah Khanum, a daughter of old Mehemet Ali Pasha (who died in 1861), and by whom he had a son, Aziz Bey, and a daughter, Aziza Khanum. He was Minister of War, and the mission undertaken by him was by the invitation of Sir Evelyn Baring, acting on the request of Hassan Fehmi Pasha, then in London. The step was considered as being in the interest of the Sultan rather than that of the Khedive, and by many it was deemed as being the first move on the part of Britain to hand over the Soudan—not to Egypt, for whom we had been absurdly seeking to re-conquer it—but to Turkey! The appointment was received with much adverse criti-

cism, and was regarded as still farther complicating the situation, and leading to future difficulties.

He was accompanied by a suite of twenty-four persons, with eighty camels, and left Cairo for the Soudan on the morning of the 2nd of March, 1885, taking with him a pack of hounds with which to hunt antelopes in the summer months, which was about the only thing he achieved. On the 30th of the month Lord Wolseley left Dongola for Wady Halfa, where Prince Hassan awaited him; and the former expected to leave that place in the *Water Lily* on the 7th of April for Assouan, *en route* for Cairo.

On the 6th Lord Wolseley and his staff arrived at Wady Halfa, having performed the whole journey on camel-back, and inspected all the military stations on the line, and leaving instructions with regard to the various depôts for food, grain, and ammunition, which had been established along the banks of the Nile, at Abu Fatmeh, Kaibar, Abasart, Dal, and Akasheh. Lord Wolseley expressed his satisfaction at the arrangements which had been made to facilitate the progress of the troops upward, in the autumn, and gave particular instructions to the officers in charge at the above-mentioned stations.

The hospital arrangements in these were now very complete, and the transport of the sick was managed with the minimum of inconvenience to the sufferers. They were, perforce, conveyed in whalers to Akasheh, but from thence the journey was performed in

comparative comfort by portage and rail, the line of which was proceeding rapidly, notwithstanding a deficient supply of plant. It extended now twenty-two miles beyond Sarras, and it was hoped would by August 15th reach Ferket.

Lord Wolseley dined with Prince Hassan on the 6th at Wady Halfa, and it was now announced that the latter would return with him to Cairo, having done nothing towards his mission in the Soudan, and he arrived in the capital about the 17th of the month.

The 24th of April saw, at Cairo, the excitement concerning the suppression of the *Bosphore Egyptien* culminate, when M. St. René Taillandier formally pulled down the French flag at his Consulate, an action taken by the French Government, it was supposed, under the following circumstances.

On the 23rd a rumour was circulated in Paris to the effect that the Ministerial authorities there were about to disavow the action lately taken by M. Taillandier in support of the paper; and he had telegraphed that if the *prestige* of France was to be maintained in Egypt some vigorous line of conduct must be adopted. Hence, on the 24th came instructions for him to break off diplomatic relations and leave at once. He, however, deferred his departure till the 25th; yet Nubar Pasha gave no sign of yielding or giving any reparation "as demanded by France for the violation of M. Serriere's domicile."

On the 26th M. Taillandier, in answer to a message to await further



STREET IN CAIRO.

instructions at Cairo, and not go to Alexandria until specifically ordered to do so, telegraphed to the French Government that, in consequence of the indignant and excited state of the French colony, he thought it better that he should leave at once. That afternoon brought him an order to proceed forthwith to Alexandria, and there embark. Accordingly he quitted Cairo by the six o'clock p.m. train, leaving M. Legueux temporarily to transact current business; but it was further arranged that all French subjects were to be under the protection of the representatives of Germany.

We need hardly say this arrangement excited the most bitter feelings, and many French subjects declared that rather than put themselves under the protection of the German Consul, they would place themselves under the Egyptian sovereignty, even at the risk of hereafter forfeiting all their privileges as French citizens. The excitement which prevailed at Cairo was heightened and intensified by the menace of the French Government to refuse their sanction to the Financial Convention, which would mean a further postponement of the payment of the war indemnities, and create disaster in commercial circles, a threat which caused a strong revulsion of feeling against France in the minds of the natives.

For the preceding year France had been posing in Egypt as the champion of the natives, against British influence, especially in the matter of insisting upon relief being accorded to the commercial classes in their financial diffi-

culties; and this threat, the moment her own interests, or supposed honour, were in the least degree affected, opened the eyes of the people to the real character of the aims and ends of France.

It was then suggested that were Britain to step forward and advance the loan wanted by Egypt she would largely diminish French influence and *prestige* in that country, and gain the confidence alike of the Egyptians and foreign residents. There was no doubt that the public in London, but more especially in Paris, were led by the violent language of the press, particularly that of the *République Française* and the *Journal des Débats*, to attribute to the unpleasant affair of the suppression of the *Bosphore Egyptien* a degree of importance which facts did not in any degree warrant; and it was even asserted that France was sending transports with 4,000 men on board to remain at Suez, as a menace to Britain and Egypt together.

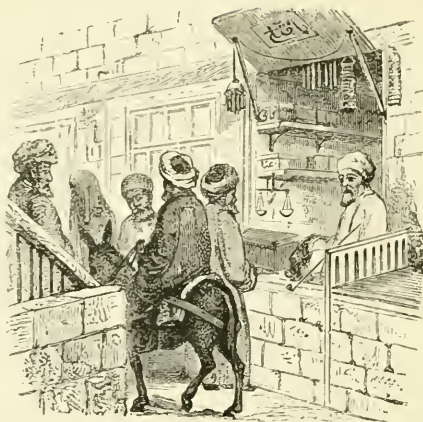
On the other hand, M. de Freycinet openly stated in a diplomatic *salon* that "there had been no communication whatever on the subject with Britain, as the act was one for which the Egyptian Government was solely and exclusively responsible. He had instructed the French agent at Cairo, in the event of his not obtaining the satisfaction demanded, to withdraw to Alexandria, and to notify that until that satisfaction was granted, they would not submit the Financial Convention to the ratification of the French Chambers, which was requisite to make it operative. M. de Freycinet added that it was hardly

necessary to say that the measure was not in any way directed against Britain, but simply to uphold the Consular jurisdiction which had existed in Egypt from time immemorial; and he had every reason to believe that under the advice of the British, the Egyptian Government would accede to the legitimate demands of France, and that the affair would be satisfactorily settled."

By the 27th of April an amicable arrangement of the matter seemed certain at Cairo, when, on his return from Alexandria, the consul received an enthusiastic reception from the French colony, though most of the latter disapproved of the action of their Government in the affair of such an obnoxious print as the *Bosphore*. On the same day it was stated, semi-officially, that Essad Pasha, the Ottoman Ambassador at Paris, had made representations there regarding the matter in dispute. The Foreign Minister replied in courteous

terms, expressing great consideration for the Sultan, but at the same time declaring that France viewed the question solely as concerning the Khedivial Government, which, according to the Imperial firmans, was alone responsible for the interior administration of Egypt.

The next move in the matter was the French Chancellor in full uniform, with his cavasses, proceeding, with great formality, to reopen officially the printing office of M. Serriere. But it was stated, on the best authority, that since the British Government did not disclaim the responsibility for the decision of the Egyptian in suppressing the *Bosphore*, they had no hesitation in associating themselves with the regret expressed by Nubar Pasha, when he was compelled to visit M. Taillandier on the 3rd of May. So the paper reappeared, but only to be suppressed again at a future time.



BAZAAR, CAIRO.

CHAPTER IV.

LORD WOLSELEY AT SUAKIM.

Condition of the Troops at Kurot—Daring of the Arabs—The Patrol Train—Osman Digna and his People—Arrival of Lord Wolseley at Suakim—Mail from Debbeh—The Canadian Voyageurs—Death of Colonel Kennedy—Expedition to Dhakdul—Inspecting the Troops at Otuo—Questions in the House—Review at Suakim—The Hospitals at Suakim.

ABOUT this time a letter appeared in the *Standard* of the 5th of May, which led to questions in Parliament. An officer in the camp at Kurot, near Debbeh, wrote thus of the state of things which he alleged to prevail there :—

“I wish we had a correspondent here to see the sort of life we are leading, and stand up for us. It is really too awful to think of. We are all in miserable bell tents, and the huts cannot be finished till August, so we have nothing but these miserable bell tents to keep out the sun. The temperature is now 120 degrees ; each day is twenty-four hours of physical torture and mental suffering. Seven of our men have died of enteric fever within the last twelve days, and though we only began to form our camp here five weeks ago, we have already one hundred and fifty sick. It is a disgrace to keep us in such a fiendish country ! Nothing can excuse it. The food is bad, and we are still in rags, as no clothing has come up yet. No one speaks, thinks, or hopes anything, but to go down. Anyhow, if they do keep the troops here all the summer, none left will be worth a straw. For God’s sake write about it, and get other correspondents to take it up. They are generally the best friends the troops have, and now that they are gone, everything is concealed, and there is no one to say a word for the soldiers. Believe me, the half of us will be lunatics before long.”

Another officer wrote thus :—

“The temperature is now 120 degrees all day long in the tents. The men are building huts, but cannot finish them before summer. We are all in the dark as to what is going on in the outside world, and letters take eighteen days in coming up from Cairo. There are between one hundred and seventy and one hundred and eighty sick here, and we have fifty-six ill out of five hundred and sixty-five.”

Colonel Nolan called the attention of the Secretary of State for War to these letters, with reference to the condition of our troops in Kurot.

The Marquis of Hartington replied that he had seen these statements, which must have been written two or three weeks before ; that he had no information on the subject, “but trusted the inconvenience then described had since abated ;” and the subject then was dropped. He added afterwards that on the 24th of April Lord Wolseley had reported that nearly all the troops were in huts, and that on the 1st of May Sir Redvers Buller had telegraphed that the whole force was under cover, “meaning, I suppose,” said the Marquis, “something better than tents. I do not understand the reference to unlined bell tents. Indian tentage for 13,000 men is up the Nile, so that there should be a good reserve in hand.”

On being asked the general percentage of sick, he admitted that “it was impossible for him to calculate exactly what was the percentage of sick,” and could not have done so without data furnished to him from the Soudan. Letters from Tani and Kurot stated that provisions were becoming so short at those stations, that the authorities threatened to put the men on half rations. “At present they have only supplies of meat

and biscuit, the vegetables, sugar, and coffee being entirely consumed. Even salt is fast becoming scarce, consequent on the break-down of the transport. There are now only three hundred camels available for transport between

in the erection of barrack-huts and similar work, and on the same day seventy patients were transferred from the Hospital of the Base to the Hospital Ship.

Two days before this Lord Wolseley

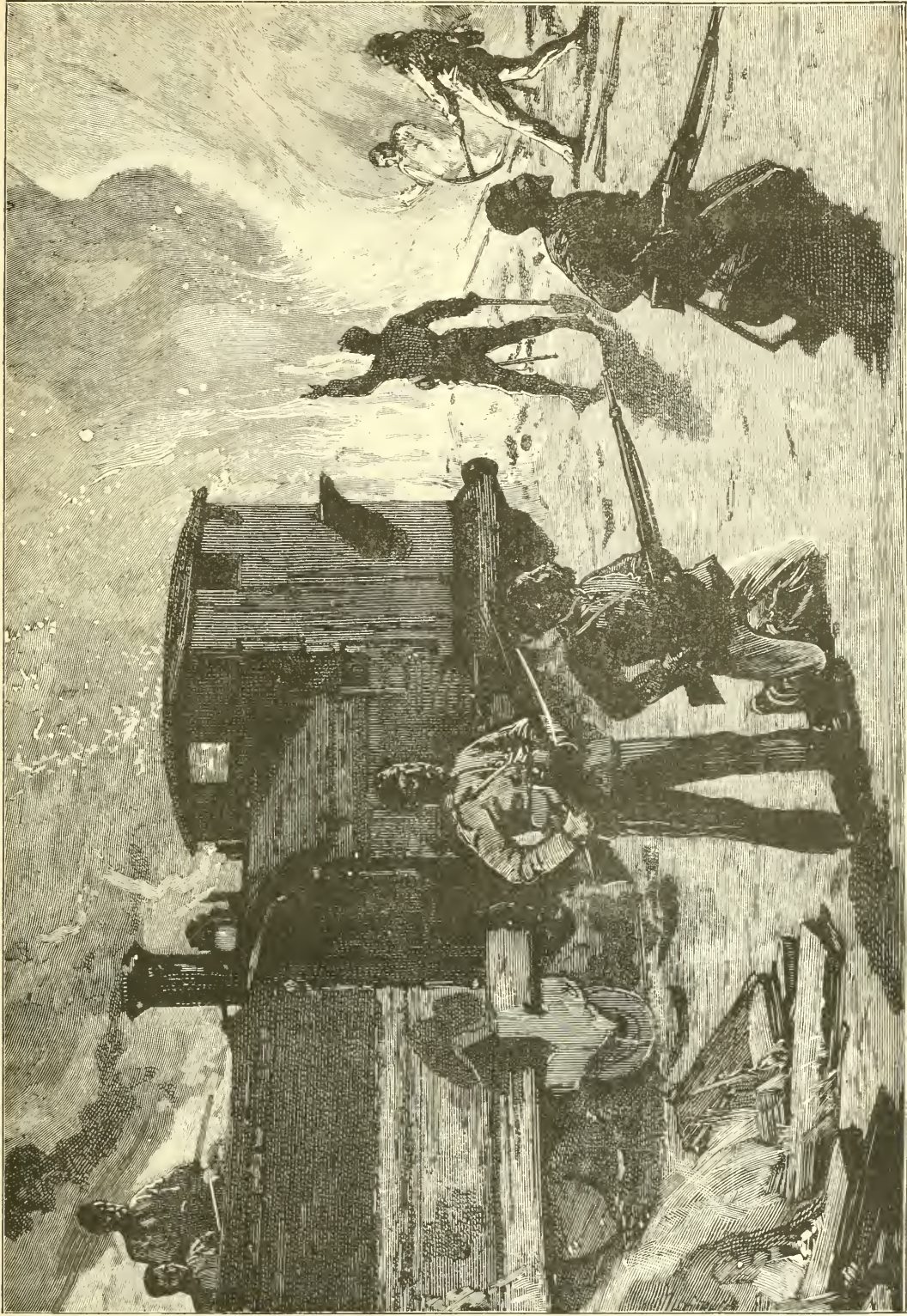


STREET IN BERBERA.

the railway and Abu Fatmeh. Last week there were only three tons of supplies delivered at the last mentioned place. The unusually low state of the Nile also increases the difficulty of pushing on supplies."

At Suakim, on the 4th of May, it was practically decided that the railway coolies on board the *Jumna*—which sailed on the 20th ult., and was telegraphed to return—should be employed

had landed, at five o'clock in the evening, and was received by General Sir Gerald Graham and his staff, with a detachment of the Grenadier Guards as a guard of honour, while a salute of seventeen guns was fired from Fort Carysfort. In every way the troops showed the greatest enthusiasm at his safe arrival from Suez. On the 3rd he paid a visit to Major Chermiside, Governor-General of the littoral of the



ROYAL ENGINEERS CLEARING THE RAILWAY NEAR SUAKIM OF BURNING SLEEPERS.

Red Sea, and was received by another salute. At this time it was supposed he would remain only a week at Suakim. No orders had yet been received for the withdrawal of the forces from the Soudan. Lord Wolseley was believed to be strongly opposed to the abandonment of the Expedition to Khartoum in autumn, for the use of which the *Panama* now came with eleven stern-wheel steamers, by means of which its supplies could be taken up the Nile. "Ten of these vessels," wrote a correspondent from Alexandria, "will be put together here, and one at Akasheh. The arrangements made by Colonel Ardagh, of the Royal Engineers, are so complete that some of the steamers will be afloat in a week after their arrival here."

Lord Wolseley at first took up his quarters in the transport *Queen*. He was accompanied by Colonel Grove, Military Secretary, Majors Creagh and Adye, and Captain Lord Charles Beresford.

The rebels were now growing more and more daring and persistent in their attacks. One night they surrounded both Tambouk and Otao, firing heavily, but at a long range. Thus a forward movement against them was becoming necessary. On the same night the patrol-train, manned by thirty men of the Grenadiers, kept moving up and down the line till day broke; thus the enemy did not make any of their usual attempts to burn the sleepers. The Shaterab tribe—which can put fifteen hundred men in the field—now tendered their submission; and the Marahs,

the principal herders and graziers of cattle, and which, like the Shaterabs, are a branch of the great Hadendowa sept, sent in to say they were ready to tender their unconditional surrender. They numbered three thousand souls, and with all their flocks and herds were then encamped along the coast, at a distance of eight miles from Suakim.

On the 3rd of May Major Templar started at daybreak, with a troop of Hussars and the Egyptian Camel Corps, to visit the Gasal Wells, ten miles eastward of Merawi. When he came within sight of the village the inhabitants, fearing that his force had come to make a raid, took to speedy flight. The wells were found amply sufficient for a large force. The position was an important one, as it would serve the enemy as a point of concentration for any attack in force upon our post at Merawi. Although it was then the dry season, Major Templar found plenty of vegetation in the vicinity of the wells. His troops were careful not to disturb in any way the property of the villagers, and having fully reconnoitred the locality, returned in the evening.

The work of hut building at Merawi being completed, the troops were now sent to repair their whale boats against the time of the supposed autumn campaign. "The sick there are doing well," wrote a correspondent, "and the medical officers report that there is a very marked improvement in many of the cases since they were removed into the newly-erected hospital tents. Indeed, the heat in the tents and mar-

quees was so great that the sick had but a poor chance of doing well. It is found that since the occupation of the new quarters slight cases mend rapidly. The sick list of the British troops here is only five per cent. of the whole strength, showing that Merawi is—for the Soudan—a healthy position.”

One night General Graham went in what was called the patrol-train (and which he describes in his despatches as an armoured one), that ran in the dark hours between Suakim and Handoub, to endeavour to arrest the incessant attempts of the natives to injure the line; but, while the engine was getting in water at Handoub, the Arabs succeeded in setting fire to the sleepers in his rear in no less than six places, and burning them for about two hundred yards.

When the light of this conflagration was seen, the train was at once steamed swiftly back to the spot; but the enemy had fled in safety before its arrival. The men at the first look-out station had seen numbers of them retreating in the direction of the Hasheen Wells; so the General started for that place next morning with the Cavalry, but could see nothing of them. Yet during the subsequent night some hundred shots were fired at random into the zeriba, or advanced camp, at Otao, and on the following morning the Camel Corps, the Australians, and the Madras Sappers and Miners, retired from it into Suakim.

An advance in several columns in the direction of Tamanieb was arranged by Lord Wolseley to take place on the

5th of May in the evening, hoping to take Osman by surprise in the night or early morning; but it was postponed *sine die*, the reports of spies being to the effect that his followers were so dispersed that there was no chance of the columns falling in with any of them. Moreover, they said that it would be impossible to catch Osman himself, which would be the main object of the expedition, for though he was generally in the neighbourhood of Tamai, he always retired into the mountains at sunset, and never slept for two consecutive nights in succession at the same place.

But the accounts of these spies varied strangely, for others asserted that twelve hundred of his followers, who deserted him after his unsuccessful attack on McNeill's zeriba on the 22nd March, had now returned to him, and that his force then consisted of three thousand fighting men. Some five hundred Hadendowas, under their Chief Ali Adam Saadoun, were hovering at this time within two miles of Otao; consequently, officers and others were strictly forbidden to go out as hitherto, singly or in parties, to stalk the deer which abounded in the level places. Yet, with all these reports, when the head of the Intelligence Department, with Captain Molyneux and an escort of the Bengal Lancers, went out to McNeill's old zeribas and reconnoitred the country for a mile beyond these posts, they could not discover a single trace of the enemy.

Numbers of Arabs who, with their families, flocks, and herds—their only

wealth—had collected near Tokar, now sent in word imploring the British to come and save them from the persecution of Osman Digna. The officers of the political section of the Intelligence Department at the front, were now con-

strata in the vicinity of Tambouk, now reported that gold was there, but not in sufficient quantities to pay for working; but he added that the adjacent hills contained rich and very profitable deposits of copper ore.



ONE OF OSMAN DIGNA'S SCOUTS OF THE HADENDOWA TRIBE.

tinually receiving messages from nearly all the warlike tribes in the neighbourhood, who were unanimous in declaring that they were sick of the war, and were willing to submit if the British would only promise to remain in the country. But this the Department were in no position to guarantee.

The mining expert with the Australians, who went out to examine the gold veins said to exist in the rock

The atmosphere was fast becoming unbearable; cases of heat apoplexy were greatly upon the increase, and Lord Wolseley, being indisposed, remained on board the *Queen*.

On the night of the 4th of May the enemy succeeded in uprooting and removing a number of sleepers on the railway, and cutting the telegraph wires—of which they had a curious abhorrence—between Handoub and

Suakim. They also made a vigorous, but unsuccessful, attempt on a friendly tribe near Otao. Under the same date it was reported "that the despatch of

chartered for the conveyance of railway plant to Suakim are on their way back, and on their arrival in England will be utilised for the conveyance of army



SIR REDVERS BULLER.

railway plant to Suakim had been stopped, and it is understood to be the intention of Government not to proceed farther than Es-Sibil, for which there is ample material now at Suakim or on the way thither. Most of the steamers

stores to Egypt, Malta, Gibraltar, and such other places as may be necessary. Some of the vessels will take coals to British coaling stations. It is probable that as the contracts expire, they will not be re-engaged."

With regard to what was termed "the wail of wretchedness from the camp near Debbah" and elsewhere, a print of the time contained these just remarks:—

"Not a man among our soldiers and sailors has ever complained of the hardships incidental to operations against the enemy, or of the severity of the conflict in which he has taken part. A British force is never so cheerful as when it is brought face to face with the foe; and certainly the ferocious hordes of fanatics that have been the victims of the Mahdi's imposture have not spared themselves in their efforts to overwhelm our troops. All this, including harassing night attacks, has been borne without a murmur. The British soldier knows how to accept the inevitable, and he has regarded heat and thirst as unavoidable discomforts to be encountered without complaint during his movements in the desert. But men who go into a summer encampment have a right to expect that no effort will be spared to provide them with quarters as comfortable as the circumstances of the case will permit. There comes, however, quite a wail of wretchedness from the camp near Debbah, where bell tents are in use, without any prospect of the substitution of huts of any kind for some months to come. Our correspondent, who accompanied Sir Herbert Stewart's column, pointed out long ago, and in emphatic language, what might be expected in the neighbourhood of Debbah when the hot weather came."

We give in its place the following letter addressed by Sir Charles Tupper, the High Commissioner for Canada, to the officer in command of the Canadian Voyageurs when in London. It expressed "Her Majesty's appreciation of the services they have performed with the Expedition on the Nile. I have waited upon the Earl of Derby, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and expressed the satisfaction with which Her Majesty's communication has been received by the Voyageurs, and their gratitude at the gracious recognition by the Queen of the services they have been able to render Her Majesty's forces. I added that they were much impressed with the sympathy of Her Majesty in the loss they have sustained by the recent death of one of their officers. Lord Derby will convey to the Queen the representations I had the honour to make."

With all their nautical skill, some of that force owed their lives to a red-coat. The silver medal of the Royal Humane Society was conferred on Captain E. G. M. Short, of the Prince of Wales's Royal Canadian Regiment (also curiously now named the Leinster), for saving a boat's crew, composed of seven Canadian Voyageurs and eight Egyptian soldiers, on the Nile near Ambigol. Captain Short was steering a Nile craft down the rapid when she struck a rock. One of the natives was knocked overboard and swept away, while the boat was wedged so firmly on the rock that the efforts of the crew to get her off were unavailing. It was soon seen that if she was not released before dark she

would, through the fall of the water, break up, and all hands on board would be drowned. The sole plan for saving the boat and her crew appeared to be by fixing a line of rope to a rock in the mid-stream. To swim direct to this spot, however, owing to the rapidity of the current—apart from chance crocodiles—remained for some one who would attempt the hazardous feat of swimming down the rapid until he could get into back-water and make it possible to reach the desired point. This task Captain Short undertook, and accomplished successfully after a perilous struggle. The rope having been fixed, or lashed to the rock, four soldiers got upon the latter and towed the boat off.

And here, to take it chronologically, we may glance at an episode occurring at home, in connection with the war in the Soudan—the untimely death and funeral of the officer commanding the Voyageurs, left behind, broken in health, in London—the death referred to in the letter of Sir Charles Tupper.

Colonel William Nassau Kennedy, of Winnipeg, descended, as his name would import, probably from one of the Scottish colony planted there by the Earl of Selkirk, died in London on the 3rd of May, 1885, and his funeral took place at Highgate Cemetery three days after. He was on his way back to Canada from the Soudan, accompanied by eighty of his men, and, taking England on the way, was attacked by illness and died in Highgate Hospital, whither he had been taken at his own request. At 10 a.m. on the 6th, the coffin, bear-

ing a magnificent wreath sent by the Field Marshal Commanding, and a cross of flowers from the Canadian detachment, was brought from the Wesleyan Chapel. Many officers of rank were present, and among them was Sir Charles Tupper. The Voyageur detachment from the Wellington Barracks of course attended, under Quartermaster Remington.

The Rev. William Allen, Chaplain to the Forces in London, before the funeral, said of Colonel Kennedy:—

“Lord Wolseley, who was his guest for some time, became acquainted with the rare qualities of the departed soldier on the Red River Expedition, in conducting which his own fame was first established, and he sought the services of Colonel Kennedy, whose hardy men were required to carry the boats and munition of war up the falling Nile and its dangerous cataracts. Colonel Kennedy was a man beloved and honoured in his own country and his own religion, a statesman in council, a philanthropist, and, though a man of wealth, he cheerfully left the Dominion to hazard his life in the special duties assigned to those adventurous Canadians who were with him that day. It was the spirit of patriotism that induced him to say farewell to his wife and five children, to peril his life for the honour of Great Britain, who might well be proud of her colonists. Colonel Kennedy was above all a devout man, who feared and loved God, and served his generation by the will of God.”

The band and drums of the Essex Regiment, from the Tower, were in

attendance, and the whole battalion was present. After the three farewell volleys had been fired above the grave, one by one the Canadians stepped up and took a last look at the coffin, and many of these rough and bronzed men, who feared no foe, were deeply affected.

especially upon Captain Clark, of the Royal Engineers, and the officers of the political branch of the Intelligence Department under him; as not only did they obtain the most exact information respecting the number and position of the enemy, but Captain



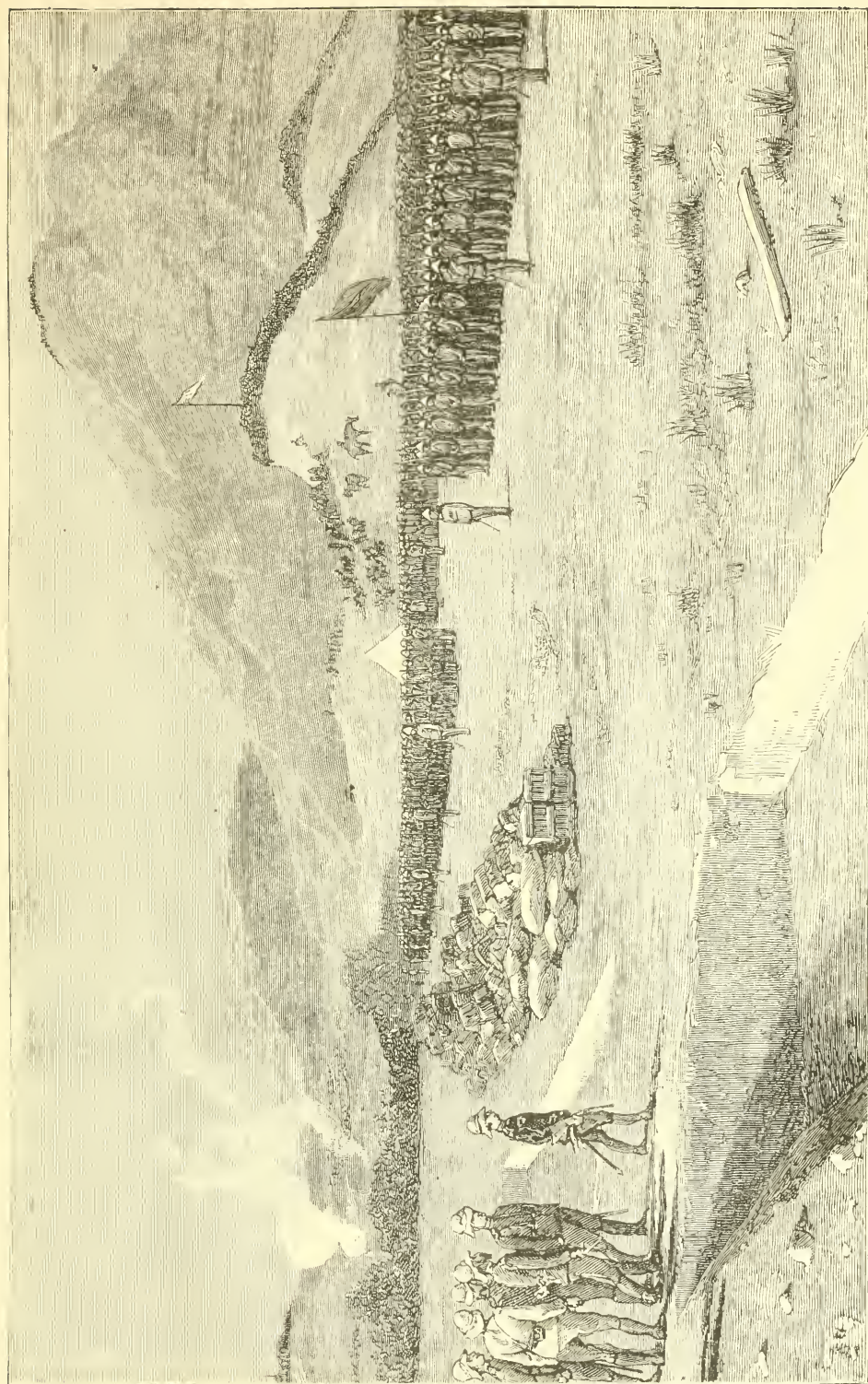
THE RAID ON DHAKDUL.

And now to return to the scene of operations at Suakim.

From there an expedition was planned against the village of Dhakdul, otherwise called Thakool, twenty miles westward of Suakim, in the Deberet Valley, under the personal command of General Graham; and the operation was a most successful one, reflecting the greatest credit upon all concerned,

Clark planned and timed the march of the Expedition, which, for the first time in that campaign, succeeded in effecting a complete surprise of the Hadendowas, led by the ablest and most vigilant lieutenant of Osman Digna, the Sheikh Adam Ali Saadoun.

The latter had posted himself at Dhakdul with a thousand followers (having with them their women and



LORD WOLSELEY INSPECTING THE GARRISON AT OTTAWA.

children, flocks and herds), his avowed intention being to harass the British outposts, to cut off convoys and stragglers without mercy, and to damage the railway whenever occasion offered; so it was resolved to attack him in force.

On this service there marched from Suakim, at one in the morning, on the 6th of May, the Camel Corps, the Bengal Lancers, and detachments of the 20th Hussars and Mounted Infantry, under General Graham, who, *en route*, was to be joined by the 15th Sikhs, and two hundred friendly Arabs from Otao, a post ten miles to the southward of Dhakdul.

The night was one of exceptional darkness and gloom, and in advancing, *via* Hasheen, up the valley, General Graham, whose force was only a thousand strong, had to take the greatest care to keep the road, and avoid the many natural obstacles that encumbered it. Without incident the Well of Deberet, twelve miles from Suakim, was passed. It was feared that some of Adam Ali Saadoun's men might be posted there, and give an alarm; but all was quiet and still, and the column debouched upon the plain, south of Dhakdul, just as day began to break.

Towards the village the Bengal Lancers and Mounted Infantry rode in extended order, the reserve being formed by the new Camel Corps. The village—when day was fairly in—was seen to be situated at the junction of the Deberet Valley, with another that leads to Otao. The Arabs were quite unaware of the approach of the British

troops till the latter were close upon them, and then in an instant the wildest confusion was seen to prevail, as the natives, in the highest excitement, endeavoured to get their flocks and herds together; while their scouts brought in the alarming tidings that another force was advancing against them through the valley of Otao, leaving no escape in that direction.

The latter consisted of fifty-nine men of the Mounted Infantry under Captain Briggs, the friendly Arabs under Captain Clark of the Royal Engineers and Mr. Brewster, and a party of the 15th Sikhs, the old Loodiana Light Infantry. The men of Saadoun were thus completely hemmed in—caught in a trap—and every one of them must have been taken or shot down but for some narrow gorges or chasms in the rocks known to themselves alone. These led to the westward, and down through them Saadoun and most of his men fled with the utmost precipitation when they saw our troops approaching.

Hotly pursued by our cavalry, they were speared, shot, or cut down in numbers, though while flying they kept up a running fire, but made not the least attempt to rally or stand. Some of the more resolute men in the village took to the nearest eminences, and facing about opened a rifle fire; but our men dismounted, advanced on foot, and swept them from their position in splendid style.

We killed one hundred and fifty of the enemy, and captured all their goats and sheep, to the number of two thou-

sand, according to the despatches, with nine prisoners, three of whom, being women, were released at Otao. Our casualties consisted only of a bad spear wound, suffered by Lieutenant A. R. Austin of the Shropshire Regiment, and bullet wound through the thigh of Corporal Lock of the Grenadier Guards, both serving with the Mounted Infantry, but several horses were injured by spears and bullets.

This little affair was well planned and well carried out. Coming from different directions, the two columns arrived on both flanks of Dhakdul within three or four minutes of each other, and it was hoped that the complete success of the surprise would have the effect of dispiriting the followers of Osman Digna, who had hitherto considered themselves, in their fastnesses, safe from any vigorous attack on our part; but after the sudden onslaught at Dhakdul, and the loss of men and so many animals, it was supposed they would never feel safe within striking distance of us again.

Before falling back from Dhakdul, four hundred sheep and goats were sent off to Suakim in charge of ten of the Bengal Lancers, who got as far as Hasheen without seeing anything of the enemy, but were there furiously assailed by a party of the ubiquitous Hadendowas.

It fortunately happened that when the columns had first advanced a signal party had been left on the summit of Dihilbat Hill, eight hundred feet in height above Hasheen. It consisted of Major Browell and Captain Sawyer,

with an escort of a hundred men of the 28th Bengal Native Infantry under Lieutenant Aitken.

From the lofty position they occupied, these officers could see the Hadendowas lying in wait for the slender escort of the Bengal Lancers, and Lieutenant Aitken, taking with him thirty-seven of his men, at once doubled down the hill and attacked the Hadendowas, but not before they had repulsed the Lancers and captured the flock. The Sepoys poured several volleys into them, killing a number and putting to flight the rest. Thus the greater portion of the sheep and goats were re-taken; but, in spite of the double blow just inflicted on them, the Arabs came down next night and damaged the railway and telegraph wires near Handoub.

On the 7th, after the affair was over, Lord Wolseley and his staff rode out to Otao and Handoub to inspect the troops, and before doing so he complimented the Australian Artillery and the Sikhs, and promised a native officer of the latter a sword of honour for special gallantry.

In this affair at Dhakdul, Captain R. H. F. W. Wilson, of the 10th Hussars, particularly distinguished himself, but his services remained unnoticed. "I know," says a writer in the *Army and Navy Gazette* of September 26th, 1885, "that Sir Henry Ewart strongly recommended him for promotion in the unpublished despatch of Colonel A. P. Palmer, C.B., of the 9th Bengal Lancers, detailing the successful operations against Mohammed Adam Saadoun on May 6th. That

officer brought Captain Wilson's services to Sir Gerald Graham's notice in the most prominent manner. Wilson, in this affair, acted as senior Staff-Officer to Colonel Palmer, and his readiness of resource, based on a very extensive war experience, was most notable. It certainly seems unjust that a member of the Cavalry Brigade Staff, whose conduct at Hasheen was most unfavourably commented on in presence of the enemy, both by the Chief of the Staff and the senior officers of the Royal Engineers, should be rewarded with a brevet, while Wilson, the mainspring of the brigade, should be left out in the cold."

Captain Sawyer, an officer of the garrison, now did much valuable work in sketching the country, and completed a series of drawings of the whole surrounding neighbourhood, which would prove most useful if required for strategical purposes.

The wells at Dhakdul were blown up by gun-cotton, after which General Graham returned with the Mounted Infantry, and from which place the troops, under Colonel Walmer, of the Bengal Cavalry (as stated by correspondents), were ordered to follow *via* the Deberet and Hasheen Valleys. As they left Dhakdul the enemy appeared on the hills, and, following them up quickly, opened a rifle fire. The Colonel at once halted the column, and, after firing a few volleys, charged and routed the enemy, of whom more than forty were killed and a great number wounded.

In this skirmish, Mr. Lambie, the correspondent of the *Sydney Morning*

Herald, was shot through the leg, and a sergeant and two privates of the Camel Corps were also wounded.

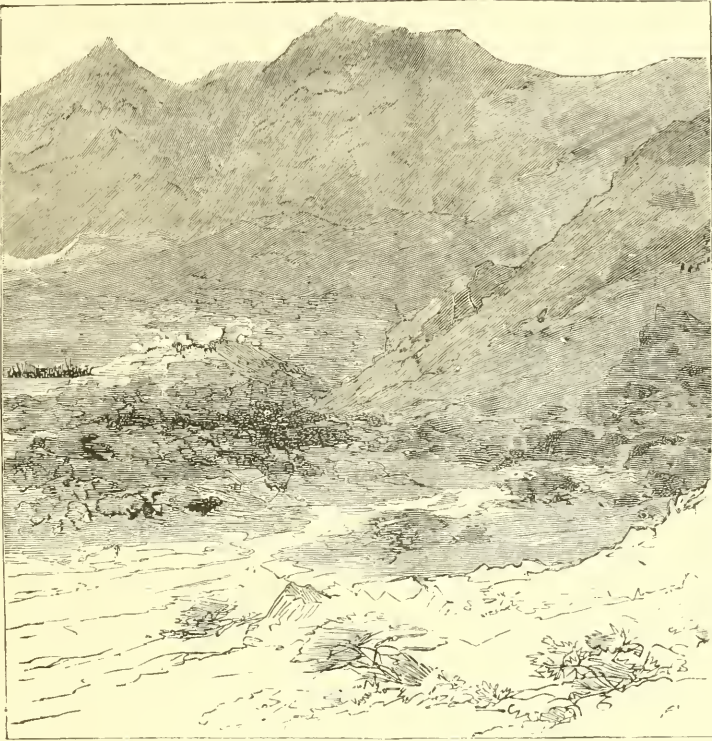
"I am prevented," added the correspondent of a London paper, "by the press censorship, from telegraphing certain details connected with the engagement of yesterday, and also certain items of intelligence."

These were supposed to be embodied in certain questions put in the House of Commons a few days after, when Mr. J. Morley asked the Secretary of State for War whether it was in accordance with the policy announced in presenting the estimate for Mr. Gladstone's Vote of Credit, that "the engagement of the 6th May took place at the village of Dhakdul, in which an encampment of Arabs, with their women and children and flocks, was attacked by General Graham, and one hundred and fifty men killed, although it was alleged by an eye-witness that they never made any serious attempt at a stand?"

Ere the Secretary could reply, he was asked by another member whether his attention had been called to the following statements by a special correspondent: "Daylight broke almost imperceptibly. We were near the village of Dhakdul when the friendly scouts came running in with the news that the inhabitants were at prayer, and that if we attacked at once we should catch them. General Graham pushed on with a troop of Bengal Lancers. . . . The enemy fled on camels in all directions, and the Mounted Infantry and Camel Corps coming up

gave chase. Some two hundred attempted to stand, and showed a disposition to come at us, but evidently lost heart, not before at least twenty men had been killed. . . . It was curious to witness the desperate efforts

Our loss has hitherto been only two Mounted Infantry men wounded. We have done the enemy all the harm we could, thus fulfilling the primary object of the war.' Whether Her Majesty's Government approved of this mode of



VIEW AT DHAKDUL.

of the enemy to drive their flocks up the mountain side, turning now and again to fire on the Bengal Lancers. The 'friendlies' tried to cut off the flocks, and succeeded in capturing some hundreds of the animals. The village was looted and burned. We also destroyed the wells with gun-cotton. But for our being unaware of some narrow hillock-walks, up which the enemy retired, we might have exterminated them.

carrying on warfare, and if not, whether immediate orders would be sent to the commanders of the British forces in the vicinity of Suakim, ordering its cessation?"

Mr. Corbet also asked "whether it was true that Her Majesty had telegraphed to General Graham, congratulating him on this massacre?"

The Marquis of Hartington replied: "I am afraid I can say little on this

subject. I have carefully examined the official despatch, and also all the accounts of the operations which are given by the correspondents, and it appears to me that the object of them is perfectly clear, and that it is not inconsistent with the declaration made by my right honourable friend in laying the Vote of Credit on the table. I have referred to that statement, and I find that the Suakin railway would be continued to a point which may be decided on consultation with the military authorities. Therefore no pledge was given; on the contrary it was distinctly intimated that the progress of the railway would be immediately stopped. It appears from the official despatch that the force at this place (Dhakdul) was the only organised force of the enemy which appears to be in existence; and it appears also from the several correspondents' reports, that it is believed that this tribe has been engaged in constant attacks on the railway, and upon the troops employed in guarding it. Under these circumstances it appears to me to have been a perfectly legitimate operation on the part of General Graham to make an expedition against that place, and to disperse this force, and thus—so far as it was in his power—to obviate the necessity of further fighting. I have no knowledge of the telegram referred to by the honourable member for Wicklow."

It had been sent, nevertheless, as the *Standard* states that General Graham received it from the Queen, congratulating him and his troops upon the successful action at the village of Dhakdul.

About the same time the matter of our troops in the Soudan was brought before the House of Lords, when General the Earl of Longford, G.C.B., rose to move for a return of the number employed there and in Egypt, and inquired whether the troops were completely equipped and supplied as regarded shelter, clothing, and rations suitable to the climate. He said the reserve which had been maintained by Mr. Gladstone's Government had been injurious to the service. It conveyed the appearance of indecision, and indecision at home and abroad reacted on those who had charge of the Army. Assuming that the Government had some good reason for maintaining these forces in the Soudan, Parliament and the country most anxiously inquired whether everything was done, or was being done, to ensure the health and efficiency of the troops. In 1882, notwithstanding the lavish expenditure, and notwithstanding every official disposition to supply the troops in Egypt more liberally, many serious failures occurred; supplies which were sent out did not reach them in time to be of any use. He had no wish, Lord Longford continued, to anticipate any failure in this department, but hoped to be assured that all had been done that could be expected for troops in such a climate. Since he had put his question on the paper, he observed that a similar one had been asked in the House of Commons, and the Marquis of Hartington's answer was anything but satisfactory. His answer was that he was not fully informed; the General on the

spot had reported that the shelter from the sun was not complete; but that there was some shelter, and the Marquis believed it was something in the nature of a shed. There was a Secretary of State, at the head of a great department, being able to say nothing more than he believed that, with a temperature at 120 degrees, the shelter was something in the nature of a shed! He hoped to hear that everything had been done that Parliament and the people expected.

The Earl of Stanhope inquired whether any of the troops were to be sent to Cyprus.

The Earl of Morley replied that it would be contrary to all precedent to give the strength of troops engaged in actual operations, and for the same reason he declined to answer the question of Earl Stanhope. He had, however, no objection to state approximately that the number of British troops in Egypt and the Soudan was between 24,000 and 25,000. That included the Departmental Corps, but excluded the Indian contingent and the Australian troops. The noble Lord had by no means a monopoly of the intense desire to do all that was possible for the comfort and safety of the troops, and his wishes were entirely shared by all departments. He could not say exactly the order in which the stores had reached the many stations on the Nile, which were at considerable distances from each other. Lord Longford would know that when the Nile was falling there were considerable stretches of the river which were extremely difficult; but weekly reports had been

received from Dongola, Merawi, and other stations, that stores had been forwarded up the Nile as rapidly as possible. There was no reason to suppose that there was any default in forwarding the stores, or that the latter were defective in quality or quantity. He understood that, with the exception of a few articles, the stores were extremely satisfactory.

Lord Morley avoided all reference to the bad flour, already spoken of, the defective boots, and cartridges that jammed in the rifles and machine guns. He added, generally, that he had no doubt that the officers were doing their utmost to afford shelter to the troops. As to the rations, he would only weary the House if he went over all the supplies which had been sent out to Egypt. All he would say was, that there was no reason to believe that there was not a superabundance of supplies, and that these were sent up the river by various means of transport without any loss of time. He believed that it was quite inevitable, whatever arrangements might be made, articles of clothing would sometimes not reach their destination, but there was no want of energy on the part of the department at home. As far as his knowledge went, the troops were completely equipped and supplied as regarded shelter, clothing, and rations suitable to the climate.

On the 8th of May, early in the morning, Lord Wolseley held a review of all the troops at Suakim. The forces on the ground mustered 127 officers and 4,410 men, with fourteen pieces of cannon.

The E. B. Battery of the Royal Horse Artillery was on the right of the line at half intervals. Next were the 20th Hussars, the 9th Bengal Lancers, and the Mounted Infantry, in line of quarter-distance columns; then came the Royal Artillery and Royal Marine Artillery, with the Camel Corps.

The march past was in quick time, the Artillery at close intervals, the Cavalry by squadrons (in double troops), the Camel Corps and Infantry in columns of companies. After the troops were re-formed in line, Lord Wolseley called the commanding officers to the front, and praised the appearance of the



SUAKIM—SOUTHERN HALF, FROM THE SEA.

All the Engineers were in line, and the Infantry Brigade in a line of quarter-distance columns. The first brigade was composed of the Grenadier Guards, the Australians, and the East Surrey Regiment. The Indian Brigade consisted of the Madras Sappers and Miners (a corps whose first honours were won at Seringapatam), the 15th Sikhs and 28th Bombay Native Infantry, the last named forming the left of the line. The reserve ammunition, the water transport, and the hospital equipments, were drawn up in rear of the Infantry.

troops in general, but made special references to the Royal Horse Artillery and the Cavalry. The Grenadier Guards, Australians, and Madras Sappers were particularly lauded, but most of all the 15th Sikhs, whose appearance and marching past were perfection, each company exhibiting marvellous precision and regularity.

Lord Wolseley made several suggestions to General Graham's new Camel Corps, and enjoined the men of it "to perfect themselves in drill, as he might require them up the Nile next autumn."



ARAB SPORTSMAN OF THE SOUDAN.

At this date the sick in Suakim were doing fairly well, but there was a notable increase of enteric fever. The total numbers on the list were 510 British and 227 natives, while 170 British and 108 natives had been sent away invalided up to the 8th of May.

At the H. Redoubt there were in hospital 169 men, twelve of them bad cases of fever, and the total number of deaths had been thirteen. Brigade-Surgeon Tanner reported "that within the last week sickness has increased, and cases of enteric fever are double what they were ten days ago. He cannot speak too highly of the nursing sisters, Ireland, Norman, and King, and he considers that their presence produces an excellent effect among the sick. Their very uniform, with its little red cape, brightens up the ward-tents. Up to this date there have been eighty-seven cases of dysentery and twenty-seven of enteric fever admitted."

At the Auxiliary Hospital, on Quarantine Island, Surgeon-Major Corry had ninety-seven non-commissioned officers and men, eighteen of whom were suffering from dysentery, and twelve from fever. The nursing sisters, Macher and Byham, were on duty there. This hospital consisted of four well-ventilated wooden huts, admirably kept, with a capacity for a hundred beds.

"I recently," wrote the *Times* correspondent at Suakim, "made a complete round of visits to the hospitals afloat and ashore. I first went on board the *Ganges*. The position of her flag, at half-mast, betokened that some poor

fellow had passed away. I found it was Sergeant Atwood, who had died of an abscess in the liver and dysentery. This is the second death since the *Ganges* came. Her books contain the names of eighteen officers and 128 non-commissioned officers and men. The following are the names of some of the officers: Grenadier Guards—Lieutenants Fox, Pitt, Davis, and Pakenham; Scots Guards—Lieutenants Home-Drummond, Moray, and Scott-Murray; 20th Hussars—Lieutenant Leatham; Royal Artillery—Captain Fox and Lieutenant Vores; Commissariat and Transport Corps—Captains Hare and Staepole; Royal Marine Light Infantry—Lieutenant Brine; Medical Staff—Surgeons—Majors Boulton and Crean; Quarter-master T. Thompson; Chaplain, the Rev. Father Foran. Sister Wallace is also sick, and will shortly leave; the other sisters, Cole, Burleigh, Brown, and Irving, are well, and working hard. Among the men are eighteen cases of dysentery and nineteen of diarrhœa. Among the officers, two suffer from dysentery and two from diarrhœa. The men include sixteen of the Princess Charlotte of Wales's (Berkshire) Regiment; fifteen of the East Surrey Regiment; fourteen of the Mounted Infantry; eleven of the Commissariat and Transport Corps; and ten of the Medical Staff. Surgeon-Major Gubbon (formerly of the King's Own Borderers) informed me that since the marked increase in the temperature, the types of disease are growing more severe and less amenable to treatment. The temperature on the upper deck was

eighty-one degrees on April 25, and is now eighty-nine degrees.

"The next ship I visited was the *Bulimba*, lying astern of the *Ganges*. Here, again, I found a death had occurred, that of Private Ford, of the Commissariat and Transport Corps, of dysentery. There were on board six officers and eighty men. The officers included the following: The Berkshire Regiment, Captain Rhodes and Lieut. Inglis; Mounted Infantry—Captain Freeman; Commissariat—Major Remington; Transport—Lieutenant Mac Mahon; Army Pay Department—Captain Lysacht; all doing well. The *Bulimba* being a transport is not fitted up as a hospital with the same completeness and comfort as the *Ganges* displays. Surgeon-Major Bate informed me that although the heat is becoming very great, the sick are generally in good condition, and the ship is in a satisfactory state. Next comes the *Czarevitch*, a fine old sailing vessel, used as a hospital for the Indian contingent. The accommodation for officers is small and bad, there being only room for four; but for the men it is decidedly better than in the *Ganges* and *Bulimba*. There is a possibility that the doctors will adopt the simple but effective plan of ventilation, consisting in the removal of a plank along the whole length of the vessel on each side. The 125 beds are all occupied by the sick, and a few badly wounded men, from the battle of the 22nd March. Fifty per cent. of the cases are those of dysentery, which Brigade-Surgeon Morice tells me is mainly caused by the rice diet, the rice

being insufficiently cooked, and by the indifferent water drunk. The officers on board are Captain Muir, of the Staff, Lieutenant Alban and Dr. Burness of the 28th Native Infantry, and Captain Wilkinson of the Royal Engineers. Besides those in the *Czarevitch*, the Indian contingent has ninety sick on shore, in camp, and in the hospital at Fort Euryalus."

By the 10th of May the heat in the tents was 100 degrees, and almost daily troopships were departing home with invalided officers and men; by the 12th the heat was intensified. Thus, the three hospital ships named, the Base Hospital, and that in Quarantine Island, being all full, two new hospitals were organised, while, we are told, that amid the delay of distinct and final orders from London, which were impatiently expected, "the present state of uncertainty and suspense" took all heart out of work of every kind, and irritated and disheartened the troops.

Regarding the treatment of the sick and wounded at Suakim at this time, Professor Ogston, of the University of Aberdeen, who had been serving there as a Volunteer Military Surgeon, stated publicly that no civil hospitals with which he was acquainted were provided more thoroughly with all the means of antiseptic surgery in all its forms than at Suakim. He added, that, in the field, no sooner was a man wounded than he was under treatment; except during a rapid and active movement, made under the pressure of circumstances, a wounded man within thirty seconds was in the hands of the

surgeons, and two or three men of the most admirable, sensible, and well-skilled type attended him.

Immediately after his arrival, Lord Wolseley went over all the works at Suakim, visited the hospitals afloat and ashore, and expressed himself "as being highly pleased with the splendid effi-

found that the Arabs had not disturbed the last resting-places of any of our dead, and then rode back by a line nearer the shore of the Red Sea than that which led direct to the zeriba.

The raid to Dhakdul was now producing its effect, for numbers of tribesmen were seeking permission to come



FORTY MILES FROM SUAKIM: LEADING OUT CAMELS AT DAWN.

ciency of the arrangements made by the medical Staff Corps." But still sickness increased. The heat, we have said, was 100 degrees in the tents; but there were three degrees of difference between the wet and dry bulb thermometers.

The Australian troops now offered to form out of their ranks a body of mounted scouts, if horses were given them—an offer greatly appreciated by Lord Wolseley, who, now accompanied by the entire staff, visited McNeill's zeriba, and had the nature of the fatal surprise explained to him. The party

in and submit, particularly the Amaras, Samaras, and Fedlahs, who came to Otao when Lord Wolseley was inspecting the Scots Guards. To these natives (who were about 1,000 in number) rifles and ammunition were given, and they were certain to be valuable auxiliaries, as Osman Digna had given orders to Adam Ali Saadoun to destroy them root and branch, and carry off their women and cattle.

"That these orders were issued was known to the tribes themselves," wrote a correspondent, "and has made them

eager to come in and make common cause with us. If the people in Britain could realise the terrible fate which will befall the natives who have helped and trusted us, if we now entirely abandon them, they would never allow such a step to be taken. A very small number of troops would now suffice to hold all

the south, and reopen the caravan route.

This was keenly felt by all at Suakim. So much had been spent in men, toil, and treasure, that it seemed as if only a little more were needed now to attain great and lasting results; and that it would be grievous



SUAKIM—NORTHERN HALF, FROM THE SEA.

this portion of the country, for the large majority of the natives are ready to side heartily with us."

He suggested that a couple of Egyptian battalions could hold and garrison Suakim, and another could keep the forts up to Tambouk; and all that was required might be an efficient and compact flying column, made up of Mounted Infantry, the Camel Corps, and a small body of Infantry, who could move rapidly in any given direction, break up armed musters, cut off Osman's grain supplies from

indeed to throw away all that had been done, to say nothing of the discredit that might possibly accrue to us, if we abandoned to ruin and massacre all who had confided in us and thrown in their lot with us; and the general opinion was, that a force admirably suited for service could easily be recruited by British officers in India.

The heat and sickness were increasing; all the hospitals were full, and the ship *Tyne* now sailed with invalids numbering twelve officers and two hundred men. At Cairo, the sick were

then arriving from the front at a very serious rate. In two days eleven officers and eighty men arrived, all more or less in a state of prostration; as many more were coming next day, while ninety came from Wady Halfa alone. And at this time incredible irritation was excited in the camp at Kurot, by the suggestion of some meanly economical persons in authority, that each officer was to build himself a hut at his own expense—at the cost of £80—after they had erected mess-huts at a very high figure. They boldly rejected the proposal, and representations on the subject were presented to the Chief of the Staff.

Eleven thousand cigars (a present from Major Frank Gibson to the troops at Suakim) proved a gift that was gratefully received; and now Mr. Bennet Burleigh, the correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, wrote to urge upon the attention of the British people the terrible position of our troops in the Soudan. He said:—

“ Our soldiers for eight weary months have been campaigning under the most exceptionally trying circumstances. The object sought to be gained by the campaign has been irretrievably lost, and the *morale* of the force has, as in all armies, fallen in consequence. How have the men fared for the most part? They have borne incessant hard work—fighting, marching, digging, and guard duties; in ragged clothes, worn-out boots, their beds the bare ground, their abodes often a mere blanket to shade them from the noonday glare, with, latterly, ill-adapted tents and a

few rudely-built huts of dhurra stalks; their food rough soldier fare—tinned and fresh meat, coarse bread made from native flour, intermixed with millet grain, a pinch of compressed vegetables, with a scant dole of tea or coffee and sugar. Surrounded by a population that dislikes the ‘infidel’ more than it fears the Mahdists, the position of our troops is now a disheartening one. Without the excitement of conflict to arouse them, quartered within the tropics in a greater than Indian heat, without one of the comforts or appliances to make life bearable which the humblest private there enjoys, devoid of interest or faith in any proposed autumn campaign, having no longer the inspiriting cry, ‘On to Khartoun,’ is it any wonder that what was foretold is happening—namely, widespread sickness and death? ”

Undoubtedly the circumstances in which our soldiers were now placed were of the most trying description. But it must not be forgotten that they bore their privations and discomforts with great fortitude. If they complained they complained among themselves, or in letters to friends at home. They made no public outcry, and indeed it may be questioned to what extent they would have approved all the statements that were published then and since by people who were professing to act on their behalf and in their interest.

On the 7th of May the *Geelong* left Suakim for Portsmouth, with 150 soldiers and 200 navvies, all invalids, on board.

CHAPTER V.

TROUBLES OF THE MAHDI.

The Garrison of Kassala—Crocodile Fishing—The Fight near Sennaar—Dormer in Command on the Upper Nile—Siege of El Obeid—The Question of Retaining Dongola—The Rival Mahdis.

THE Governor of Kassala, a Circassian officer, called "a second Gordon," was still holding out valiantly against great odds. The population of the town was estimated at from 25,000 to 30,000, and his garrison, as given in the tabular statement sent by Sir Evelyn Baring to Lord Granville at the end of the year 1883, was somewhere about 1,260 of all ranks.

A Greek merchant, who reached the Italian garrison at Massowah about the 8th of April, stated that when he escaped, or passed through the enemy's lines at Kassala, the garrison was still holding gallantly out, though painfully straitened for food. He added, that the enemy had for a time almost abandoned the blockade of the town, and hopes were entertained that news of Osman Digna's defeats at our hands might so far intimidate the tribes in that neighbourhood, the people of Zabderat, Algeden, and the Desert of El Hawede, that the garrison might be able to obtain supplies from the surrounding country.

On the 13th of April a letter from the Governor of Kassala was received at Suakim, in which he wrote thus:—"Having heard of the advance of the British troops, we are still holding out with the hope that we shall be relieved. We have eaten all the donkeys, and are

now living on sesame. Although I have orders to cut my way out, I will not leave my people." And so, with the memory of the fate of those who defended Tokar, Sinkat, and Khartoum before them, he and his garrison resisted steadily and doggedly.

"It is impossible," wrote a correspondent at this time, "to express the feeling at Cairo for the forlorn hope of this brave garrison, which had now held out for over a year, and was in a position so remote—two hundred and sixty miles in a straight line from Suakim, and two hundred and thirty from Khartoum."

At this time Sir F. Milner asked the First Lord of the Treasury in Parliament whether he was aware that the Italian Government would send assistance for the relief of the garrison of Kassala if directly pressed by Her Majesty's Government; and whether, in the interests of common humanity, he would make an earnest appeal to the Italian Ministry to lend a helping hand before it was too late.

Though the relief of the Soudan garrisons had been one of the primary objects of the Expedition, Mr. Gladstone said that although it had been quite understood all along that the garrison of Kassala was not within the sphere of British military opera-

tions in the Soudan, yet great interest was naturally felt in consequence of the gallant manner in which the commander of the garrison had held his post. Her Majesty's Government had

assertion that the Italian Cabinet was prepared to attempt the relief of Kassala. There had been communications of a confidential character with the Italian Government on the subject; but



VIEW NEAR MASSOWAH.

considered the various proposals embracing the subject of the relief, and offered such suggestions as occurred to them, but, he was sorry to say, at present without any positive result. In regard to Italy, he was not aware of the state of the facts to which the honourable gentleman referred—namely, the

he had nothing to declare with regard to them.

Sir John Hay then very naturally asked whether the Kassala garrison did not come within scope of the instructions given to General Gordon and Admiral Hewett; but Mr. Gladstone replied that the withdrawal of the

garrison, if it could be effected, was an object of interest certainly, but it never came within the sphere of British military operations.

So little is known, as yet, of all the places we have to refer to from time to time in the Soudan, that every item of information is of interest, and we may

sand-islands, where she has buried her eggs. The native spies out the place, and on the south side of it—that is to the leeward—he makes a hole in the sand by throwing up the earth on the side on which he expects the crocodile. Then he hides himself, and if the crocodile has not observed



ON THE ROAD TO BERBER, EIGHTY MILES FROM SUAKIM: A MIDDAY HALT.

here quote, from the scarce Travels of Dr. Rüppell, the mode in which the natives of Dongola caught the crocodile, a reptile abounding in the river there, and for the fishing of which—if we may use the term—the people of the Mudir are famous, as many of our soldiers saw.

“The most favourable season for catching the crocodile at Dongola is the winter, when the animal usually sleeps on sand-banks to enjoy the sun, or during the spring, after pairing time, when the female regularly watches the

him, it comes to the usual place and soon falls asleep in the sun. Then the Dongolese darts his harpoon with all his might at the heart. To succeed, the iron end ought to penetrate at least to the depth of four inches, in order that the barb may hold fast. The wounded crocodile flies to the water, and the huntsman to his canoe. A piece of wood fastened to the harpoon by a long cord, floats on the water and shows the direction in which the crocodile is moving. The huntsman, by pulling this rope draws the beast to

the surface, where it is soon pierced by a second harpoon."

Rüppell adds that the flesh and fat of the crocodiles were eaten by the Berbers. "The four musk glands of the crocodile are a great part of the profit of the capture, as the Berbers will give as much as two dollars in specie for the four glands, which they use as a perfumed unguent for the hair."

On the 3rd of May tidings came to Dongola that the Mudir (then *en route* to Cairo, which he reached on the 7th) had dismissed the Emir of Berber, Mohammed el Kheir, for disaffection; and that the forces of the Mahdi, under Abdul Karim and Shujar el Kheir, had been defeated by the garrison of Sennaar at Mesalamieh, and that both these leaders had been severely wounded. This place was described in Colonel Donald Stewart's paper as being situated one hundred and thirty miles distant from Sennaar, and fifty from Khartoum, and on the shore of the Blue Nile. The city of Sennaar is situated on a hill, but only high enough to secure it against the inundations which take place in the rainy season, when the river rises twenty feet. In 1884 the garrison consisted of about 3,900 men. The rising against the Mahdi was now spreading rapidly in Kordofan, where a famine was threatened, and the Baggara and Hamr Arabs were said to have joined it.

The remnant of his forces, who lost their train of guns at Mesalamieh, retreated from thence to Abu Harar, and sent a request, but in vain, to

Khartoum for reinforcements, which were not available.

On the 9th of May Major-General Dormer with his staff went to Debbah, to assume command on the Upper Nile, in the absence of Sir Evelyn Wood, who had gone to Cairo.

It was about this time that a serious fire broke out in the camp of the Guards at Dongola. The troops turned promptly out for fire duty, and managed to check the flames, but not before six of the wooden huts were completely destroyed.

The troubles of the Mahdi were certainly increasing. A spy who returned to Dongola now reported that El Obeid was closely invested by Abu Essomad, Sheikh of the Bedernaya Arabs, and several other warlike chiefs. A vigorous but unsuccessful attempt to raise the siege was made by Abu Angu, who advanced to the relief of El Obeid at the head of a large force; but after a sharp conflict with the besiegers he was defeated and compelled to retire to Eddafui, near Abba, where the Mahdi was then in position. The forces of Abu Essomad consisted of 8,000 fighting men and 1,000 slaves.

On the 10th of May, Osman Digna, with a party of followers, visited Berber, from whence the Emir of that place had gone to Khartoum to seek for troops to attack Lord Wolseley at Suakim. But small-pox was raging in the vicinity of Khartoum and Omdurman, and many Arabs were departing, saying that the British loaded their guns with the pestilence in order to

kill those of their enemies who escaped in battle.

With reference to Lord Hartington's declaration in the House of Commons concerning British policy in regard to the Soudan, the Government of the Khedive, on the 13th May, stated that it was absolutely necessary that Egypt should retain a hold upon the city and entire province of Dongola; and, concerning this subject, on the 14th Sir Evelyn Baring telegraphed to Lord Granville as follows:—

"The question of establishing some Administration for the Province of Dongola being mainly a military one. I consulted Lord Wolseley and General Buller on the points mentioned in your Lordship's telegram of the 9th instant. Lord Wolseley thinks that if the railway were completed to Hannek the province might be held by a small force of black soldiers, with four armed steamers, until the Mahdi can make an attack in force; that when he does so Dongola will fall into his power. The defence of Dongola might be attempted with a British battalion at the end of the railway at Hannek, supported by two Egyptian battalions to hold the railway at Wady Halfa. Lord Wolseley thinks this experiment embraces dangers, but might be worth trying, as preferable to handing over Dongola to the Mahdi and anarchy.

"General Buller thinks the extension of the railway to Hannek at this moment would be a waste of money; that no force of blacks which we could get would be sufficient to hold or reconquer the province of Dongola, and that no reliance can be placed on them; that the Mahdi's Emir Ezzain will occupy Merawi the day after our troops leave. He reports that all his Copts and officials wish to leave Dongola. In a subsequent telegram General Buller says his opinion might be materially altered and the whole condition of things changed by a great misfortune, such as a crushing defeat at the hands of Sheikh Osman Morghani, happening to the Mahdi, an event which may take place now at any time. I have the honour to point out to your Lordship that General Buller's opinions are in several respects similar to those expressed by the Mudir of Dongola. I have also consulted General Stephenson, Nubar Pasha, Ad-el-Kader Pasha, and Colonel Watson, on this subject.

"We are unanimous in the opinion that to endeavour to establish any Government at Dongola, if the British troops are to be withdrawn at once, would be quite useless. In view, therefore, of the decision of Her Majesty's Government, we think that instructions should be given to General Buller to send down all troops, arms, and ammunition, and as many of the civil population as wish to leave Wady Halfa; that the British rear-guard should be the last to leave. Your Lordship will understand that we make this recommendation only because we consider it to be the necessary consequence of the decision of Her Majesty's Government to abandon the Province of Dongola at once, but that it is in no way to be taken to imply our agreement with that decision. Nubar Pasha, on behalf of the Egyptian Government, requests me to make a final and most earnest appeal to the Government of Her Majesty to postpone the departure of the British troops from Dongola for, say, six months, in order that there may be at least a chance of establishing a Government there. Nubar Pasha fears that the retreat of the British from Dongola will react on Egypt, and especially on the southern provinces, to such an extent as will render it impossible for the Khedive's Government to maintain order, and that they will be forced to appeal to Her Majesty's Government for help to preserve order in the country, and that thus the present system of Government, which Her Majesty's Ministry have been at so much trouble to maintain, will be found no longer possible.

"I have ventured to request your Lordship by telegraph to send me a very early answer as to whether instructions are at once to be sent for the total evacuation of Dongola by the Egyptian forces. Sir Redvers Buller is pressing for a decision on several points of detail. Pending reference to your Lordship, I have told him to make all necessary arrangements for the retreat of the Egyptian troops and such of the civil population as wish to come away."

From Suakim, on the 18th May, Lord Wolseley telegraphed thus to the Marquis of Hartington:—"Buller telegraphs that he has instructed Baring to send down all the Egyptian troops, civil employés, stores, guns, &c. He can only feed his rear-guard at Fatmeh until 20th July, and the transport question for a large number of

civilians is very difficult. Under these circumstances, it may be necessary for him to destroy the Egyptian stores freely."

On the same day the Marquis replied that "no orders had been given

known that the Shukeraja Arabs were mustering at Rufax, on the Blue Nile, and had made a junction with those of Sidi Osman with the avowed intention of marching on Khartoum, while the gallant garrison of Sennaar had won



MASTER AND SLAVE—SKETCH ON THE BLUE NILE, KHARTOUM.

by Lord Granville which insist on the evacuation within any specified time;" adding, "We should prefer deliberate withdrawal without the destruction of stores, and do not clearly understand any reasons making this impossible."

But Lord Hartington was in Downing Street, and not in Dongola.

Then, on the 15th of May, it was

another victory over the Mahdi. At this time the *Mubashir* paper announced that the two Mahdis, the old and the new, had sent delegates to the Sheikh Senoussi, in Tripoli, inviting him to visit Kordofan and decide as to which was the true Prophet and which the false; or, if age should prevent him travelling so far, to send a fitting

representative, or, at least, a letter stating his opinion. The delegates, however, failed to find Senoussi at home, the wily old Sheikh having taken a long journey so as not to be

But, amid all the turmoil around them, it is amusing to find the brigade of Guards at Dongola giving a Saturday-night concert, at which the General and all the staff were present; and the



THE NILE AT OLD CAIRO.

beguiled into giving an opinion till the rivals had decided the matter by the sword. And on the 17th of May the Mahdi lost Abdullah Taashi, his chief khalifa and master spirit, who died of small-pox. This man was a powerful adherent, and his followers at once dispersed to their homes on his death.

Hussars had athletic games and other sports.

The Mahdi, among his rivals and enemies, was now decidedly having the worst of it in all his recent encounters with them, and by the 22nd of May was withdrawing his troops everywhere to Gebeletin, leaving his war steamers at

Sobat (or Soba), on the Nile, where there are the ruins of an ancient city, the building materials of which are conveyed to Khartoum and distances beyond it.

The *Akbar* stated that the Mahdi, Mohammed Achmet Shemseddin, had applied to the Sultan of Wadai, requesting the latter to aid him with 6,000 men against his troublesome rival, promising to cede to him several towns in Darfour in return for his assistance. But the Sultan, being a friend of the Khedive, declined, reminding the Mahdi that Darfour was an Egyptian province to which he (Mohammed Achmet) had no claim whatever.

Meanwhile Mustapha Yaver Pasha, the Mudir of Dongola, was at Cairo, advocating energetically before the Khedive the retention and protection of his province; but the chief difficulties arose from the question of expense, and parties of fugitives, in dread of the future, began to leave it fast. On the 21st of May 500 left for Cairo or Lower Egypt; on the 26th 1,700; and on the following day 2,300, all more or less in misery and destitution.

The Emir of Berber now gave out that the British meant to retire because the African sun was killing them by burning off their noses and lips, and a force of the enemy, with one piece of cannon, was gathered at Berti, under the Emir Lekalik, with the intention, if an opportunity offered, of attacking our post at Merawi.

"In my journey down the Nile from Korti," wrote the correspondent of the *Standard* at the time, "I have

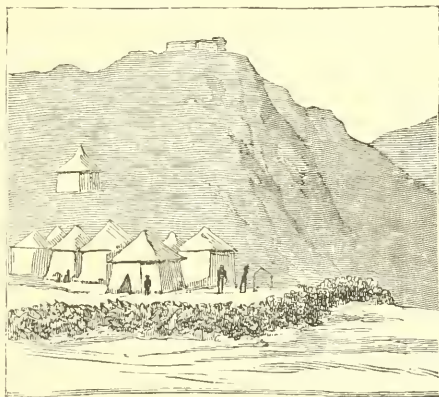
been able to give some attention to the British posts on the bank of the river. Everything in and about them is maintained in the highest state of efficiency. The hospitals *en route*, which serve as resting-places for our poor fellows coming home invalided, are admirably organised, comforts are plentiful, and the care which is bestowed upon the sufferers is almost affecting through its extreme thoughtfulness. The attention to their wants is much valued by the sick and wounded, who all speak in the highest praise of the arrangements made to lessen their sufferings. I have also taken special observation of the new posts which are destined to be occupied by our troops during the summer months. The sites are as pleasant as could be selected, though that is not saying a great deal. All the places are well, though simply, defended."

The proposed extension to Ferket of the railway from Sarras would now render it necessary to alter the then sites of many of the camps. Sarras is 800 miles from Cairo, at the seventeenth gate of the Great Cataract. There the rocky hills are several hundred feet in height. In the letters of the late Liëutenant-Colonel Eyre, of the South Staffordshire Regiment, the locality of this post is thus described:—"I was out before 6 a.m., and, after going through the camp, went for a ride across the strip of desert and through a pass in the hills to see what was on the other side, and it well repaid me. A grand, wild scene: a desert about a mile wide in parts, with the boldest

rocks, a few hundred feet high, at the sides, and these all different shades and colours—a perfect picture. I rode on—not a living thing to be seen—and came back through another pass. I am sure that thousands of years ago these sand hills were the banks of the Nile; the whole of the valley we are in was once the bed of a river more like a sea. This, I think, must have been so from the appearance of the rocks and bold cliffs on the hill sides, which clearly show they were once washed by strong water.”

Elsewhere this officer, who was so soon to be cut off in battle, wrote of Sarras:—“Up at daybreak, and went for a ride along the edge of the desert. It was some religious day among the Arabs; they had flags at all the small

tombs, which are scattered near Arab villages. Their graveyards are not enclosed, but mere spots in the desert, no boundary where each tribe bury. The graves were closed and marked by a pile of pebbles off the desert on the grave, and at the head an earthenware vessel, in which they burn a light all night on anniversaries. At one place there was a gathering (of mourners?) of some hundreds in a line about four deep, all dressed in long white or sky-blue robes and white turbans—no other colours. They were facing the east, praying, and a few hundred children were running round dancing and yelling. It was a most curious sight; I never saw one like it.”—*United Service Magazine*, 1885.



ZERIBA AND TENTS AT OTAO.



OSMAN DIGNA.

CHAPTER VI.

BREAKING UP OF THE SUAKIM FIELD FORCE.

Gossip at Suakim—Another Parliamentary Paper—Military Correspondents and General Graham—Osman Digna again—Hard Case of an Officer—Departure of the Australians—Lord Wolsley's Last Order—Sir G. Graham's Despatch—Sir Gerald's Farewell—The Queen at Netley Hospital—Reception of the Marines.

At this time the armour-plated patrol train ran nightly up and down the line from Suakim to the posts in front. It was furnished with a brilliant lime-light, and carried thirty riflemen, with their officers. Moreover, that the rebels had friends outside was proved when, in May, the Egyptian coastguard discovered a schooner landing—to the westward of Alexandria—a quantity of gunpowder, destined for transmission to the Soudan.

The coastguard gave chase, but the schooner effected her escape in the dark, her crew, as she fled under all sail, throwing a number of barrels overboard. For some time it had been suspected by the authorities, British and Egyptian, that supplies of powder were secretly landed for the Soudan;

but this was the first actual discovery of the matter.

Before the middle of May was reached the period of suspense regarding the ultimate destination of the Suakim field force was unbearably protracted—whether they were to advance to Khartoum in autumn, as Lord Wolseley had not ceased to say; to be sent to the Afghan frontier to fight the Russians; to garrison Lower Egypt; or to return home. All was dark and vague! "This outlandish place," wrote one from Otao, "is as full of rumours and gossip as the Stock Exchange."

One day it was said that the railway was to be torn up; next that the Guards and Australians were going to London; then that the line was to be

held by the Indian contingent, while the Guards went to Cairo, there to remain till the autumn campaign opened.

"We know nothing for certain," he continued, "excepting that our men are engaged all day in protecting the navvies, scattered along the line, from six o'clock in the morning till six

troops. "Too many thanks," wrote another correspondent, "cannot be bestowed upon the members of that Society, who, among other comforts, have brought out a large store of oranges, tobacco, cocoa, and condensed milk, and which are most generously and largely distributed among the



MARCH THROUGH THE DESERT.

o'clock in the evening, and that at night they lie fully accoutred round a large camp of non-combatants. However, the extraordinary number and variety of rumours—which remind some here of long-gone Crimean days—serve to keep the brains as well as bodies busy in this not very exciting locality, for lately we have been denied any nocturnal entertainment by the enemy."

The arrival of the yacht *Stella* at Suakim, with another large and generous supply from the National Aid Society, gave great satisfaction to the

troops. Need I say how thoroughly these things are appreciated by our men?"

The chief annoyance arose from the swarms of flies, which rendered eating and drinking a misery before sunset. Mosquitoes as yet were few, and the flies ceased from troubling after night-fall.

A Parliamentary paper, containing further correspondence respecting the military operations in the Soudan, was now published. It extended from the 23rd of March to the 18th of May, and

amongst the earlier communications was one from Lord Wolseley to the Marquis of Hartington, in which he detailed his views upon the situation consequent upon the fall of Khartoum and sacrifice of Gordon, and recommended that, as it was impossible for him to undertake any further operations until the end of summer, the power of Osman Digna should in the meantime be crushed, and that a railway should, without delay, be constructed in the direction of Berber.

On April 13th Lord Hartington would seem to have telegraphed that, owing to the condition of Imperial affairs, it was highly probable that the expedition to Khartoum might have to be abandoned, and the troops sent down as fast as possible to Egypt, and Lord Wolseley was instructed to consider the best means to be promptly taken for their safe withdrawal. Lord Wolseley replied that there was no difficulty in withdrawing the troops, but urged that Wady Halfa and Korosko should be held as outposts.

This would enable the British troops to concentrate near Dongola or Hannek whenever it was necessary; it would secure the allegiance of the frontier tribes, and save trouble, disturbance, and possibly local risings. Lord Hartington, in reply, intimated that the Government did not insist on precipitate retirement, but also that they did not contemplate an indefinite retention of British troops at Dongola. A subsequent communication from the Secretary, dated April 15th, announced that the Suakim-Berber railway would be

suspended, but that Suakim would be held for the present.

On April 16th Lord Wolseley, then at Cairo, again addressed Lord Hartington as to the best policy to adopt in the Soudan. He urged that the reasons which made it almost imperative upon us to destroy the power of the Mahdi at Khartoum were not sufficiently grasped by the people of Great Britain, and he stated openly, as the result of his experience of Egypt and the Soudan, that he held in the strongest possible manner, both from a military and a financial point of view, and also with regard to the general well-being of Egypt proper, that the growing power of the Mahdi must be met, not by a purely defensive policy on the frontier, whether at Assouan or Wady Halfa, but by his overthrow in the neighbourhood of Khartoum.

This despatch we have already given at length, and in another, dated Suakim, May 11th, he again strongly deprecated such doubtful policy as the withdrawal indicated.

On that day the military correspondents had an interview with Major Collen, the Military Secretary of General Graham, in order to draw up a missive to the latter expressing their indebtedness for the courtesy and kindness so invariably shown them by the military authorities. On the 11th Lord Wolseley visited the Anchorage, where a magnificent fleet of white-painted "troopers" lay moored; and on the following day he visited the Scots Guards at Tambouk, and was delighted with the appearance of the bat-

talion, under all the circumstances, and said the Scots fully maintained their high reputation.

Parties of Arabs of various tribes now continued to come into the Guards' outpost at Otao, where eventually a special encampment had to be formed for them; and it was hoped that this movement was the commencement of a general submission on the part of the septs in this part of the Soudan, and an admission of the futility of further resistance to British power.

The Habbab section of the Beni Amer tribe between Suakim and Mas-sowah were also anxious to make submission, and it was believed that the tribes in the south and Amaras in the north would together form a strong barrier against Osman Digna, who was now reported to be at Tamai, together with Adam Ali Saadoun, who was in dire disgrace with the former for suffering himself to be surprised by General Graham at Dhakdul. Osman's followers were stated to be only a few hundred strong, but any information on such a point was most unreliable. On the 14th of May their combined forces were numbered at a thousand men.

Anxious, however, as the troops were to get away from the scorching and blinding desert, it was hoped by all that Government would not destroy the whole fruits of a most arduous campaign by showing too suddenly to the Arabs an intention of abandoning the Soudan, and leaving the friendly tribes who aided us to the vengeance of a merciless enemy.

Osman was said to be short of grain,

to have few camels, and only 150 cattle. His followers had replaced the huts we burned at Tamai by others, and his scouts were posted on the Teselah Hills.

H.M. Troopship *Tyne* sailed from Suakim on the 14th May with invalids in charge of Drs. Mapleton, College, Holmes, and Beevon, numbering twelve officers and 120 men; but still the percentage of sick was very high; and the case of one invalided officer, which found its way into the *Times*, was a peculiarly hard one—that of a sub-lieutenant of the Royal Navy.

He had served throughout the Egyptian war since 1882, and was invalided for rheumatism. After being a month in hospital at Malta, he was "surveyed" and sent home to Haslar, where, after a few days, the doctors informed him that his only chance of permanent recovery was to proceed immediately to German baths. To enable him to follow their advice, he had to be "discharged to the shore" for two months, which means that he was deprived of every farthing of pay for that time, and was left to find his way to Germany as best he could, keep himself, and pay his own doctor's bills. "He hopes," continued the writer in the *Times*, "that he may yet be allowed 2s. 6d. a day; but what is that for a sick man in the position of a gentleman? It is not the half-pay of a railway navy. An army officer of any rank similarly invalided draws his full pay, however small that may be, and I am not aware that his expenses are greater than his brothers in the navy.

When I first heard of this officer's case, as there is no such thing as half-pay for a sub-lieutenant, I was persuaded that the Admiralty intended to promote him, as he had been an acting lieutenant at Suakim for a couple of months, filling a death vacancy, as one of the lieutenants of his ship was killed on

the Auxiliary Hospital on Quarantine Island stood on an old burying-ground, and that great sickness prevailed there in consequence of the unhealthiness of the situation; and, if so, whether he would not at once take steps to have it removed to a more suitable position. The Marquis of



IN THE DESERT—LEFT TO DIE.

March 22nd at McNeill's zeriba. Instead, however, of being confirmed in his acting rank, as is invariably the case on active service, he is 'discharged to shore,' doubled up with rheumatism, to do the best he can on half-a-crown a day, to ruminate on the glories of his profession, and honours and rewards to be obtained on active service."

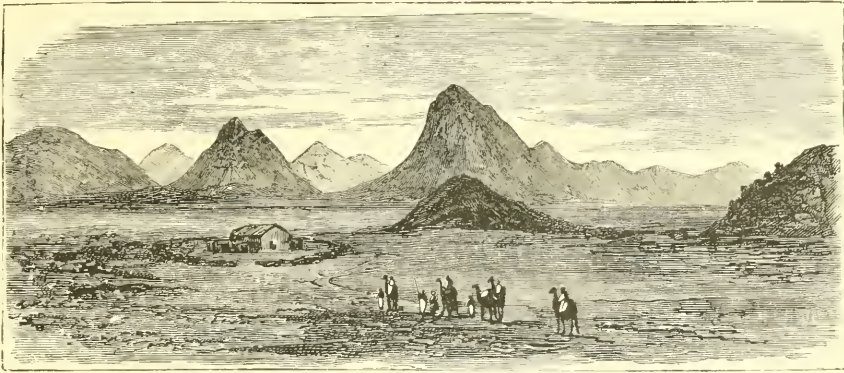
With regard to the health of the troops at Suakim, Lord Edward Cecil, in the House of Commons, asked the Secretary of State for War whether he could ascertain if it were true that

Hartington replied that the Auxiliary Hospital on Quarantine Island was certainly stationed on an old burial-ground; but in answer to a telegram he was assured the spot was most salubrious, as it was six years since any interment had taken place there, and it did not appear that the graveyard had rendered the rest of the island in any way unhealthy.

The 9th Bengal Lancers now presented General Graham with one of the handsome standards, taken by them at Dhakdul, which he said he

would ever prize as a souvenir of the gallantry of "Hodson's Horse." And now a very general feeling was expressed in camp that the Australian Contingent, prior to its departure home, should be taken to England and shown to the people of London. Such a step, our soldiers thought, would be much appreciated in the distant colony from whence their comrades came, and would

bolicum perseverare," the *Liberté* remarked that "The British were not devils in a path bristling with obstacles and bordered with precipices and abysses." The *Liberté* warmly recommended the prudent course, now that we had been too late, and disclaimed all sympathy with those men disposed to sneer at England, which, it added, "has again given to France a lesson in



BIR HANDUK WELLS, NEAR SUAKIM.

increase the loyal feeling existing there towards the mother country.

Many of the Continental papers at this time praised the proposal to evacuate the Soudan, particularly the *Paris Liberté*, which deemed it another instance of the essentially practical character of the British people. Notwithstanding the undoubted checks incurred to military and political *prestige*, it said, a discreet return had been made to the original programme, now that there was no longer a Gordon to be rescued, and now that the arduous and perilous character of the enterprise was fully overcome. Quoting the proverb, "Errare humanum est, dia-

wisdom. We are engaged in many distant enterprises, where we are struggling more for honour than for interest. Would it not be well to make, like England, a calculation of profits and losses, and to persevere only when there is something substantial to gain?"

On the 15th of May the station at Tambouk was ordered to be abandoned, while those at Otao and Handoub were to be retained; and the friendly tribes were to be organised, and utilised for the protection of that portion of the railway which had been laid down.

On the morning of the same day the Mounted Infantry and Camel Corps went out to McNeill's old zeriba to make an

exhaustive search in the bush round it, with orders to bury any of the bodies of our people which had been as yet undiscovered. They came upon a party of Arabs, and killed several; the rest fled wildly, and though they fired a few shots we had no casualties. Later in the day the Shropshire company of the Camel Corps found, and buried near the fatal zeriba, the bodies of two troopers of the 19th Hussars, who had been missing since the action at Handoub, just before the commencement of this last campaign. The remains had been stripped of everything, but were un mutilated, and in a wonderful state of preservation.

On the same day the troops engaged in this sorrowful duty found and re-interred near the zeriba a considerable number of bodies, which had been dragged out of their graves by the jackals. "The men," said the *Daily Chronicle*, "brought back harrowing reports of the shocking scenes they had witnessed. It must, however, be recorded, to the credit of the rebels, that they did not appear to have interfered in any way with our dead." It was now estimated that 14 per cent. of the troops had been invalided.

At last the long-expected orders for home came!

The garrison of Suakim was to consist of one battalion of British Infantry, the 15th Sikhs, the 7th Bengal, and 28th Bombay Native Infantry regiments, the Madras Sappers and Miners, a mounted battery of Royal Artillery, and the Egyptian Camel Corps. The rest were to quit the Soudan at once.

Lord Wolseley made a farewell inspection of the Australian Contingent, and expressed "the great pride he felt to command them, and his deep regret in not having had the opportunity of being more with them personally. He considered that their work, bearing, and behaviour, had been deserving of the highest praise. The fact of New South Wales being able to send such troops would probably deter any power from hastily entering upon a war with Britain. The Australians had, individually and collectively, deserved the esteem of their comrades in arms, and took with them the best wishes of the whole troops."

In response the Australians gave three hearty cheers for the Queen, for Lord Wolseley, and Sir Gerald Graham.

When the Hon. W. Bede Dalley, Acting Colonial Secretary, received a telegram from the Agent-General for New South Wales, saying, that the services of the Contingent being no longer required in the Soudan, it would return to Sydney at such time as the Imperial Government determined, and that arrangements for its transport would be made by the colony of New South Wales, he added:—"We desire you on the part of this Colony to thank the Imperial Government for the honour conferred on our troops. Though the men are no longer required for the service of the Empire, the spirit which animated the country is strengthened by the generous way in which the services of the men have been recognised by Great Britain."

Since that telegram had been received,

Her Majesty's Government had made arrangements for the conveyance of the colonial troops home in the *Arab*. Sir Saul Samuel, having reported this offer to his Government, received the following reply :—"Convey to the Imperial Government the hearty thanks of the colonists of New South Wales for their generous offer, which we accept with gratitude. Hand over all the horses to the War Office as a gift from the Colony."

On the same day the Australians were inspected General Graham paid a farewell visit to the old 70th Regiment before their departure, and addressed them in the highest terms of praise, saying that their steady volley-firing had produced the greatest effect every time they were in action, and that they had, during this campaign, fully sustained their splendid reputation, and that won by their predecessors in Guadaloupe and New Zealand.

On the day after the inspection of the Australian Contingent, Lord Wolseley issued the following special and important general order to the soldiers, sailors, and marines of the army of the Soudan :—

"Her Majesty's Government having decided to withdraw most of the troops from the Soudan, I desire, when bidding you farewell, to express to all my deep sense of your admirable conduct. The army in the Soudan has not only fought with courage and firmness, and cheerfully borne no small amount of hardship; it has shown, in addition, higher qualities than were required for the patient endurance of privation, or for the defeat of the brave but cruel enemy with whom it has been engaged. Crime has been almost unknown in the ranks; the highest standard of discipline has been maintained; and the behaviour of the troops, British, Indian, and Colonial, has been in every way credit-

able to them, and to the service to which they belong.

"My best thanks are due to all ranks of the Royal Navy, and of the Marines, who have taken part in the recent campaign in the Soudan. Wherever hard work or hard fighting was to be done, the men of those services were to be found, and I am at a loss to say whether they were more remarkable for their hard work or for their hard fighting. From the beginning of the operations in last September to the present date, both officers and men of the navy have been untiring in their exertions, and all they had to do has been done effectively and well.

"I would also thank the soldiers of the gallant New South Wales Contingent, not only for the services they have rendered, but also for the sympathy which prompted them to come from afar to take part in a war undertaken by the Empire to which we all belong.

"They will carry home with them the thanks of our Sovereign, and the best wishes of those with whom they have fought side by side here. They have borne themselves well, both in action and in camp, and I trust that, should any serious war be forced upon our Empire in the future, we may again find ourselves shoulder to shoulder with Australian troops, facing a common enemy.

"The deeds of the force in the Soudan have added one more chapter to the glorious records of our national prowess, and all of you who have belonged to it, British, Indians, and Australians, may feel with pride that the high reputation of our army and navy has gained, not suffered, at our hands.

"Among the many and varied memories of the recent campaign, the remembrance of your keen, soldier-like spirit will be the pleasantest to dwell upon. I shall always feel proud of having commanded you.

(Signed) "WOLSELEY, General.

"Suakim, 16th May, 1885."

The Colonials now handed over all their stores and horses to the Royal Artillery, and the greatest excitement prevailed among the troops at the approach of a speedy departure, and on every hand the most active preparations were made for embarkation.

The hired transports, *Oregon*, *Tancouver*, *Devonia*, *Bolivia*, *Egypt*, *Erin*, *City of Oxford*, *Egyptian*, *Monarch*,

Abyssinia, *Peruvian*, and *France*—all stately and commodious ships—were ordered to be completed for the conveyance of the troops from Suakim to Cyprus, Gibraltar, and Great Britain. The two first named were fitted to receive 250 cavalry each; the others

Sir Gerald Graham, and more than all Lord Hartington, discreetly threw a veil over some of the incidents that occurred. The author of "Suakim in 1885" frequently lifts that veil, and gives us glimpses of the unpleasant truth. General Graham, in

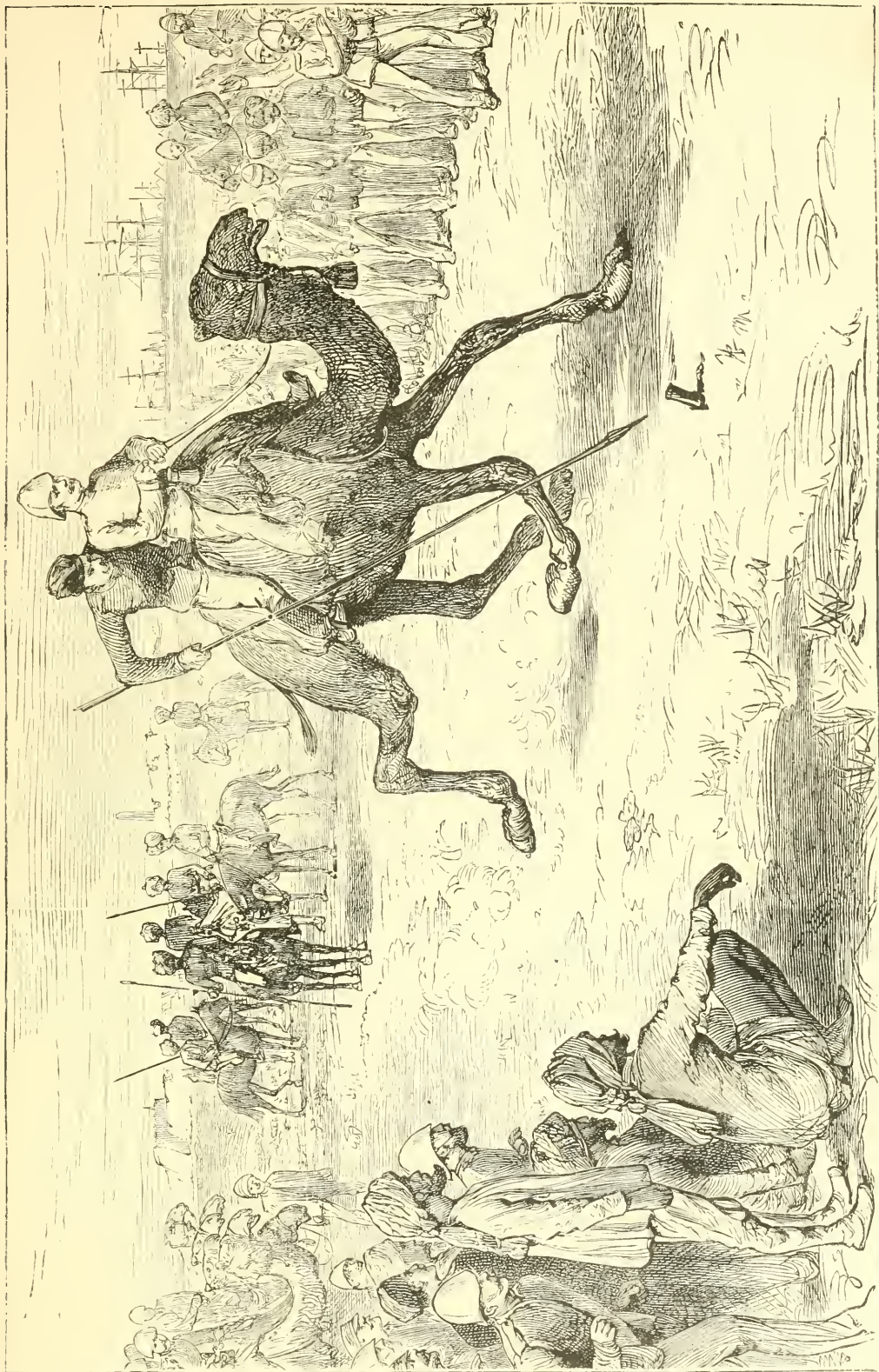


SINKAT

were fitted to receive 900 men and 44 horses each.

Of the last services of his column at Suakim, prior to the arrival of Lord Wolseley, Sir Gerald Graham (with some details not to be found in the public prints) wrote thus in his despatch to Lord Wolseley of May 30, 1885, dated from Alexandria. But, previously to giving extracts, we may remark that in the official despatches and the *Honours Gazette* Lord Wolseley,

his final despatch, alludes to the disaster of M'Neill's zeriba as having broken up the power of Osman Digna, the inference being that it was an action which reflected credit on the commander; whereas the author referred to—an officer who was there—states, "It remains a fact, that cannot be contradicted or gainsaid, that this terrible loss of life was occasioned by neglect in taking proper precautions, and a foolhardy carelessness, combined



SPORTS AT SUAKIM TENT-PEGGING ON A CAMEL.

with a total disregard of the most ordinary principles."

The escape from a crushing disaster, then, was simply due to the heroic courage and splendid discipline of the regimental officers and their men, and yet their reward was not a very extravagant one.

"It was found here (at Suakim), as elsewhere," wrote Sir Gerald Graham, "that a certain amount of work, even during the hot season, tended to keep the troops in condition, and enabled them better to resist the enervating effects of the climate. The troops in the front, at Tambouk and Otao, suffered less than nearer the base, and the medical statistics of the campaign tend to show that, had the operations been prolonged into the summer months, the best chance of keeping the troops in health would have been by moving them into the hills, and not by keeping them too long on the same spot.

"It was unfortunate that the campaign should have been closed just when I had obtained the means of organising flying columns so as to move across the country, as I did on May 6th. The Camel Corps was most successful, but, owing to the lateness of the arrival of the camels, its organisation could not be commenced before April 18th. Five hundred riding camels had been asked for by me before leaving Britain, and that number was ordered from India; out of these about 300 only were used for service, as no more men could be spared from the Infantry. These riding camels were very fine

animals, and were equipped with saddles for two men each, so that 300 camels could carry about 500 fighting men, besides one native to every third camel. The remaining camels were employed to carry infantry on the 'ride and tie' system. The New South Wales Battalion and the 3rd Grenadier Guards were especially trained in this mode of camel riding; and, as the Camel Corps could also apply the 'ride and tie' system to any untrained infantry, I had the means of moving for any emergency about 1,800 infantry, one-half being always mounted. With the Camel Corps, Mounted Infantry, and Cavalry, I could form a formidable flying column, and was preparing to make a simultaneous advance on Sinkat and Tamanieb, when the announcement of the intended recall of the troops rendered further movements on an extensive scale inadvisable.

"At the same time that the Camel Corps furnished me with the means of rapid movement, notwithstanding the great heat, the arrival of pipes and pumps under the contract of Messrs. Edwards and Tweddale promised to solve the greatest difficulty of the campaign—the want of water. The supply of water to troops in the front before the railway was made and in advance of the line was a most difficult service, involving great labour and responsibility. The weight of water for each man's daily rations was at least 12lbs., his ordinary rations weighing less than 4lbs.

"The work of cleaning and filling the water-tins preparatory to a march

had to be done at night. They had to be packed on camels, every camel carrying two tins of twelve and a half gallons each, and were then started off before daybreak to join the convoy. On arrival at their destination, the tins were either emptied into storage tanks, or piled and guarded preparatory to issue to the troops. Much water was, of course, lost in transit from leakage and other causes. Incessant vigilance was required to guard the water amongst soldiers and camp-followers, many of whom suffered from intense thirst; and the fact that so little was stolen is another proof of the high sense of duty and discipline that pervaded the force."

The General continued to say that from the date of his arrival at Suakim he had endeavoured to gain the confidence of the Amara tribes in the hope of being able to induce them to form an alliance with him against Osman Digna—an alliance which would include all septs hostile to the latter or weary of his cruelty and despotism, but that little progress in this measure could be made until the preliminary operations had been concluded and the advance along the route to Berber began; and until Major-General Lyon-Fremantle had been appointed, on April 20, as Political Officer at the front and furnished with detailed instructions for his guidance. But the chief difficulty with which he had to contend was the impossibility of guaranteeing permanent protection to friendly tribes.

The capture on the 15th of April of a great number of cattle intended for

Osman Digna acted (said Sir Gerald) as a strong discouragement to those of the Amara tribe who were still supplying him with provisions, while the break up of the force under Adam Ali Saadoun at Dhakdul on May 6th produced a powerful impression throughout the country, the result being that many chiefs opened at once direct communication, and large numbers of tribes gathered, as we have related, in an improvised camp at Otao; and the General was of opinion that, had that advanced post been retained in our occupation, the whole of the tribes lying north of the Berber road would have been at our disposal, while a number of the adherents of Osman would have followed suit.

Thus it would seem that when the sudden evacuation of the advanced posts began the political question was practically solved, as numbers of the Amaras had submitted to General Graham, and some of the fierce Haden-dowas also. It seemed, hence, to be a matter of regret if the abandonment of these posts precluded further advantage being won, the more so that the abrupt dissolution of the Amara league, when in its infancy, increased the power of Osman Digna, and restored his prestige.

"This campaign," said the General in his despatch, "will at least be memorable as the first in which Her Majesty's Colonial forces have taken a part with British and Indian troops. The New South Wales Contingent took its share in all our hardships and dangers. The New South Wales

infantry had some men wounded at Tamai, and during subsequent operations were always in the front. Had the contemplated advances on Sinkat and Tamanieb taken place, they would have formed a portion of the troops engaged. The officers and men were, as I have stated previously, trained to

On the 15th of May orders came for the withdrawal of the Guards, the Royal Horse Artillery, and the British cavalry. The Grenadiers and Scots Guards were placed on board the *Jumna*, with ninety invalids, all under General Lyon-Fremantle, while General Greaves was to remain to

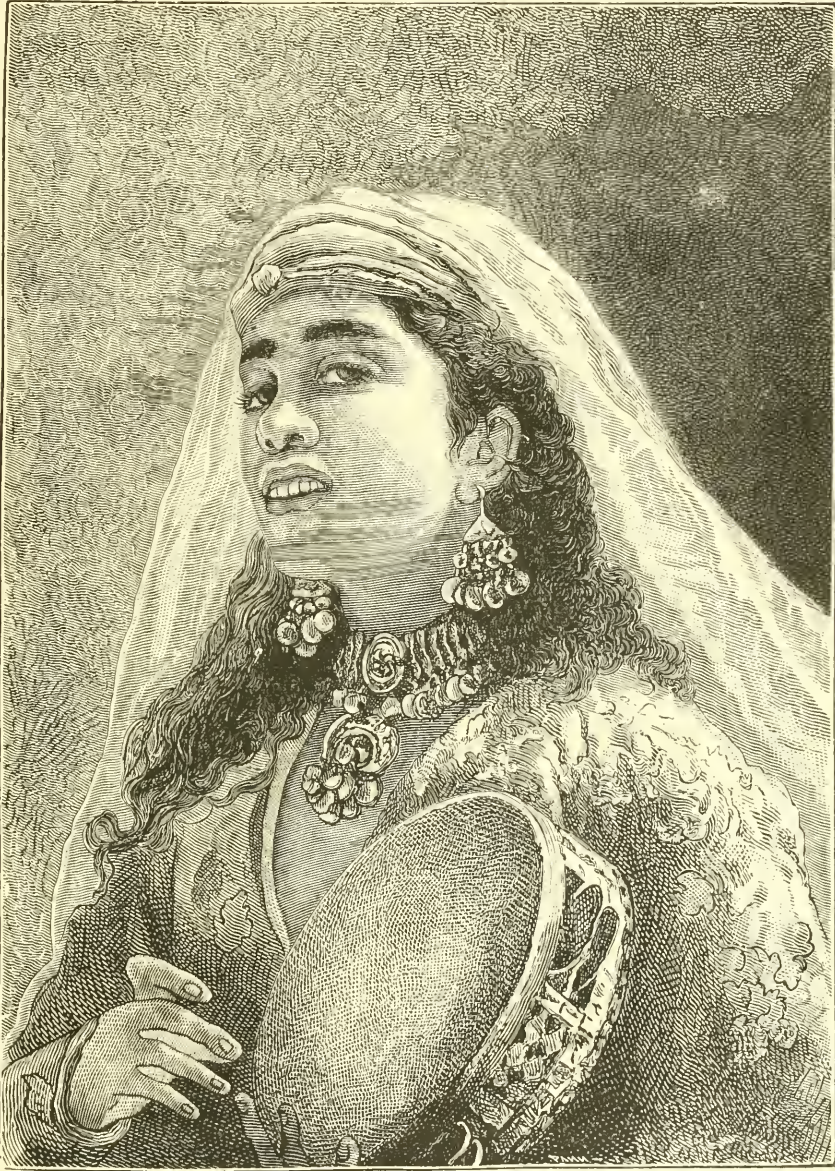


TOKAR.

camel riding, in which they soon acquired sufficient proficiency. The New South Wales battery moved to Handoub, and by constant drilling became fairly efficient, considering the many difficulties they had to contend with. The spirit of good-fellowship between the men of the Australian Contingent and the British troops was very noticeable. The highest credit is due to Colonel Richardson and to the officers under him for the excellent discipline and cheery readiness shown on all occasions."

superintend the final arrangements, and the permanent garrison of Suakim was to be under General Hudson. The *Jumna* sailed with her freight on the 17th, and on the preceding day, at 5 a.m., the General inspected the Berkshire regiment. He complimented the men highly, as they well deserved to be, for their brilliant conduct during a heartless campaign, especially for their gallantry at the zeribas on the 22nd of March, and for the unselfish manner in which they

volunteered, to a man, to remain there, to Otao and bade farewell to the Shrop-
 amid discomfort, danger, and the dead, shire regiment and Colonel R. H. Truel



ARAB SINGER.

for ten days. He mentioned, in particular, Colour-Sergeant Cloke, whose distinguished gallantry would be brought before Her Majesty. He then rode

(a veteran of the Indian wars under Lord Clyde), and thanked the soldiers for the spirit in which they had borne their arduous labour.

On the 15th he visited the Indian Contingent, and praised their conduct under all circumstances, adding that "the steadiness of the Sikhs and Bombay Infantry at McNeill's zeriba, the gallantry of the Bengal Lancers at Hasheen, their admirable scouting upon all occasions, stamped them as amongst the finest soldiers to be found anywhere." He spoke especially of Subahdar Goordat Singh of the Sikhs, to whom Lord Wolseley had presented a sword of honour in recognition of his bravery.

The following is an extract from the General Order issued by Sir Gerald Graham on the relinquishing of his command of the Suakim Field Force.

"Suakim, May 16.

"Orders have been received to break up the Suakim Field Force, and General Lord Wolseley, Commanding in Chief in Egypt and the Soudan, in his Special General Order of this date, addressed to the Army, of which this force is a portion, has expressed his approbation in terms which will always be remembered with gratification.

"I desire, before relinquishing the command which I have had the honour to hold, to convey to all ranks my high appreciation of the soldier-like spirit, gallantry in action, and cheerful endurance of hardship which they have uniformly shown.

"During the early days of the campaign the work thrown upon officers and men, in every rank and in every department, was severe and unceasing. It was necessary to prepare for the active operations required to overcome the power of a brave and fanatical foe, so as to clear the country for the special objects of the expedition. This work was performed under the harassing conditions of incessant night attacks by a cunning and resolute adversary, entailing constant vigilance and readiness on the part of the whole force.

"Whether engaged with the enemy or labouring under a burning sun in the deep sand of the desert, often with but a scanty supply of water, the Suakim Field Force has displayed the true qualities of good soldiers.

"The New South Wales Contingent has furnished

a bright example of the martial qualities of the Anglo-Saxon race, and has shown to all the latent military strength of the Empire. The soldier-like spirit which has pervaded all ranks of the Contingent is the theme of universal admiration, and it will be a valued remembrance to all who served in the Suakim Field Force to recall this, the first time when their fellow-countrymen from the Colonies served and shared with them the fortunes of a campaign.

"In now bidding it farewell, I thank every officer, non-commissioned officer, and man, for loyal help, and I wish to one and all success and fortune in following the path of duty to our Queen and country.

(Signed)

"GERALD GRAHAM, Lieutenant-General."

After dining with the officers of the 28th Bombay Infantry, the General, whose departure was much regretted, as he was most popular with all ranks of the Expeditionary Force, embarked with his staff—Majors Collen and Groves, and Lieutenants Stopford, Anderson, and Lindsay—on board the *Deccan*, which sailed for home on the 17th May.

Mr. Frank Roberts, Reuter's special correspondent, having died of fever on the 15th May, was buried next day at five o'clock in the evening, the burial service being read by the Rev. Mr. Bullock, Chaplain to the Forces. All the special correspondents, with Colonel Palmer, of Hodson's Horse, and Surgeon-Major Patterson, who attended the deceased in his last illness, were present in the little dreary burying ground at Suakim, within sound of the Red Sea.

The news of our approaching departure spread like wildfire among the natives, wrote the *Standard* correspondent on the 17th of May, and hence

large numbers of Arabs have joined Osman Digna, "consequently his power, which we had practically broken, must now inevitably and rapidly rise again, and will probably become greater than before. The 53rd Regiment will garrison Otao, the 49th Handoub, and the friendly natives Tambouk; the whole of the remaining forces are in Suakim."

In consequence of no other power agreeing to take over the now useless railway plant, and the friendly tribes neither understanding its use nor how to defend it, no more troops were to leave the Soudan for the present.

"Thus," as a Member of Parliament said, "within a few weeks the expedition was suddenly abandoned; the valuable lives had been thrown away for nothing. You know that a whole railway plant and material were sent out by Government to Suakim to be laid across the desert from there towards the Nile. Perhaps you may also know that as much of that railway as was laid has been abandoned; that most of the plant and material was never even unloaded at Suakim; that it was brought back to London; and that the total cost generally for this useless transport of this material was no less a sum than £200,000, which might just as well have been thrown into the British Channel. Nay, better, because then the valuable lives that were lost in those useless attempts would have been saved."

Thus, for the reason above given, the further evacuation of Suakim was abruptly suspended on the 17th of

May; but negotiations were still in progress between Major Chermside and the eminent Arabic scholar, Mr. Brewster, with the friendly Arabs, with a view to their holding the railway, a property beyond their comprehension, but no satisfactory result seemed likely to be arrived at.

And meanwhile, by way of a change of scene, we may take a glance at what was passing in "old England" at this very date with reference to our Soudanese campaigners—the Queen's visit to Netley and the reception of that ever popular corps, the Marines.

The Queen, accompanied by the Princess Beatrice and Prince Henry of Battenberg, left Windsor and reached Netley Hospital on the 16th of May. Her visit was understood to be a private one; thus there was no ceremonial. She was received by Lieutenant-General Sir G. H. Willis, commanding the southern district, with his brilliant staff, and at the entrance to the hospital there was a considerable assemblage of ladies and gentlemen. The convalescent soldiers, who were not among those for whom the visit was specially designed, were allowed to congregate outside and salute the royal party when it drove up.

On alighting Her Majesty was escorted by Surgeon-General Murray, the principal medical officer of the hospital, who had been in waiting with Surgeon-Major Faris and other members of his staff. Ascending to the first floor, the Queen proceeded to the rooms of the lady superintendent and nursing sisters, where she remained a

few minutes, and, after passing through the quarters of the nurses, inspected the medical division on the same floor. Here were 146 men from the army in Egypt under treatment. The majority of these unfortunate patients were suffering from enteric fever, dysentery, sunstroke, and ophthalmia.

which may long be cherished by the rough lumberman from the Dominion. In various beds of the wards the more serious of the cases were explained by the medical officers, and there were few bed-sides at which the Queen failed to stop and speak a word of sympathy to the poor invalids.



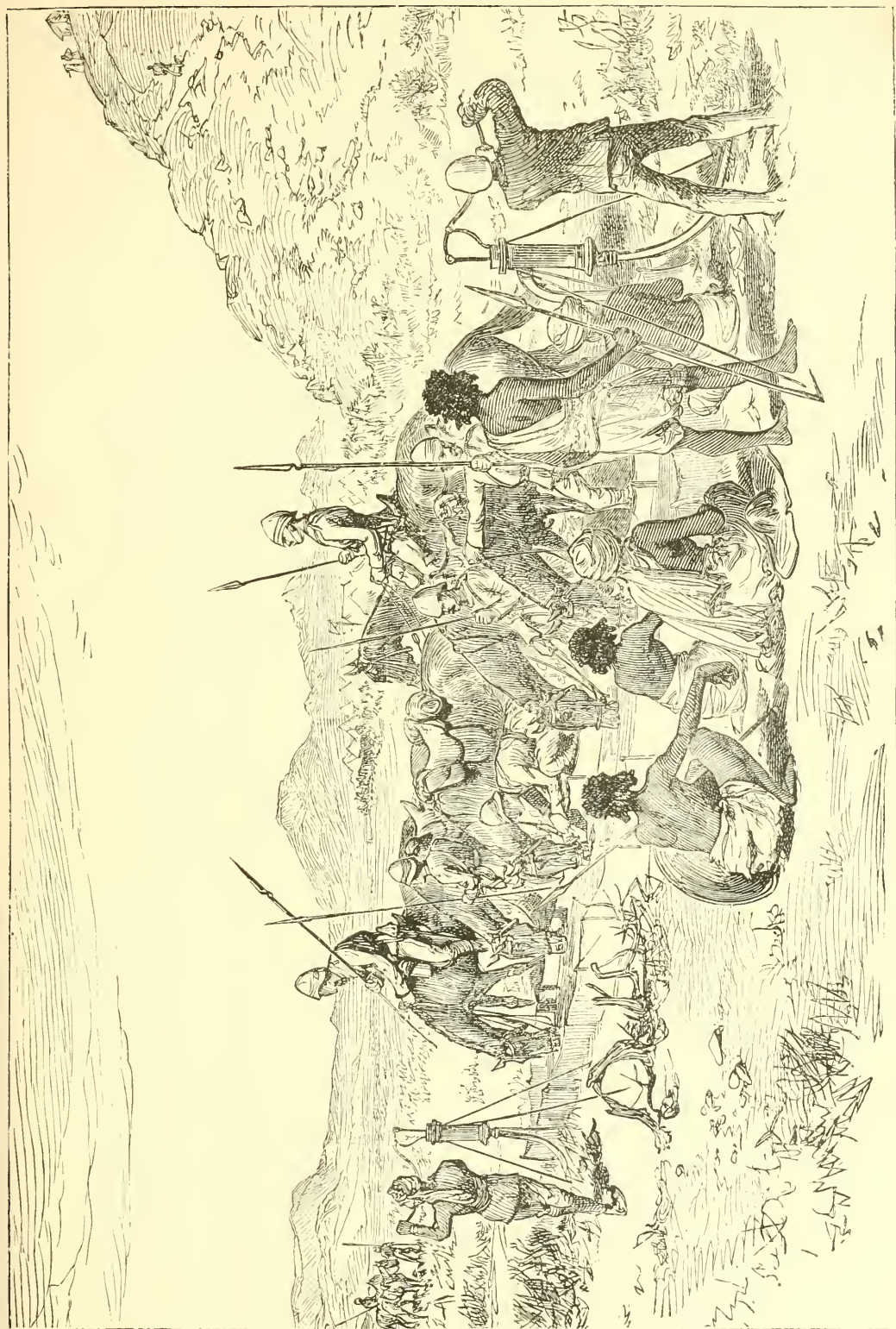
MR. FRANK ROBERTS, REUTER'S SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT AT SUAKIM.

(From a Photograph by Messrs. Maull and Fox, 187a, Piccadilly, W.)

The whole of these, who were well enough to be up and dressed, were paraded outside their respective wards in the corridors, and saluted the Queen as she passed them, and stopped now and then to ask a question or speak a few words of sympathy. One of these was a Canadian *voyageur*, who was suffering from acute rheumatism and enteric fever contracted on the Nile at Dal. "Poor fellow!" said the Queen; "are you suffering yet? I hope you will soon be well"—simple words

After making a tour of this division she ascended to the second floor, where there were seventy-one "Egyptians" suffering from wounds of various kinds. Of this number twenty-eight belonged to the Berkshire (49th), and the majority of these had received their wounds in the conflict at McNeill's zeriba two months before. There were also nineteen Guardsmen, nearly all of whom had bullet wounds, mostly received when on convoy duty. The line of soldiers who greeted the Queen

THE WELLS AT HANDOUB: LANCERS WATERING THEIR HORSES.



in this corridor was indeed a striking one: some on crutches, others with heads bandaged, arms in slings, or with empty sleeves pinned across the tattered tunic, telling of missing limbs. But all looked cheerful, and their wan and wasted faces brightened when the Queen addressed them. "Many poor fellows who had undergone recent amputation or had bullets still lodged in them were unable to rise," wrote one who was present, "but at each bed-side Her Majesty stopped to say a word of sympathy, which brought back colour to the cheeks of the wounded soldiers and bright gleams to their eyes, as with tenderness she inquired how they received their hurts and wished them a speedy recovery."

One of the Berkshire men named Foley, who received nine wounds and had his brain exposed by a sword-cut in one of the night attacks at Suakim, was pointed out as a wonderful case of recovery, he being then rapidly on the way to convalescence. The Princess Beatrice also exhibited the same interest as her mother in the soldiers, and conversed pleasantly with them, while old Sir George Willis, always a favourite with his men, a veteran of the Crimean War, shook hands with many whom he recognised as having served under him in more recent years.

The tour of the divisions occupied an hour, and before leaving the Queen expressed her satisfaction at all she had seen. Since her last visit there in 1882 many improvements had been

made at Netley, including hot-water apparatus for warming the corridors and a lift for conveying the patients to the different floors. That morning's statement showed a total of 679 patients under treatment; but these were added to the same evening by eighty-one newcomers in the *Australia* from Egypt to Portsmouth.

Warm indeed was the reception given there the same day to the Marines who came from Suakim in the *Australia*, and it was with undisguised regret that they and Colonel N. F. Way learned, on the arrival of the ship at Spithead, that a favourite officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Ozzard, had just died in Forton Barracks.

He had served with the Royal Marine Brigade in the Crimea in 1855, and with the combined force before Sebastopol; also with the expedition to Kertch, and the occupation of Yenikalé. He served in the China war of 1857-59, and was at the destruction of the junks in Fatshan Creeks and Macao Broadway, at the occupation of Canton, and in the North-China Expedition of 1860. Lastly, he had borne a part in the Soudan war, and lost his health in the final campaign.

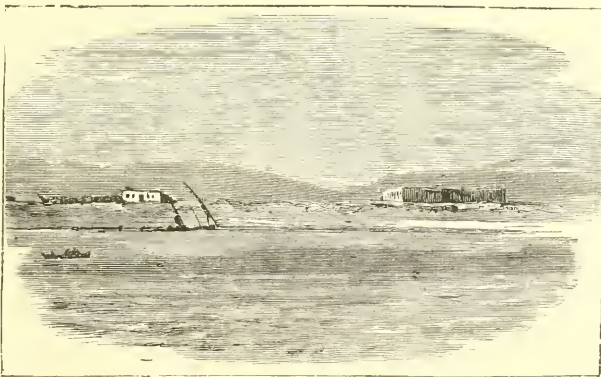
On the *Australia*, with her freight, passing the *St. Vincent*, opposite Haslar Hospital, the yards were manned, and the Marines were cheered vociferously, and then by the crews of the *Victory* and the *Wellington*, flagship. The battalion was welcomed at the Dockyard by Major-General Williams, D.A.G., of the Marines, by the Commandant and all the officers of the Portsmouth division.

It was then formed in square and thus addressed by General Williams :—

“I am commanded by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to convey to you the high appreciation they entertain of the manner in which you have performed the duties devolving upon you, from the formation of the battalion for service in the Red Sea up to the present time. My Lords fully recognise the spirit evinced by you when you submitted to those hardships by garrisoning the forts at Suakim for so long a time, a great portion of which was during the hot season, and they recognise also your patient endurance during those incessant and irritating night attacks which, under your orders and from your position, you were unable to return at the time. They also recognise your unvarying good conduct both in camp and quarters. When it was decided that a force should be formed at Suakim to advance into the field, they decided that you should form part of that force, and, knowing the spirit that pervaded your ranks, that you should share in the dangers and the glories of those operations. That you appreciated these privileges is shown by your bearing at all times—at the battle of Hasheen, at the fierce onslaught on the zeriba on the 22nd of March, in the attack on the convoy, where you were vastly outnumbered, and, at the same time, encumbered with baggage-animals in no sort of order, and working in a country which incapacitated you from moving freely, but which gave shelter to your enemies, and concealed them up to the moment when they made their wild rush, you have displayed that courage and discipline for which the Royal Marines have always been distinguished ; and I say it with pride, and there are many around

me who will have the same feeling in common with me, that you have nobly maintained the reputation of the corps. The success that you have gained could not have been obtained without some sacrifice. We have all to deplore the loss of many a gallant friend who fell on the field gloriously, and you have also had losses by wounds in action and by sickness. We mourn those who are gone, and we hope that those who are disabled will recover and be restored to us, to their ranks, and their comrades. I have passed down your ranks, and though my inspection has been casual, I have had satisfaction in seeing that you are in fine condition for further service, and it will be my duty so to report upon your efficiency to the Lords of the Admiralty. It is well known to you that your late commanding officer, Colonel Ozzard, died this morning. It is a matter of deep regret to the service, for it is entirely owing to the effects of the work he has gone through. He was there from first to last. Then, as to another officer belonging to your corps, who by a coincidence came home in the ship severely wounded—I refer to Major Poe. Though not actually on the strength of the battalion, he commanded a force taken from it, the Fourth Company of the Camel Corps. During those operations on the Upper Nile he and those with him sustained the character of the corps, and it is with feelings of great pride that I was permitted to speak to him to-day. Every arrangement will be made to return you to your divisions as soon as possible, when you will obtain your furloughs, and I hope you will have some pleasant time with your friends before you are called upon for further service.”

General Williams's remarks were followed by loud cheers.



ON THE GULF OF ADEN.



KASSALA.

CHAPTER VII.

RETROSPECTIVE.

Fatal Brawl—Departure of Lord Wolseley—His Farewell Orders—A Rival Mahdi—The Slave Trade—Ismail Pasha—Kitchener's Report—Khartoum during the Siege and after the Fall—Gordon's Bonds.

EARLY in May, an unfortunate circumstance, the first of its kind which had occurred during the campaign, took place at the village of Kodurmeh, when a collision occurred with a convoy of British troops. Colonel Trotter, who was in camp near the village, hearing shots fired at midnight, proceeded to the spot from whence these hostile sounds came, and found the natives in a state of the greatest excitement. It turned out that in a brawl our soldiers had shot dead two slaves and severely wounded several others. Two soldiers were at once arrested, and on the following day tried by a General Court Martial on a charge of murder.

Sentence of death was passed upon one of them, a private of the 38th, or 1st Battalion of the South Staffordshire Regiment; and it was read out to the assembled troops on the 7th of May. It was commuted to penal ser-

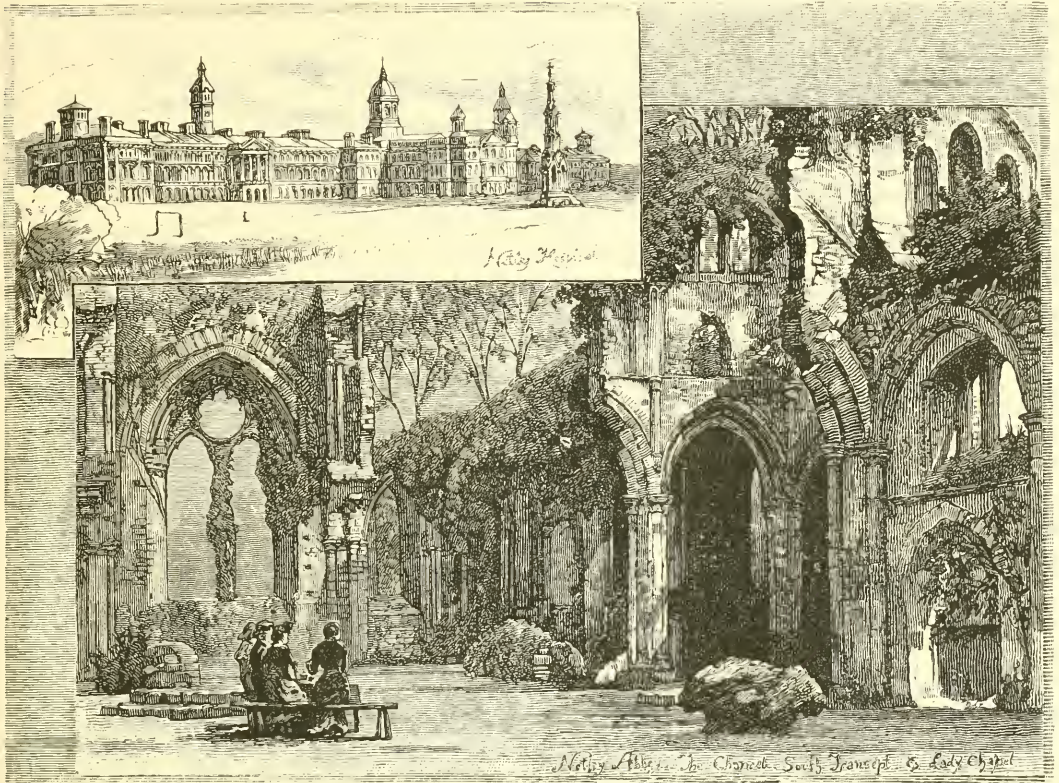
vitute for life; the other prisoner was sentenced to ten years' penal servitude. Besides these there were four other soldiers tried by Court Martial. The natives, we are told, were favourably impressed by the promptitude with which these offenders were tried and sentenced, "especially as the two men killed were only slaves."

At Kaibar, near the same place, were seven state prisoners, relatives of the Mahdi. They protested their innocence of all complicity in his actions, and were most devout in the orthodox religious observances. They were held in the greatest veneration by the peasantry, who were always bringing them presents of kids and rice.

On the 18th of May Lord Wolseley inspected and bade farewell to the Indian Contingent; he thanked the officers and men for their gallantry, and regretted that he had been compelled,

by the exigencies of the service, to leave them at Suakim. He felt sure, however, that they would maintain their reputation at its highest point, and in autumn, should their services be required, be as efficient as they were then.

The latter was a distinguished officer, who had served in the Eusofzye Expedition of 1858, under Sydney Cotton, and was mentioned in the despatches, receiving a medal and clasp. He served in the New Zealand war as



NETLEY HOSPITAL AND ABBEY.

On the 19th he sailed for England, in the transport *Queen*, accompanied by the members of his personal staff, including Lord Charles Beresford, Sir John McNeill, Lieutenant the Earl of Wiltshire (Coldstream Guards), Colonel Grove, Majors Creagh, Adye, and Browell, R.E., whilst Major-General Sir E. R. Greaves, K.C.M.G. and C.B., assumed the command at Suakim.

D.A.Q.M.-General from January, 1862, to January, 1866, and piloted the gun-boats *Avon* and *Pioneer* up the Waikato River; and was repeatedly mentioned in despatches "as being always conspicuous for his energy and daring."

It was now considered imperatively necessary that the number of British troops under his orders should be reduced to a minimum compatible with

the safety of Suakim, as sickness—enteric fever especially—was rapidly increasing. The care and attention, however, bestowed by the doctors, the liberal supply of comforts, and the frequent transmission of invalids to Netley, tended to keep the mortality low.

Negotiations with the friendly tribes were now hopelessly broken off; and the Shropshire Light Infantry was ordered to remain as a permanent garrison, as it was intended to keep the line of railway open as far as Otao, by means of an armoured train, armed with a gun. Already people began to recall the words of General Gordon, "The moment it is known we have given up the game every man will go over to the Mahdi. All men worship the rising sun." The immediate future, however, dealt very roughly with pessimistic prophecies like this. Within a few months the Mahdi died, and the withdrawal of the troops from the Soudan led to no disturbance anywhere. In fact, this step probably had a sedative and restoring effect upon the natives.

As Lord Wolseley had now quitted the Soudan, we may give the following extracts from his despatch to Lord Hartington, dated Cairo, June 15th, 1885:—

"Great credit is due to Colonel Butler, C.B., and to Lieutenant-Colonel Alleyne, R.A., for the care and thought with which the whalers for Nile service were designed and fitted out under their immediate superintendence. The experience they had gained in boat work during the Red River Expedition of 1870 enabled them to bring to this matter, and, later on, to their work on the Nile, an amount of special knowledge possessed by few men. Without

these whalers, or had they been less efficiently organised and equipped, the assembling of the troops at Korti at the date it took place, and the subsequent advance of the two columns, one across the desert and the other up the Nile, would have been impossible. The great bulk of the provisions taken with the first column and the whole of those taken with the second were conveyed to Korti in our British whale-boats. In a similar manner the retirement from our positions on the Upper Nile to Abu Fatmeh would have been extremely difficult but for these boats, as the river at this season is unavigable by nuggars or other native craft.

"This is the first time that Colonial troops have been employed outside the colonies in any of our wars.

"The result has been so satisfactory that I trust the noble and patriotic example set by New South Wales may, should occasion arise, be followed by other colonies. The officers and men of the New South Wales Contingent, under Colonel Richardson, were a credit to their colony and the parent race from which it sprang.

"The Dominion of Canada supplied us with a most useful body of boatmen, under the command of Colonel Denison of the Ontario Militia. Their skill in the management of boats in difficult and dangerous waters was of the utmost use to us in our long ascent of the Nile. Men and officers showed a high military and patriotic spirit, making light of difficulties and working with that energy and determination which always characterised Her Majesty's Canadian forces. . . .

"In conclusion, I would only add that, though the Expedition was not crowned with success, the spirit and behaviour of the troops which took part in the operations, whether on the Nile or at Suakim, may be viewed with satisfaction by every Briton. The army under my command was unable to accomplish the object set before it, and to save the lives of the gallant General Gordon and of the garrison of Khartoum. But this was from no fault of its own, from no lack of courage or discipline, of dash or of endurance. It overcame physical difficulties of the greatest magnitude; it swept from its path in every encounter an enemy almost its equal in bravery and greatly superior in numbers; and its advanced guard reached the outskirts of Khartoum only two days too late!

"No one can regret the fall of that place more than I do, but, in common with all my countrymen, I look back with pride to the gallant struggle made by our troops to save Khartoum and its heroic defender."

And now, concerning all this, we have something to say of retrospective interest before returning to our narrative of events at Suakim and elsewhere.

The lull that ensued in the movements northward of Mohammed Achmet Shemseddin—a lull that arose from dissensions among his followers—induced another fanatic to proclaim himself a rival and the true Mahdi, would appear to have had some influence in finally determining the British Government to abandon the Soudan, thereby leaving it a prey to internal divisions, while giving it free scope to a renewal of the slave trade.

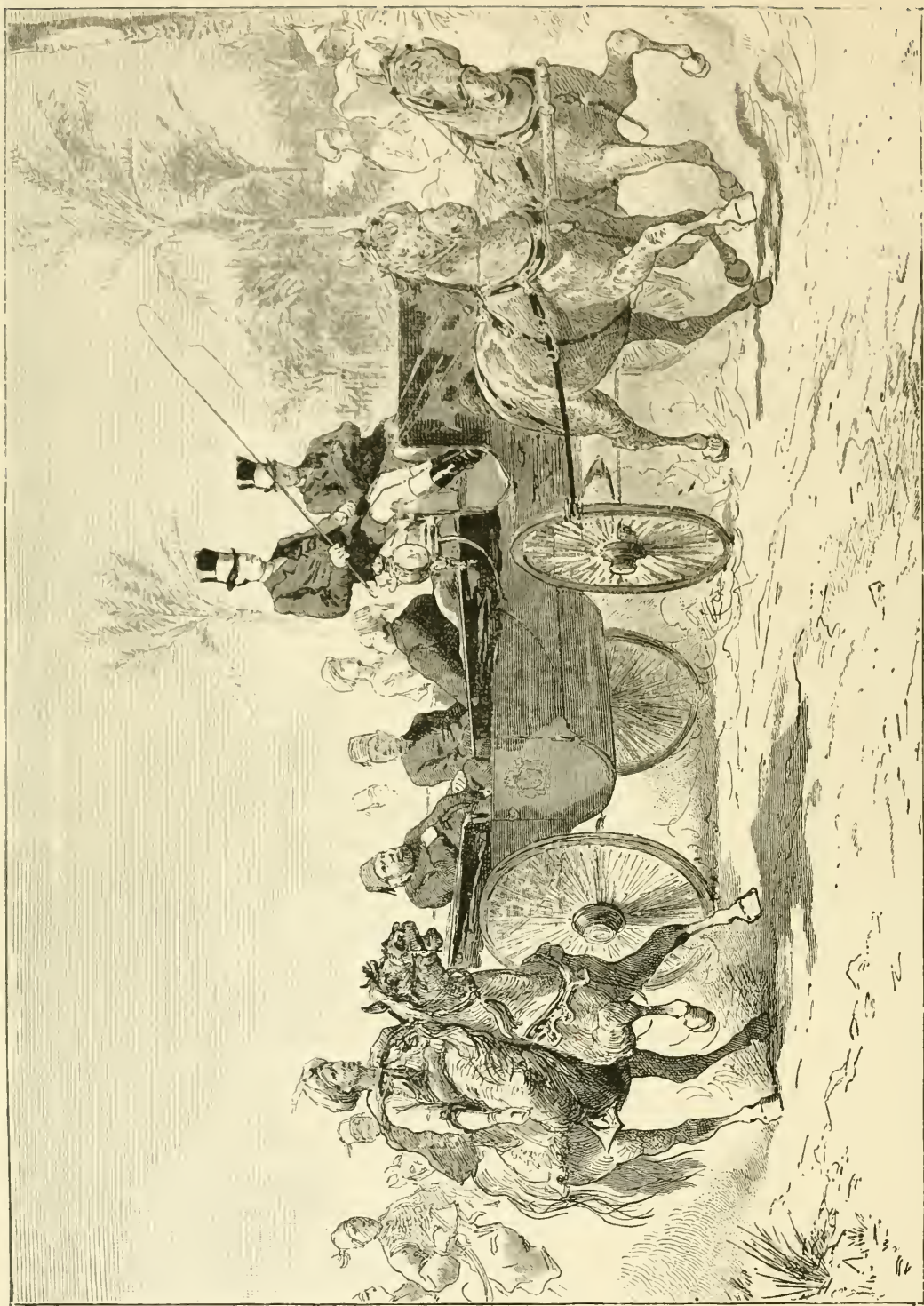
“The contention between the rival Mahdis at an end,” said a writer in the autumn of 1885, “the old traffic in human flesh will again manifest itself, and all the energetic efforts of Sir Samuel Baker and General Gordon, at the instance of the Khedive Ismail, to bring about its extinction will have been thrown away. Indeed, while we write, the news arrives that the Mahdi has already established a large slave-market at Omdurman, near Khartoum. It is, however, not only the revival of the slave trade that has to be feared. Egypt will always be subject to an irruption of fanatic Arab hordes, and the peace of the Moslem world, which Europe is interested in maintaining, will be continually threatened so long as religious fanaticism is the ruling power in the Soudan.”

To hope, suggests this writer, that the existing weak government of Egypt, fettered as it is by many conflicting influences, will be able to cope with the

difficulty which the abrupt abandonment of the Soudan by Britain has prepared for it, is out of the question. The only solution of the problem is to give Egypt a strong government, with a firm and able ruler at its head, one who could stem the tide of Arab fanaticism; and it has been urged that no False Prophet would have been allowed to attain to power in the Soudan, while it was ruled by so firm and unflinching a pro-consul as General Gordon proved himself to be; and some have turned their eyes to the discarded Ismail, the father of Tewfik Pasha.

Mr. A. M. Broadley, in his able and entertaining volume, “A Story of Egypt and the Egyptians,” makes these remarks:—

“It has been said that the absent are always in the wrong; so it has happened with the Khedive Ismail, who has lived long enough, not only to hear himself spoken ill of by his former friends, but to witness the unedifying spectacle of one whom he has especially benefited unblushingly take credit for having systematically undermined him with a view to his overthrow. Ismail committed many mistakes, but he will make a better figure in history than either Tewfik or Nubar. He went too rapidly and too recklessly ahead in his wild career of developing Egypt by what he called European contact; his plan of concentrating commercial enterprise in his own person was an error of the first magnitude; but the greatest blunder of all was to entrust to foreigners like



THE EX-KHEDIVE ISMAIL AND SUITE DRIVING OUT AT CAIRO.

Nubar Pasha the government of the country, in the very teeth of growing national sentiment, in a great measure of his own creating."

Mr. D. Mackenzie Wallace, holds Ismail answerable for the later mi-

also habitually acquired land in the same way; but the public works on which the money was so lavishly spent were by no means confined to the localities in which the Khedivial properties were situated, but benefited,



ARAB BATH-HOUSE, CAIRO.

fortunes of Egypt by the creation of a national debt; but Mr. Broadley urges that he forgets how much of the borrowed money miscarried before it reached Egypt, and to what extent it was spent on public works, including the Suez Canal, which pays the country nothing, and yet is exclusively responsible for one-fifth of her liabilities.

"Ismail, it is true," he continues, "inherited great estates, and purchased others. The members of his family

more or less, the whole of Egypt. Ismail expropriated no one, nor did he take any man's land without payment. The parallel of Naboth's vineyard is hardly a just one. The reproach is a still harder one for Ismail to bear now, when all his possessions, along with those of his family, have been surrendered as the guarantee for two public loans. . . . Then as to the tyranny of Ismail," continues Mr. Broadley, "the kourbash existed before his time,

and it has survived his departure. There was, however, more banishment, exile, and imprisonment, during the two years of Riaz's paternal administration than in all Ismail's reign. If the soles of the peasant's feet can testify against the father, the shores of the White Nile are equally eloquent witnesses against the son. Ismail, like many other rulers, only just missed achieving a great success. When he realised his error, and the extent to which he had been betrayed, he resolved to give Egyptian Nationalism a fair trial. Europe refused to allow him to complete the experiment, and he went into exile. Darker days have overtaken Egypt since he quitted it, and the once strong ruler is now very generally regretted."

In a work called "Gordon and the Mahdi," we are told that a few days before the former departed for the East, alone on his noble and yet somewhat grotesque mission, to extricate the beleaguered Egyptian garrisons, then numbering, according to Sir Evelyn Baring's statement, 32,430 men, he visited his sister in the neighbourhood of Southampton, and Lord de la Warr was present at an interview in which, among other things, the General said: "Gloomy and fraught with danger as the outlook in the Soudan certainly is, I already see in the course of events some chance of the ultimate fulfilment of my constant prayers for the liberation of the Soudanese out of the hands of their cruel oppressors, the slave-dealers. It is difficult for any one to realise the nature and extent of the horrors of African slave-dealing. I

can call up, even now, visions of the desert, covered with the skeletons of children torn from their homes to die, after unspeakable sufferings, on the road to the coast. The present rebellion is the result of a combination between the slave-dealers and the ill-used inhabitants of the country. The former play the part of the professional agitators of the Soudan movement. The one furnishes the igniting match, and the other is the brushwood. Since I left Khartoum Turkish Pashas have come to the Soudan with empty stomachs, and the process of filling them as rapidly as possible meant ruin and war to the much-wronged Soudanese. The propagandists of slavery, therefore, address themselves to willing hearers. Fanaticism also comes into play, and the force born of the union of these different interests is undeniably formidable."

The ex-Khedive Ismail stood high in the estimation of Gordon. He evinced this at the end of April, 1885, when his messenger delivered to Ismail, then at Naples, a packet containing an Arabic letter signed and sealed by him seven weeks before his death, together with a well-executed decoration, one of those, which we have recorded elsewhere, he had prepared for the officers and soldiers defending Khartoum—a crescent and star, with certain words from the Koran, and a date. His letter ran thus:—

"To his Highness the august Ismail Pasha,
ex-Khedive of Egypt.

("May God protect him.)

"Amongst the many honours which your Highness was pleased to shower upon me during your

glorious reign, you have bestowed on me many decorations of which I am proud, and for which I am grateful. Having been appointed Governor of the Soudan, I repaired at once to my post, and arrived safe and sound at Khartoum. Two months later communication with the north was cut off, and the city was besieged. During the siege, it has been my lot to witness many cases in which soldiers, civil *employés*, and leading men of the country, have displayed courage and self-sacrifice in valiantly undergoing difficulties and privations.

"To reward their commendable conduct and fidelity, I have caused decorations to be made for distribution amongst them. I had previously sent a specimen of this decoration to your Highness by the steamer *Abbas*; but, as I fear it may never have reached you, I send you to-day another for your acceptance.

"Receive it, Highness, in remembrance of my grateful devotion, and the respectful homage of your grateful and faithful servant,

(Signed) "C. G. GORDON.

"Khartoum, Dec. 3rd, 1884."

Regarding the fall of Khartoum and Gordon's death, Major Kitchener, in his Report to the War Office early in October, 1885, brought to light some new items which—save with reference to the alleged treason of Farag Pasha—do not materially interfere with the narrative of these events already given in these pages; but some that refer to a period prior to the point where we took up the story, as then known, of the double catastrophe, may not be without a certain melancholy interest to the reader.

The last accurate information about Khartoum was contained in General Gordon's diary, under date 14th December, 1884, eleven days after the date of his letter to Ismail Pasha, when he recorded that the state of the city was very critical, and that it might "fall in ten days."

The fort of Omdurman had been cut

off from communication with Khartoum since the 3rd of November, at which date it had provisions for about six weeks; and by sending steamers to meet the expected relief, Gordon had so weakened himself that he found it impossible to keep open communication with the fort, and to check the Arabs on the White Nile.

We have already mentioned the amount of food he had in store in December; but he found it necessary, he recorded, to give 96,000 lbs. of biscuits to the poor, and added:—"I am determined, if the town does fall, the Mahdi shall find precious little to eat in it."

By the 1st of January the town was completely environed by the rebels, and Gordon, seeing that the garrison were reduced to great want, invited the inhabitants to leave, which they did in large numbers, bearing with them, as stated, a letter from Gordon to the Mahdi, requesting him to feed them.

It was estimated that 14,000 only remained out of the total of 34,000 inhabitants.

It is unknown when the fort of Omdurman fell into the hands of the Mahdi; but it must have been a serious blow to the garrison of Khartoum, who thus lost their only position on the western bank of the White Nile; and we have related how the garrison were reduced to eat dogs, cats, rats, and the fibre of palm-trees.

"On the 20th of January," says Major Kitchener in his Report, "the news of the defeat of the Mahdi's picked troops at Abu Klea created

consternation in his camp. A council of the leaders was held, and, it is said, a considerable amount of resistance to the Mahdi's will, and want of discipline, were shown. On the 22nd, news of the arrival of the British on the Nile at Metemneh, which was thought to be

Nile. Rumours were also prevalent in Khartoum of the fighting at Abu Klea, and the arrival of the British at Metemneh."

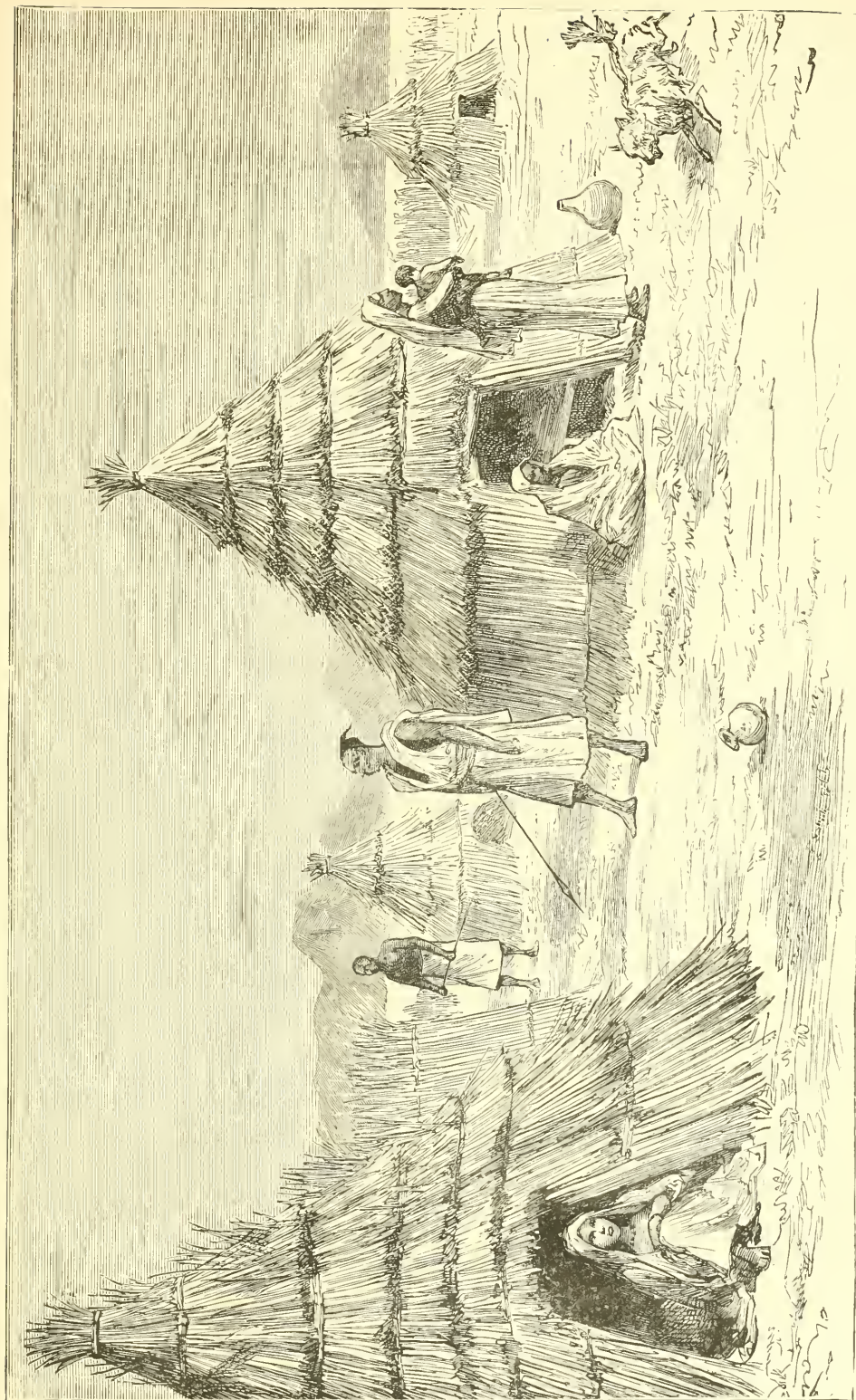
On the 23rd General Gordon had a stormy interview with Farag Pasha, which an eye-witness stated was owing



MAJOR ALI REDHAH EFFENDI,
COMMANDER OF THE STEAMER "TELL-EL-HAWIN."

taken, led the Mahdi to decide on making a desperate attack on Khartoum before reinforcements could enter the town. It is probable that next day the Mahdi sent letters to Farag Pasha, commanding the black troops, who had been previously in communication with him, offering terms for the surrender of the town, and stating that the British had been defeated on the

to Gordon having passed a fort on the White Nile, which was under the charge of Farag, who left it inadequately protected. In his anger Gordon is said to have struck Farag, who left the palace in a rage, refusing all attempts of other officers to be reconciled to Gordon, and while in this mood he would not be likely to forget the insult when the final crisis came.



VILLAGE IN KORDOFAN.

On the night of the 25th many of the famished troops left their posts on the fortifications in search of food in the town; some of these were too weak from want of nourishment to go on duty of any kind.

According to Major Kitchener's view, "the accusations of treachery have all been vague;" yet many held to it resolutely that the gates were secretly opened by Farag Pasha, whose treason may be explained by the affront put upon him.

At about 3.30 on the morning of Monday, the 26th, a determined attack was made by the rebels on the south front, says the Major. The principal points of assault were the Buri Gate, at the extreme end of the line of defence on the Blue Nile, and the Mesalamieh Gate, on the west side near the Blue Nile. The former post withheld the attack, but at the latter the rebels, led by the Emir Wad-en-Nejumi, filled up the ditch with bundles of straw, brushwood, and bedding, and—whether aided by treachery or not the Major does not say—fought their way in; the defenders fled, and Khartoum was at the mercy of the enemy. "Farag Pasha," he says, "has been very generally accused of having either opened the gates of Khartoum himself or to have connived at the entrance of the rebels, but this has been denied by Abdullah Bey Ismail, who commanded a battalion of regular troops at the fall of the town, as well as by thirty refugee soldiers who lately escaped and came in during the last days of the British occupation of Dongola."

Hassan Bey Balmassawy, who commanded at the Mesalamieh Gate, certainly neither defended his post nor warned Gordon by the telegraph, which ran round the fortifications, of the peril the town was in; and this certainly looks like treachery, all the more so that he immediately took a commission under the Mahdi and marched on the Kordofan Expedition under the Emir Abu Anga; but Major Kitchener is of opinion that "Khartoum fell from sudden assault when the garrison was too exhausted by privations to make proper resistance. It is difficult from the confused accounts to make out exactly how Gordon was killed. All evidence tends to prove that it happened at or near the palace, where his body was subsequently seen by several witnesses."

It was dressed in light clothes.

The Soudan custom of beheading and exposing the heads of adversaries slain in battle was apparently carried out in Khartoum, as it was done by the Mudir of Dongola after the battle of Korti. "The Baggara savages seem to have had some doubt as to which was Gordon's body, and great confusion occurred in the Mahdi's camp at Omdurman as to which was his head, some recognising and others denying its identity. One apparently reliable witness, however, relates that he saw the rebels cut off Gordon's head at the palace gate after the town had fallen into their hands."

In looting the city the rebels ordered all the inhabitants out of it. They were closely searched at the gates as

they passed out in succession, and taken over to Omdurman, where the women were distributed as slaves among the rebel emirs and sheikhs. The men, after being kept as prisoners closely guarded for three days, were stripped of their clothing and turned adrift to get their living as best they could.

"The presence of Gordon as a prisoner in his camp would have been a source of great danger to the Mahdi, for the black troops from Kordofan and Khartoum loved and venerated Gordon, and many other influential men knew him to be a wonderfully good man. The want of discipline in the Mahdi's camp made it dangerous for him to keep as a prisoner a man whom all the black troops liked better than himself, and in favour of whom, on a revulsion of feeling, a successful revolt might take place in his own camp. Moreover, if Gordon was dead, he calculated that the British would retire and leave him in peace."

We have related how Farag was slain because he could not show where the imaginary treasures of Gordon lay. This took place in the open market of Omdurman, while many were put to torture to disclose where their wealth lay hid, with varying results.

"The number of white prisoners in the Mahdi's camp," says the War Office Report, "has been variously stated. A Greek who escaped from Khartoum reported that when the place fell there were forty-two Greeks, five Greek women, one Jewess, six European nuns, and two priests. Of

these thirty-four Greeks were murdered. The survivors are all at liberty, but in extreme poverty. Abdullah Bey Ismail relates that all the European ladies are at Omdurman living in a zeriba, where they form a little colony, guarded by the European men. They earn a meagre sustenance by sewing, washing, &c. Not a single one was taken by the dervishes. They all wear the Moslem dress. A letter from the Mahdi was received relating to the white prisoners, who, he declared, preferred to remain with him. The document bears ninety-six signatures of Europeans; but some of them are undoubtedly spurious, as that of Father Luigi Bonomi, who escaped from El Obeid, never having been at Khartoum. A large number of the Baggara Arabs left the Mahdi shortly after the fall of Khartoum, much disgusted at their failure to obtain a larger amount of loot. On the Mahdi attempting to bring them back by force, they joined the party in Kordofan who are now fighting against his cause.

"The memorable siege of Khartoum lasted 317 days, and it is not too much to say that such a noble resistance was due to the indomitable resolution and resource of one Briton. Never was a garrison so nearly rescued, and never was a commander so sincerely lamented."

Whether as regards the peculiarity of his mission, or the extraordinary ability with which he defended Khartoum for many months against overwhelming numbers of courageous Arabs, no person will deny to the memory of the brave and gallant Gordon the

tribute due to one of the greatest of British heroes. And there is no more significant proof of the respect and affection which he had inspired in the Soudan itself than the undoubted fact that his death filled his black troops, and many of the Arabs themselves, with deep sorrow even unto tears.

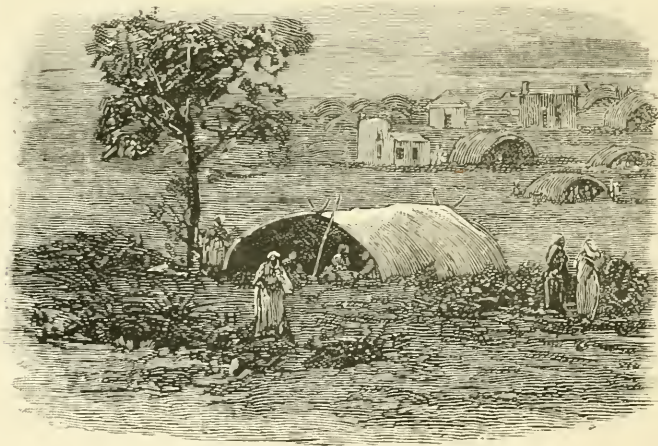
Among the monetary curiosities of the day are the paper assignats of Gordon, many of which found their way to Cairo, and are now in course of liquidation, with the other bonds which that gallant soldier gave during the siege of Khartoum. The Mahdi had his own coinage. He issued a large

quantity of money in gold and silver, which is very well minted indeed. Some of the gold pieces which have reached Cairo are of the size of an Egyptian pound, which is very little different in value or appearance from an English sovereign, and they carry about the same value, though they weigh slightly more. They have almost the same appearance as the Egyptian pound, with this difference, that in place of the monogram of the Sultan they bear the following inscription :—

“AHMED EBN ABD ALLAH”

(Ahmed, son of God's servant).

Born in Egypt in 1255.



SOUDANESE ENCAMPMENT.



ADMIRAL SIR W. HEWETT'S EMBASSY TO KING JOHN OF ABYSSINIA: A GLIMPSE FROM THE MAIENSI PASS.

CHAPTER VIII.

MISSION OF ADMIRAL HEWETT TO KING JOHN OF ABYSSINIA.

Irritation in Abyssinia—Designs of France—Massowah—The Mission and its Members—Incidents *en route*—The Native Horsemen—The Admiral's Interview with Ras Aloola—At Adowa—Terms of the Treaty—Return of the Mission—The Assouan Boundary—The Future of Egypt.

THE necessity for preserving the historical sequence of the battles and other stirring events during the war in the Soudan, rendered it undesirable to record in its place, chronologically, the important embassy or mission of Admiral Sir William N. W. Hewett, K.C.B., K.S.I., and V.C., to John II. (Kassa), King of Abyssinia, crowned in 1872. We now proceed to describe it.

It had been projected early in 1884, and on the 7th of March the correspondent of the *Standard* wrote thus concerning it:—

“Ten days ago I telegraphed as to the extreme necessity of our Government carrying out, without delay, the negotiations they had so hotly commenced with Abyssinia. The long delay which (as usual) has taken place, has—as I predicted—caused great irritation in Abyssinia, where the vacillation of the British Government, after King John had so frankly accepted their offer to negotiate, is viewed in the light of an insult; and unless steps are taken promptly all sorts of complications will arise. The latest news from Massowah shows that the position is already serious. Kassala, whose garrison could, a fortnight since, have been drawn off without the slightest difficulty through Abyssinia, is now altogether surrounded by the enemy,

and the troops will soon be in a position similar to those of Sinkat and Tokar a short time since. The case will be so much the worse, from the very large size of the town, and the number of the inhabitants, who would be massacred were the place captured by the enemy. Even now timely presents to King John, with definite promises of the cession of Massowah and Sinkat—which, now that the Soudan has been abandoned, are no longer of the slightest use to Egypt—and the arrival in Abyssinia of a mission from the Queen, would almost certainly result in the Abyssinians undertaking the rescue of Kassala and the neighbouring posts.”

The Abyssinians have always cast longing eyes on Massowah, which, as Suleiman Pasha at Suakim told Admiral Hewett in December, 1883, they greatly coveted.

Though delays still ensued, when, on the 23rd March, Major Chermiside arrived at Suakim, in order to assist in the negotiations for opening up the Berber road, Admiral Hewett, who was still at that port, was sanguine of success in that respect, and proposed to divide the route into sections, making each of the Bedouin tribes responsible for the section passing through its territory.

Three days after this we find the

Journal des Débats urging upon the French Government the occupation of the island of Dessi, near the coast of Abyssinia, as a precautionary measure against Great Britain, to keep open the navigation of the Red Sea, as the highway to French possessions in Tonquin, Réunion, and Madagascar, and this was instantly followed by a leader in the *République Française* evidently intended to prepare public opinion for French action on some portion of the coast of the Red Sea. The latter print intimated that France could not remain perpetually disarmed against the consequences which the policy of Great Britain inevitably entailed. "The convulsed state of the region of the Upper Nile," it said, "has caused a deep perturbation in the Moslem world from the centre of Africa to the northern frontier of Syria. It is vain for the British to publish bulletins of victory, since every fresh battle is marked by the advance of the Mahdi on the route to Khartoum, and the growth of the glory of the Prophet among the Moslem populations imperils the safety of sundry Christian colonies in Asia as well as Africa, and against such contingencies the Government of the Republic is bound to provide."

The *République* urged the immediate adoption of the measure recommended by the *Journal des Débats*—the seizure of Dessi off the coast of Abyssinia—and held it would be sufficient to enter into relations with that kingdom for the occupation of the following commercial and strategical points—namely, the islands of Dessi and Ouda Adulis, the

Land of Bogos, and the Barka territory. How far the occupation of these points by French troops would interfere with our operations in Egypt and the Soudan, and our position on the Red Sea, would—if it had been attempted—have become a matter for the serious consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

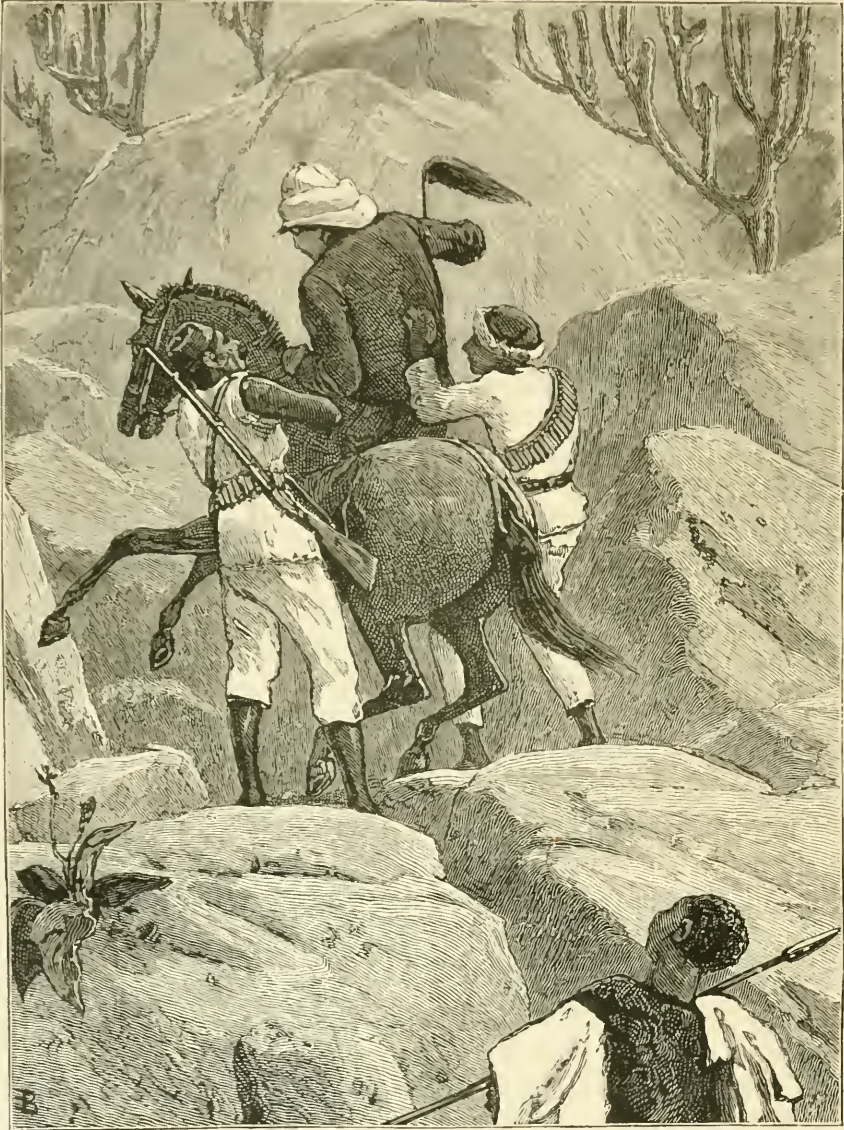
On the 2nd of April, at the time when Osman Digna was attempting to cut off the water supply from the friendly tribes at Handoub and Tama-nieb, and the Sheikh of the Amaras (Mahmoud Ali) was raising a force to oppose him, Admiral Hewett, on the first step of his mission, left Suakim in H.M. corvette *Euryalus* for Massowah, where he landed on the 7th of the same month.

Massowah is situated on a rocky island of the Red Sea in the northern extremity of Arkiko Bay, about a mile and a quarter in circumference, and two hundred yards from the mainland. The most considerable buildings in the town are the mosques, the doholah's and banyan's houses, and a stone-built bazaar, in which jowari, dates, tobacco, beef, mutton, and fowls are sold. This island is the ordinary starting-point to the interior of Abyssinia from Egypt, and the great outlet of the Abyssinian trade. All the ivory brought from Abyssinia, the Galla country, and the south-western parts of Africa passes through this port. A caravan proceeds from Arkiko regularly in the month of April into the interior of the territories of King John, and is more or less numerous, according to the number of ships

which arrive from India by the passage of the winds.

In the course of the seventeenth

of Abyssinia. The ordinary houses of the town are built of poles and bent grass, as is usual in Arabia. Those



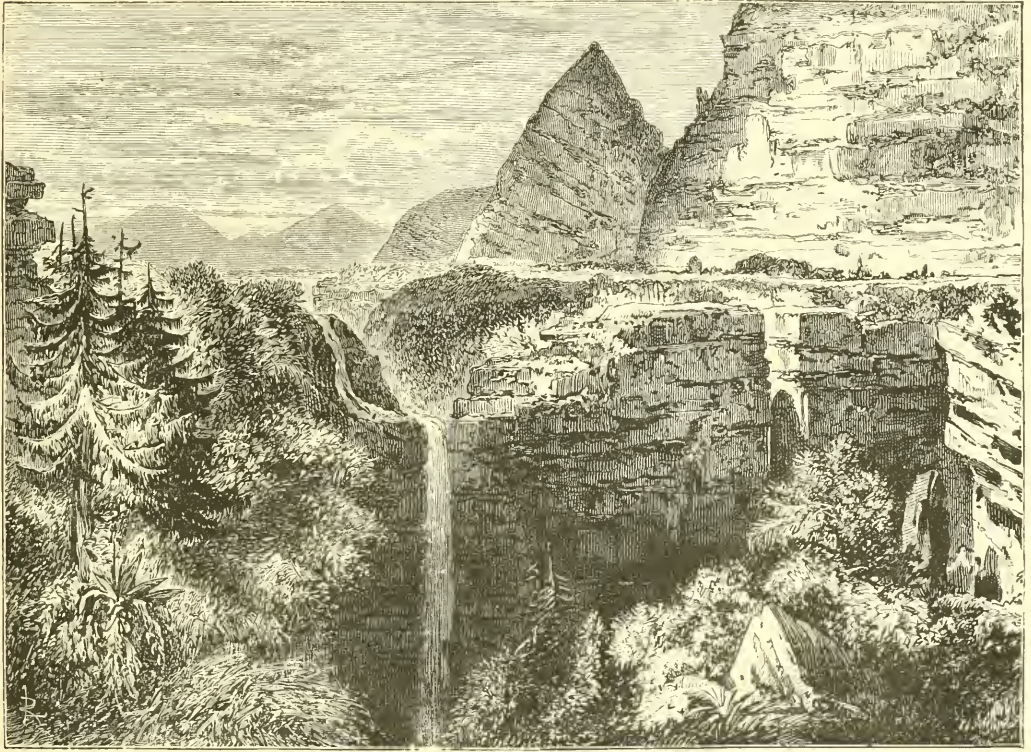
SIR W. HEWETT'S EMBASSY: AN AWKWARD PART IN THE MAIENSI PASS.

century, as the Turkish power in the Red Sea declined, the Bashaw of Mas-sowah, who gave a governor to Suakim, was obliged to pay tribute to the King

which are of stone are two storeys in height; the stone is taken from the seashore, and is interesting as exhibiting remains of shell-fish fossilised in it.

On the 7th of April Sir William Hewett left Massowah on his mission to the court of Abyssinia. He was accompanied by Captain Tristram Speedy, Lieutenants and Commanders Fritz, H. E. Crowe, of the gunboat *Coquette*,

The mission was escorted as far as the Abyssinian frontier by a detachment of Bashi-Bazouks, and halted for the first night at Shuati; on the second night they were at Ailet (or Ailat), a village in the valley of Modat,



VIEW IN ABYSSINIA.

Lieutenants Graham, Herbert H. Paris, Richard P. Fitzgerald, and Mr. Horace Smith, Acting Secretary, all of H.M. corvette *Euryalus*, and Lieutenant T. F. A. Kennedy, of the Black Watch. He had also with him the Rev. Mr. Todd, Chaplain, Mr. Wylde, an East African merchant, Mason Bey (representing the Egyptian Government), and Dr. Thomas D. Gimlette, of the flag-ship *Euryalus*.

in Abyssinia, twenty miles from Massowah, and where there are medicinal hot springs, much resorted to by natives afflicted with cutaneous diseases.

There they were welcomed by much tom-toming, were hospitably entertained, and rested till the 9th, when an Abyssinian officer with thirty men arrived as an escort, and relieved the Bashi-Bazouks of the charge of the mission and the presents they were

carrying for King John, and on the 10th the forward march was resumed.

On that evening Sir William and his party halted at Satagumba, and on the 11th they traversed the Rara Pass, and reached the narrow valley of the Genda. There Sir William remained a day, awaiting the arrival of the Lieutenant of the great Abyssinian Chief, or General, Ras Aloola; and he came eventually, accompanied by a rather tattered regiment, to escort them through the mountain passes to Aloola's camp on the plateau of Asmara.

"The first few miles of the route," wrote the correspondent of the *Daily News*, who was accompanied by Mr. F. Villiers, the special artist of the *Graphic*, "lay through very fine mountain scenery, not unlike the Scottish Highlands, and very like the Balkans. Birch, cedar, and acacia trees, box and orchids, covered the sides of the gorges; flowers in profusion, maiden-hair fern and lichens brushed us as we toiled up the mountain. A few of the Abyssinian guard in front of the Admiral played upon pipes roughly made out of the bark of trees, and the notes, very mellow and sweet, seemed to start all the birds along our route into song."

Other birds that were not of song occasionally soared up, or sat on rocks watching the party—the African or Egyptian vultures (or Pharaoh's chickens), to which we have already referred as hovering over many a battlefield. "The unburied slain on a field attracts them in flocks from a great distance," says a writer; "the death of any

beast in the open calls an assembly to the banquet. Sailing on their wide and ample wings, they sweep from the higher regions of air to their repast, on which they often gorge themselves till unable to rise from the spot."

As the party proceeded the scenery changed in character, and became more tropical, and when evening fell the tents were pitched in a beautiful but narrow valley, amid a grove of *Euphorbia candelebra gigantea*, brilliant with clusters of red and yellow blossoms. The march of the following day proved the most difficult and trying, as the route lay through the Maiensi Pass, one of the steepest tracks in the habitable globe.

"It was impossible to ride any horse up it," wrote the *News* correspondent, "so we all took to mules. Presently the route narrowed to a rocky defile, and we suddenly emerged on the Abyssinian plateau. Immediately Her Majesty's representative was sighted the slight eminence on our right and the plateau on our left became alive with horsemen galloping towards us, and when we were well in the open more than fifteen hundred cavalry charged straight at our group, throwing up their spears and waving their shields."

They reined up their horses skillfully within a few paces of the mission, and then, spurring round its flanks, they formed a kind of irregular column, and followed its route in rear.

These wild horsemen wore the usual Abyssinian costume, a large mantle of red and white cotton cloth, which they

wrapped round them, and to which were added close drawers, reaching to the middle of the thigh; but among the Gallas, a numerous tribe, a short petticoat, like the Scottish kilt, is worn.

The headgear of these horsemen consisted of coloured handkerchiefs, worn in different modes, though a few wore a white fillet round their close curly hair, while others wore a lion's mane, fringing their swarthy visages with its bristling hair, and rendering themselves almost as wild in aspect as the animal itself. They bore round shields of hippopotamus skin, with bolts and bosses of bright silver; they were armed with swords and spears, and the metal trappings of their horses, being brightly burnished, flashed and glistened gaily in the sunshine.

Soon after this meeting the camp of Ras Aloola was reached; and near the entrance of his tent Sir William Hewett dismounted and was met by the chief, who walked forward and shook hands with him. Then, amid much beating of drums, the Admiral, Mason Bey, and Captain Speedy entered the tent, and there ensued a brief conference, during which the customary presents and compliments were exchanged.

To Ras Aloola the Admiral gave some shot-guns, military rifles, and accoutrements, with ammunition, silks, carpets, a Turkish basin and ewer; while he received in return a handsome robe of honour, and a splendidly caparisoned mule. Aloola proved to be a man of about the middle height in stature, forty-five years of age, with

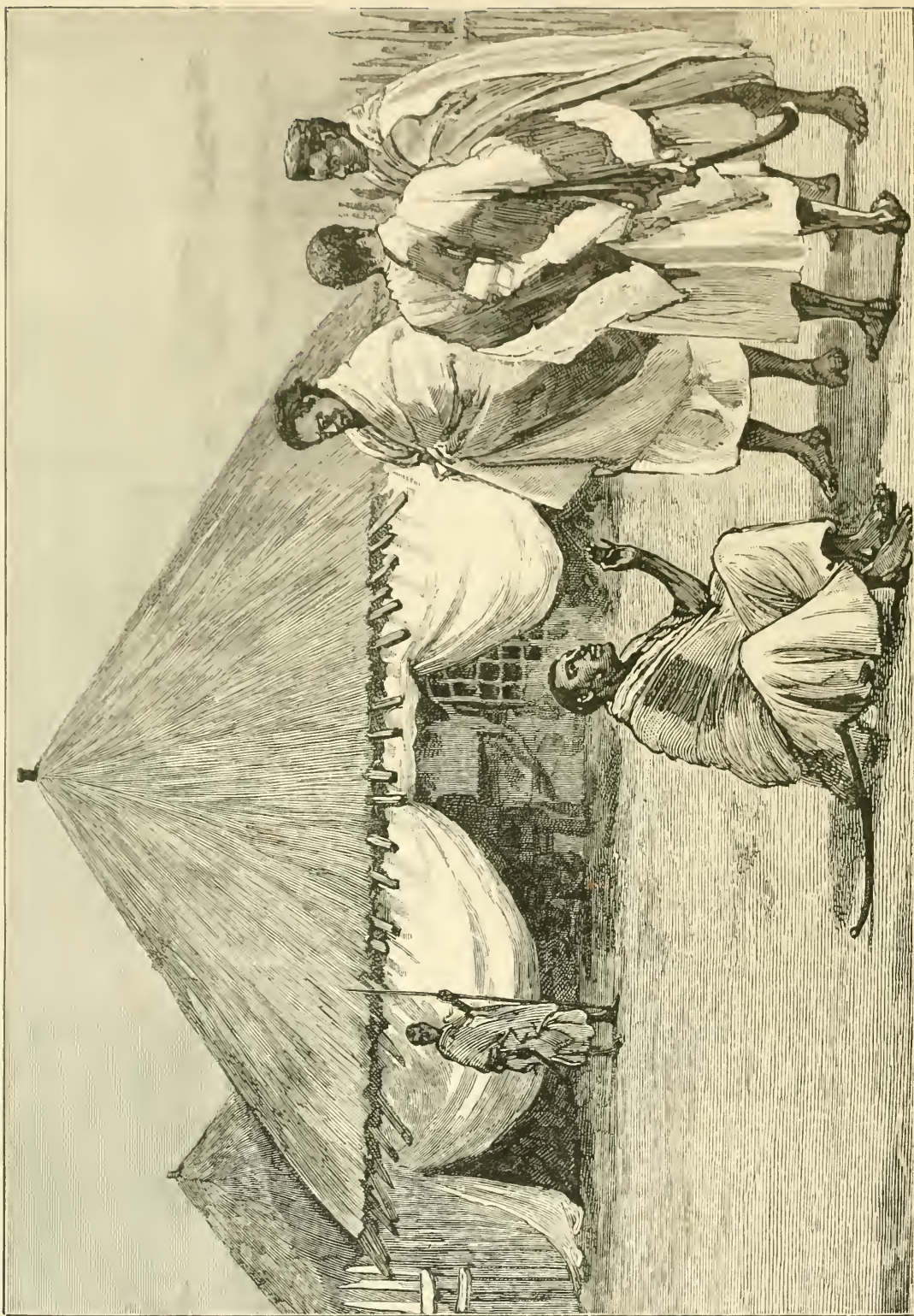
a massive head, the crown of which was closely shaven, fine glittering eyes, and a face which—save that it was of negro blackness—was somewhat of the Roman type; and when he threw his striped mantle, in toga fashion, over his left shoulder, there seemed something quite classic in his manner and bearing.

Though perfectly cordial in his welcome, he seemed curiously reticent as to the whereabouts of his master, King John; and though he must have known perfectly well, he somewhat perplexed the Admiral and his party by invariably replying that “only God and his Majesty knew.”

After his trying ride over the plains and through the steep rocky passes, Sir William Hewett deemed it advisable to rest for the day. Next morning the journey was resumed, under the escort of Ras Aloola and his troops, the cavalry ever and anon performing wild and barbaric evolutions round the little party in honour of the Admiral, and perhaps to impress him with an idea of their skill and prowess in war.

In many places the country was fruitful; the plains showed forests of orange and citron trees, with pomegranates and jessamine. Tulips, pinks, lilies, red and white roses, and the ranunculus, grew in the wild places.

On the 26th of April the Admiral and his party reached Adowa, the capital of Tigré in Abyssinia, and for some time the residence of the sovereign, after the Gallas gained possession of Gondar, which is the proper capital of the kingdom.



RAS ALOOLA'S HOUSE, ADI TECKLAI.

At Adowa he expected to have his interview with King John. Eleven miles east of Axum, it is situated on the slope and at the base of a hill, “Adowa,” says the *Edinburgh Gazetteer*, “is the channel by which the communication between the coast and the interior is almost exclusively carried on. The



CAPT. TRISTRAM SPEEDY IN A DRESS OF HONOUR.

which commands a magnificent view of the mountains of Tigré, and round which sweeps the Hassam—a fine stream. Rüppell estimates its altitude at 6,216 feet above the level of the sea. It contains about 10,000 inhabitants, who excel all other Abyssinians in the manufacture of cotton cloth.

provinces to the south of Adowa abound in cattle and corn, which, with salt, constitute their chief articles of barter. About a thousand slaves pass through Adowa, to be shipped at Massowah and other ports on the Red Sea. The commercial character of the place causes it to be inhabited by a

considerable number of Mohammedans, who are the only class of the population at all animated by the spirit of trade."

In a letter from Adowa, dated 29th April, the correspondent of the *Daily News* stated that there was no one in the town deputed to receive the mission on its arrival. Ras Aloola, however, had gone forward to Makuki, with a copy or draft of the treaty to lay before King John, and had returned with a promise from that potentate to come to Adowa.

Though the statistical work we have quoted states that the inhabitants of Adowa "are more civilised than is usual in Abyssinia," Sir William Hewett and his companions found them very rude and offensive, and, for some time, they were actually prevented from supplying the mission with food, even for money.

Though, by the fall of Khartoum, three thousand subjects of King John living in that city were at the mercy of the Mahdi, who was now in possession of all the country between the Blue and White Niles, and had thus become an immediate neighbour and Mohammedan enemy of Abyssinia, whose king was a Christian, the latter did not seem to be in much haste to do honour to our ambassador.

The terms of the treaty which the latter bore were stated to be as follows :—

Firstly, Massowah was to be a free port.

Secondly, the country of Bogos Senheit to belong to Ethiopia.

Thirdly, the Khedive of Egypt to give facility to

King John in the appointment of an Abuna, the head of the Abyssinian church, then nominated by the Egyptian authorities.

Fourthly, King John to give all possible assistance to the garrisons of Kassala, Kalabat, and Amadib, allowing them to withdraw through his country in peace and safety.

Fifthly, all difficulties arising between Egypt and Abyssinia to be settled by the arbitration of Great Britain.

Though the treaty was signed it bore no remarkable fruits, as King John did not then intervene; but when Mason Bey telegraphed from the far eastern Soudan the fall and capture of Ghedarif, he added, that King John intended to march his army on Barka, and had gathered three thousand Gallas round Adowa.

Sir William Hewett, returning from his mission to King John, reached the coast on the 12th of June, and reported that he had successfully accomplished the objects in view; and that King John had promised to secure the relief of the garrison of Kassala by the way of the Gallabat district, and that the Gallas were mustering at Adowa for that purpose.

The *Popolo* of the 19th of May remarked that Mr. Gladstone's declaration that Kassala never entered the sphere of England's operations was somewhat startling in the face of the causes which led to General Gordon's and then to Lord Wolseley's Expeditions. Now, an isolated expedition to Kassala would be pure Quixotism, for which Italy was in no wise disposed. The *Tribuna* enlarged on the unreasonableness of inviting Italy to do what England shrank from attempting, while declaring that it was desirable on the

score of humanity. But, continued the *Tribuna*, if Mr. Gladstone has made such proposals, clearly the attitude of the Italian Ministry authorised him to do so.

On the 24th of July, it was reported at Suakim, H.M. gunboat *Woodlark*, having on board the Abyssinian envoy, had left Massowah with an elephant and other presents, from King John to Queen Victoria, on board. On that same day an earthquake occurred at Massowah, which destroyed or damaged nearly every house in the place, the population of which, chiefly Arabs, was estimated at 250,000 in 1874. All the ships in the harbour rocked violently and strained at their moorings, while the inhabitants, in alarm, fled inland.

While Sir William Hewett was journeying in Abyssinia, and our troops were daily having petty skirmishes in defence of the Suakim-Berber railway, the inhabitants of Assouan and its neighbourhood, panic-stricken by the news of the fall of the latter place, were taking to flight in considerable numbers. In consequence of this, Captain Bedford visited the town with an armed steamer, the appearance of which had a reassuring effect.

Assouan, on the Nile, opposite the island of Elephantine (now called Gezeeret-Assouan, or the island of Assouan), became at that period a place of especial interest, as it was to form the chief frontier town of Egypt proper if the British Government should ultimately determine to evacuate the Soudan; while Nubia might be left to take care of

itself as best it could. Indeed, both geographically and ethnographically, it may be said that, at Assouan, Egypt terminates and Nubia begins; though, as Colonel Donald Stewart remarked, the name of the Egyptian Soudan has taken the place of all others for the whole of the Egyptian territory below Assouan, where the Nile has the appearance of a narrow lake surrounded on all sides by arid, picturesque rocks, mostly of granite, with some syenite and porphyry. A little to the south are the remains of an ancient Saracen town, of the former importance of which some idea may be formed from the fact that Mackreezee says 21,000 of its people died of a plague in the year of the Prophet 806.

A detachment of Egyptian troops was despatched there in the middle of April, 1884, under Colonel Duncan, and a regiment of British troops had been ordered also, but they were stopped at Assiout, the terminus of the railway from Cairo. The town of Assouan contains now about 6,000 inhabitants, and its trade consists in dates, senna, henna, wicker baskets, and slaves. In the time of the Khedive Ismail it was considered the termination of a tourist's peregrinations, as it was situated on the First Cataract. There is a small railway there, which transfers goods and passengers to and from the boats above and below the cataract. Thence to Wady Halfa, the Second Cataract, the Nile becomes again navigable. A scheme was at one time proposed for a Soudan railway from Assouan to Khartoum, and

a study of the proposed line was made by two British subjects, Messrs. Walker and Bray, but nothing came of it.

Sir John Hawkshaw also recom-

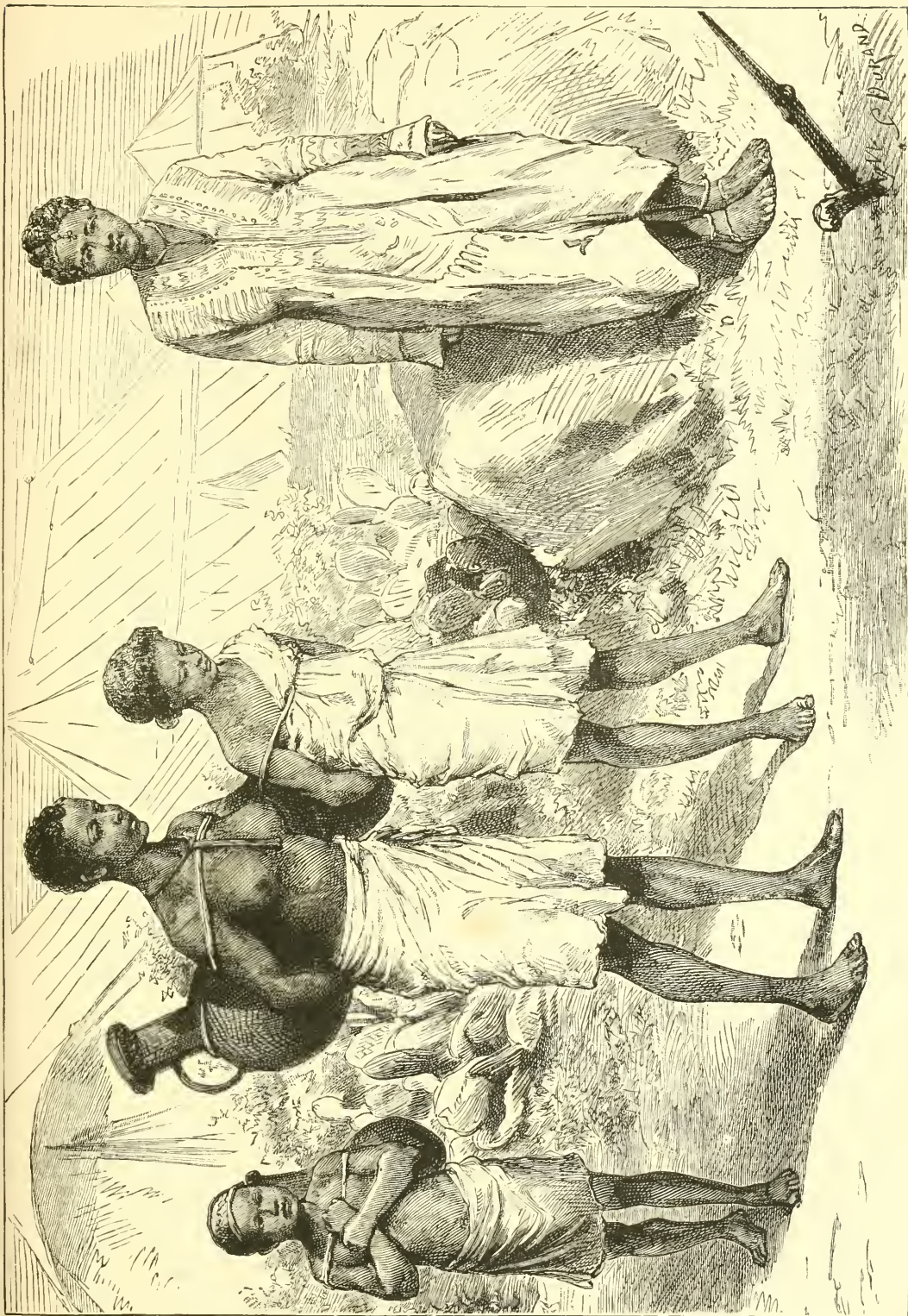
broad). The Nile for about a mile above it is interrupted in its course by numerous rocks of fine red granite. The whole channel here is broken by a



ABYSSINIAN PRIEST.

mended the canalisation of the cataract, while Mr. Fowler proposed to construct a ship railway overland, utilising the descending water as the mechanical force. Here lies the palm-fringed island of Elephantine opposite Assouan, elevated, rocky, and barren (3,000 feet long by about 900 feet

thousand islets, some rugged, black, and bare, others covered with verdure, reeds, and tamarisks. On Elephantine once stood a great temple dedicated to the god Knuphis, of which not a vestige now remains save its portal. Two other temples were demolished to make barracks for the Pasha's Black Infantry.



SIR W. HEWETT'S EMBASSY: ABYSSINIAN WATER-GIRLS BRINGING WATER TO CAMP—A LADY OF ADOWA.

Generally the isle is covered with heaps of shapeless ruins.

"Assouan," says Ebers, "is, in fact, at the very threshold of Egypt, and the Egyptian name *Soun* seems admirably well chosen, meaning 'allowing the entrance.' From this name *Soun* came the Greek Syene, and then Assouan, from the Coptic Suan. In very early times the chief town of the district to which it belonged stood on the island opposite, and was called like it, *Ab*, the town of elephants or of ivory, probably from the abundant supply of that material, which was an important article of commerce with the Soudan."

Under the Greeks, who gave the opposite island the name of Elephantine, the garrison town on the eastern shore took precedence over that of the island, and, in spite of the many attacks it suffered from the Blemmyes and their successors, it continued a flourishing town, while that of Elephantine fell into decay.

Now little remains of the ancient Suan.

Its granite quarries have lain unworked for centuries, as the Mohamedans erect little for posterity. The vines, which in the time of the Pharaohs were so extensive, have vanished, like the famous well of Syene, which must have been situated exactly under the tropic line, since it was shadowless at noon. And this circumstance was taken advantage of by Eratosthenes, who had been invited to Egypt by Ptolemy Evergetes I. for the purpose of measuring the surface of the earth.

At the present day a visitor to

Assouan, the moment he lands, is besieged by a host of dealers in ostrich feathers, eggs, ivory rings, gold and silver bracelets, Soudanese weapons, and by dusky Bishareen Arabs, clad only in a loin cloth, selling amulets or talismans to bind on the arm.

The First Cataract, which, it will be remembered is situated here, is not properly a waterfall, and even in the most difficult places the gradient is not more than one foot in 15 feet. Black rock rises abruptly from the foaming current, and here and there vast blocks, fallen from above, form islets of 150 and 200 feet in height.

The arrangements for the embarkation of the Egyptian troops for Assouan, as made at Boulak, about two miles from Cairo, were admirably carried out under the personal superintendence of Mr. T. Cook. They embarked from the Arsenal, Sir Evelyn Wood overseeing the whole. They numbered 1,300 men, with four British officers, on board of three steamers and four barges.

In the April of 1884 it was confidently stated that a conference upon Egyptian finance was to be summoned. The announcement, however, was somewhat premature, but the discussions to which it gave rise on the Continent proved of some service to Egypt and to Great Britain. Hitherto it had been assumed by those who had agitated for the withdrawal of our troops from the delta of the Nile that, if their advice were adopted, the Egyptians would be left to work out their political destinies in their own way.

It could not be contended, however, that there was much justification for this view, as the tone of the most influential French journals showed distinctly that, if Britain abandoned Egypt, her place there would be immediately taken by France. "As long as we maintain our present supremacy," said a writer at the time, "the French Government will not dispute our claims; but, were Britain to abandon the task she voluntarily undertook, the Republic, with the cordial consent of all classes of Frenchmen, would only be too glad to find an opportunity of asserting its supposed rights. France has more than a merely sentimental interest in Egypt, and it would be unreasonable to expect that she would permit the country to fall into a state of anarchy."

Eventually, when a Conference of the signatories of the Treaty of Berlin was proposed to settle the financial affairs of Egypt, each Power seemed to consider the matter in its own way. Russia and Italy, who always appear to gain something out of every European difficulty, accepted the task at once; Turkey hesitated, on the plea that the affairs of one of her dependencies were scarcely a matter for international adjustment; and Germany and Austria declined to commit themselves until it was known what France meant to do; and for months before the French Press, official and popular, had been girding at Britain's policy in Egypt and the Soudan, and latterly their tone had become extremely aggressive.

The memorandum addressed by Lord

Granville to the Powers clearly detailed the financial troubles in May, 1884, and suggested a loan of £8,000,000 as necessary to restore the equilibrium; but delays ensued, as France insisted on the scope of the Conference being enlarged, and that the political future, as well as the financial settlement of the country, should be discussed.

Early in May that year an expedition was organised at Cairo, under Colonel Stuart-Wortley and Majors Kitchener and Rundle, to reconnoitre the banks of the Nile as far as Assouan. In this operation they were to be assisted by the Bedouin tribes on the banks of the river, while an escort of 500 Gawazi Bedouins accompanied them. This force had orders eventually to form a cordon between Assouan and Dongola, with its headquarters in the oasis of Khurga, from whence patrols were to be despatched in order to prevent the passage of emissaries of the Mahdi.

At this time Sir Samuel Baker suggested that Egypt should be divided into two provinces, Upper and Lower Egypt; that the former should extend to latitude 13°, and that its capital should be Khartoum. In a letter to the *Times* he urged that "Khartoum is the key and strategical point upon which the security of Lower Egypt must unquestionably depend," and that if this city passed from our control, we might by-and-by have to undertake an expedition compared with which any effort that was then being made, would be of trifling importance.



CORN DEALERS IN UPPER EGYPT.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FUTURE OF THE SOUDAN.

Plans for the Defence of Suakim—Skirmish at Hasheen—Excitement at Alexandria—Dongola Refugees—Victory of the Mudir's men—Efficiency of the Medical Staff—Soudanese Statistics—Fertility of the Nile Valley—Osman Digna again—Gordon's opinion of the Berber Railway.

AND now to resume our narrative of occurrences at Suakim and elsewhere in May, 1885.

On the 20th General Sir G. R. Greaves, K.C.M.G. and C.B., visited Otao and Handoub, accompanied by Colonel Le Mesurier, commanding the Royal Engineers, to concert plans for the defence of Suakim after the withdrawal of the main force. He afterwards conferred with Colonel Truel of the Shropshire Regiment, and arranged that his battalion should be hutted as soon as possible, and provided with every suitable comfort, so far as the available commissariat means would allow.

In place of General Sir John McNeill, who had gone home, the command of

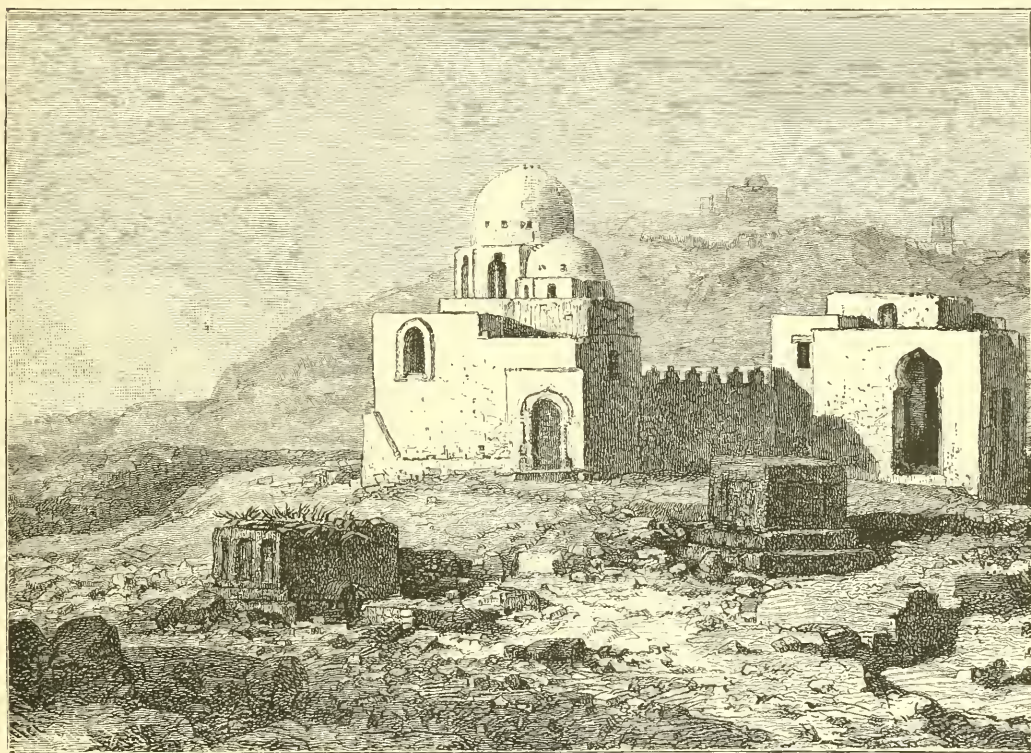
the second brigade was assumed by Colonel William Henry Ralston, of the second battalion of the East Surrey Regiment, who had served with the old 70th in the New Zealand War of 1863—5, and was present in the engagement with the Maoris at Katikara and Riangawhia, and commanded, as Major, the expedition which landed at the White Cliffs.

Orders were now issued for the Lancers, Hussars, and the Berkshire Regiment to proceed to Suez for Cairo, but not for Britain, taking all their camp equipage with them.

The erection of huts was proceeded with steadily on Quarantine Island and at the H Redoubt, while a series of permanent field-works was constructed

by the Engineers outside the town; and a sufficient number of transport animals was left at Suakim to enable General Hudson to form a movable column whenever such a force might be necessary; and it was supposed

out much effect; either they had not the range or their rifles were wrongly sighted. Hence General Greaves at once despatched the armoured train, with two Gardner guns and an escort of Infantry, to protect the line of rail-



MOSQUE-TOMB NEAR ASSUAN.

that a knowledge of its existence might render the enemy cautious, and prevent them from harassing the troops, while the selection of the Shropshire Light Infantry, the Sikhs, and the Bombay Infantry for garrison duty gave much satisfaction in camp.

On the afternoon of the 20th May a party of Arabs advanced from Hasheen and opened a fire upon the vedettes of the Camel Corps at the front, but with-

out much effect; either they had not the range or their rifles were wrongly sighted. Hence General Greaves at once despatched the armoured train, with two Gardner guns and an escort of Infantry, to protect the line of rail-

way, and on the approach of this force the enemy fell back in the direction of Tamai.

On the same afternoon the military police and the invalids began their journey down the Nile for Cairo from the Soudan.

On the 21st of May General Greaves determined, in consequence of the resolute attitude of the marauders of the previous day—encouraged, no doubt,

by a knowledge that our troops were fast departing—to resume night patrolling on the railway by means of the armoured train. At 11 p.m. it ran to Otao. It was found that on the preceding night, favoured by the extreme darkness, the enemy had heaped up brushwood and earth on the line to obstruct the engine, which returned unmolested, the obstructions being easily removed. Thus it started for Otao again at seven on the following morning.

Ten per cent. of the garrison were now reported on the sick-list. The strength was expected to be fixed at 3,500 men.

On the 22nd some excitement was caused at Alexandria when instructions arrived from the War Office ordering the three battalions of the Foot Guards to encamp five miles from the city “and remain there pending further orders,” instead of proceeding at once to London. Three thousand tents were sent from Cairo for a camp at Ramleh.

By the same date Otao was evacuated by the Shropshire Regiment, which came into Suakim by train, and was ordered to furnish one company towards the formation of the corps of Mounted Infantry.

Glancing elsewhere, the evacuation of the Soudan may be said to have commenced in earnest, when in the middle of May the first batch of refugees—*i.e.*, natives who dreaded the vengeance of the Mahdi on the departure of the British—to the number of 250 unfortunate creatures, started from Dongola for Upper Egypt, and by the

27th of May the number increased to above 2,300.

On the 14th of May the rebels who recently left Sani, where Ezzein, the chief Emir of the desert tribes, was in command, moved to the neighbourhood of Handab.

The Mudir of Dongola's troops advanced from that place and gave battle to the enemy, whom they completely routed, without themselves losing a man.

The Mudir's men returned in triumph to Handab with twenty-seven cattle and ninety sheep, which they captured from the rebels.

Tumbal Hamid, a descendant of the ancient kings of the island of Argo in the Nile, a place still famous for an ancient temple and two magnificent colossal statues of red granite, accepted the government of that part of the province lying between Sukkot and Handak (or Handah), a town on the left bank of the river forty miles south of New Dongola; but, in consequence of the circulation of many absurd and alarming rumours as to our manner of evacuating the Soudan, it was deemed advisable to placard notices in Arabic to the effect that we had no intention of burning the city.

Sir Charles Wilson and Colonel Walter Rice Olivey, C.B., Chief Paymaster, and formerly of the 12th Foot, left Dongola on the 25th for Cairo; and two days after Sir Redvers Buller telegraphed from that place that the British troops had begun to withdraw from it on the preceding day. A troop of the 19th Hussars and the 1st Bat-

talion of the West Kent Regiment were to be left at Wady Halfa, and the 1st Battalion of the Sussex Regiment at Korosko, while the remainder of the Hussars, the 2nd Battalion of the Essex Regiment, and a battery of Artillery, were ordered to be stationed at Assouan until the railway extension was finished; and meanwhile the Black Watch and other troops at Merawi began their journey northward.

At this time Colonel F. Duncan, C.B., of the Royal Artillery (previously Superintendent of the Records of the Royal Artillery), commanded at Wady Halfa, and he bore testimony to the excellent work done by the officers and men of the Army Medical Department. At least 2,500 men, women, and children, refugees, were sent from Khartoum to him, and he had to distribute them among the frontier villages. The difficulties were great in the long line of communication, and the wounded had to undergo much suffering, as they were conveyed partly by camel litters, partly by boats, and partly by railway.

At a public meeting in October, 1885, he related an anecdote showing how admirably the medical officers did their duty. A doctor in charge of a convoy fell over a cliff and broke two of his ribs, but bound himself up as well as he could and said nothing about his mishap, and rode five and a half days under a burning sun, in pain and weakness, till he safely landed his convoy at Wady Halfa.

The sufferers in his charge spoke earnestly of the fatherly way in which

he had taken care of them on the march. The news of his accident had reached the camp at Wady Halfa previously, but the brave doctor refused to be attended till every man of his convoy had been seen to. He then went to his tent, when he fainted from pain and exhaustion, and for many days was in a feverish and critical state.

A meeting of traders interested in the Soudan was held in Alexandria at the beginning of the troubles, at which it was stated that there were in that province 15,000 Christians and 40,000 Egyptians, and that there were no less than 1,000 commercial houses owned by Europeans and 3,000 by Egyptians, and that the import and export trade was valued at £13,000,000 annually. The Ministry of War drew up a statement on the subject of the evacuation of the Soudan to the effect that there were 21,000 Egyptian troops and eighty-four guns in the Soudan between Dongola and Gondokoro. The removal of the supplies of ammunition stored at Kassala and Khartoum (before the siege of the latter city) would require 4,000 camels, or 6,000 if the supplies of war from King John's frontier were also to be withdrawn.

The Soudan had been a continual drain upon the Exchequer of Egypt. The first step deemed necessary to retrieve matters was the construction of a railway from Suakim to Berber, or, what was thought at one time more advisable, on the Nile to Shendy, where, according to Burckhardt's "Travels in Nubia," the wholesale trade was con-

ducted through brokers, and where a caravan no sooner arrived than every merchant's house was crowded with them; but the avidity and parsimony of all parties were too great to allow them to bring their transactions to a

required to run from Suakim to Berber, on the Nile, being only sixteen hours, and that the cost would be under a million and a half. The completion of the enterprise would, they urged, at once change all the elements of the



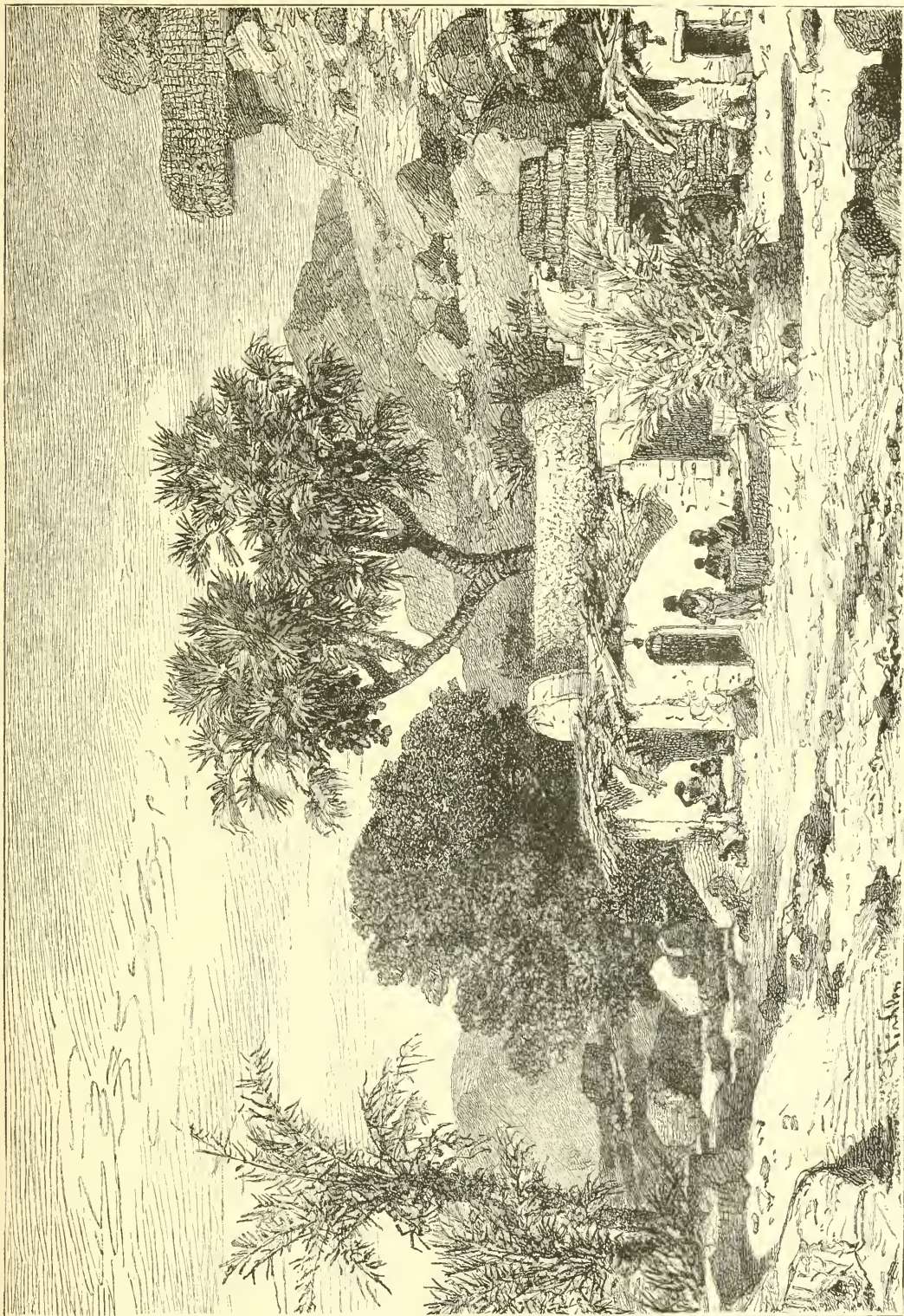
NATIVE OF THE SOUDAN: THE WHITE OR SACRED IBIS.

speedy conclusion. At Shendy, Burekhardt states, that "No merchandise has its fixed price; there is no such thing as a price-current, and every one sells according to the prospect he has of cheating the buyer and bribing the broker."

The promoters of the Suakim route maintained that the construction of their line would bring Cairo within six and a half days of Khartoum, the time

problem, and, instead of being a burden on the Egyptian Exchequer, the Soudan would become, with anything like good management, a source of wealth to the Government.

The financial condition and possibilities of the Soudan have very important bearings upon the question of the utility of the country, Egypt. In this respect the Budget of the Soudan



VILLAGE NEAR ASSOUAN, ON THE BORDERS OF THE ARABIAN DESERT.

for 1882, before the troubles became vitally serious, will be interesting.

	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Surplus.	Deficit.
Eastern Soudan:				
Tokar... ..	£53,621 ...	£121,416 ...	— ...	£67,795
Suakim	25,945 ...	20,492 ...	£5,453 ...	—
Massowah	26,125 ...	42,660 ...	— ...	16,534
Central Soudan:				
Sennar	40,876 ...	42,708 ...	— ...	1,832
Berber	42,829 ...	18,614 ...	23,915 ...	—
Khartoum	75,830 ...	123,391 ...	— ...	47,560
Fashoda	7,596 ...	25,698 ...	— ...	18,101
Equatorial Province	31,385 ...	35,449 ...	— ...	4,064
Western Soudan:				
Dongola	54,578 ...	10,605 ...	43,973 ...	—
Kordofan	74,459 ...	70,103 ...	4,055 ...	—
Darfur	56,054 ...	70,478 ...	— ...	14,423
Bahr-el-Ghazelle ...	14,669 ...	18,525 ...	— ...	3,856
	£503,667	£600,439	£77,396	£174,165

In addition to this deficit, there is charged against the Soudan a further one of £6,756 for a section of the Nile Valley Railway, bringing the deficit (less surplus) up to £103,525. In 1881 the deficit was only £36,840. Under General Gordon's rule for the first time the Budget was balanced.

What had hitherto prevented the development of the resources of the Soudan was the difficulty of getting machinery into the country; and of conveying natural products to the shore of the Red Sea. The finances of the Soudan, once rehabilitated, the provincial administration would no longer be forced to visit its subjects with those heavy exactions which were too surely at the bottom of the recent revolt.

Sir Samuel Baker—perhaps, next to General Gordon, the best authority on the subject of that sun-baked province—agreed in this opinion with Lord Dufferin.

“To sacrifice the Soudan,” he wrote, “is to fling away the granary of the world; to abandon Khartoum is to

surrender what will be the richest commercial entrepôt in the Old World. If the Soudan were in British hands in a very few years you would be entirely independent of the United States, both for cotton and corn. You have no idea what a country it is; soil fertile beyond belief, and the whole traversed from end to end by two great highways known as the Blue and White Niles, along which you can steam without interruption for hundreds of miles. Many a time I have ridden through deserted districts, in which the corn or *dhurra* was growing literally high enough to hide an elephant, and that without the slightest cultivation. Gordon was only a soldier, but even he was impressed by the luxuriance of the vegetation and the boundless wealth of the Nile valley. When that region passes into civilised hands it will be the richest on the whole continent. An almost virgin soil, a tropic sun, the Nile water, and a population which is most tractable and peaceful; there you have all the elements required for the production to almost any extent of the necessities of your great industrial population in this country.

“To tap this immense reservoir of undeveloped wealth, all that is necessary is a short railway from Suakim to the Nile and a decent Government. It wants no elaborate administrative system, but it does want a ruler whose word can be trusted, and whose officials are kept in hand. There ought not to be the slightest difficulty in holding the whole of the Nile valley down to the lakes from Khartoum. There

are no fewer than fifteen steamers at Khartoum, some of them great river boats of 300 tons. With these [Sir Samuel wrote before the fall] there ought not to be the least difficulty in patrolling the river from end to end; and the river is everything in the Soudan. The power that commands the stream has the lives of the population on its banks absolutely in its hands. The whole of the irrigation, without which nothing grows, depends on the river. The cattle come down to drink of its waters. It is the vital artery of the Soudan; and a capable man established at Khartoum would be able to prevent any living being showing any hostility from end to end of either of the Niles. I am not a prophet, but I know the country, and as I predicted that Hicks would be lost the moment he was left to be sacrificed by the ministry, who hated him because he was an Englishman, so I predict that the present crisis will only become more and more serious if an attempt is made to evacuate the country."

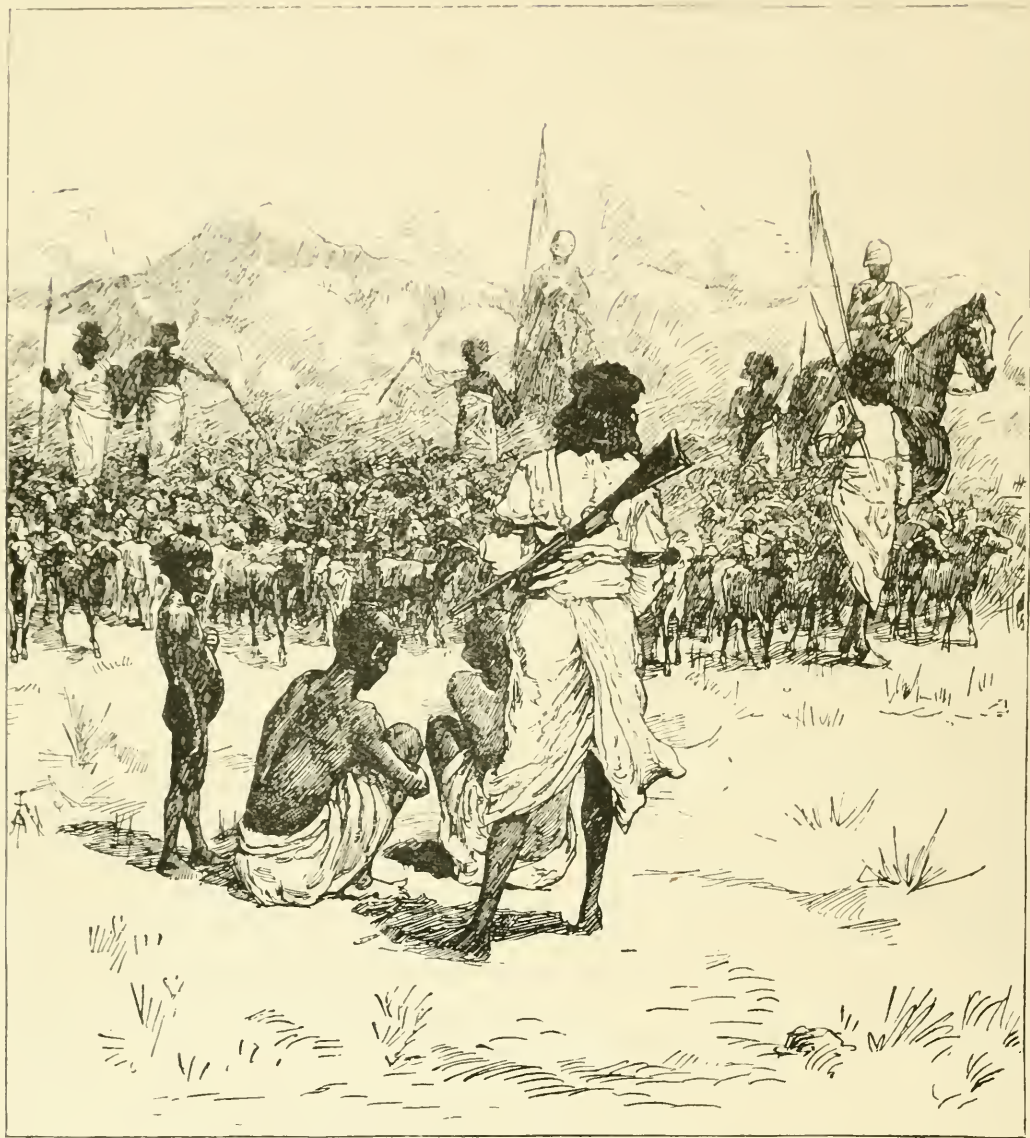
On the 20th of May a Council of Ministers was held at Cairo, when a lengthy discussion ensued in regard to a note recently addressed by Earl Granville to Musurus Pasha, on the subject of the armed occupation by Turkey of certain ports on the Red Sea, particularly Suakim. In the event of the Turkish Government refusing troops for this purpose, the Foreign Secretary declared that Great Britain would feel compelled to make arrangements for the occupation of Suakim and the other ports specified

by some other European Power. This somewhat humiliating note added, that, as soon as order and a stable Government had been established, the British troops would be withdrawn from Egypt and the Soudan. On this matter the Grand Vizier had a private audience with the Sultan, the result of which did not readily transpire; but the note was not acted upon.

On the 23rd of May the Berkshire Regiment evacuated Handoub, and as it was falling back on Suakim the enemy showed in some force and opened fire. The Berkshire men responded with such effect that the Arabs fell back. There were no casualties, and that day, at noon, the battalion with the East Surrey Regiment embarked on board the transports *Conway* and *Loch Ard* respectively, which at once put to sea, as the *Romeo* did, with a detachment of Indian troops, for Bombay.

All the troops now quartered at Suakim had leisure to moralise on the unpleasant fact that Handoub, Otao, and all the other positions in front, laid out, fortified, and constructed amid so much toil, suffering, and loss of life, were now in possession of the enemy; and to the soldiers it was plainly apparent, says the *Daily Chronicle*, "that we had directly played into the hands of Osman Digna." The tribes were now returning to his standard in large numbers, and even the "Friendlies," who were so recently in our camp, and were supplied with arms and ammunition from Her Majesty's stores, overcome by their fears of

punishment, returned to their allegiance to the pertinacious Arab chief. Within two months, up to the 23rd, over eleven hundred



FRIENDLY NATIVES BRINGING CAPTURED SHEEP AND GOATS INTO SUAKIM.

Sickness was now steadily increasing among both the British and Indian troops. The heat seemed equally trying to both, but much of the sickness was attributed to the unsanitary con-

soldiers had been sent away invalided, and with their constitutions seriously injured. In addition to these, there were many sharp cases of fever on board the hospital ship *Ganges*.

Whatever might be the health of the troops there and at other stations, those at Merawi were not much affected at this time, even by the steadily in-

At daybreak on the 26th of May all the troops stationed there, including the Hussars, Camel and Land Transport Corps, under Colonel Butler,



VIEW IN NUBIA.

creasing temperature, which then rose to 116 degrees in the shade ; and this was attributed by the medical staff to occasional severe thunderstorms, which cleared the air and conduced to the satisfactory condition of that peninsular district, which is described as very luxuriant and well irrigated.

marched from Merawi, with orders to pick up the Mounted Corps at the stations between that place and Dongola ; while the 1st Battalion of the Black Watch and the Egyptian detachment started in their whale-boats for the Lower Nile, together with the Naval Brigade and the Royal Engineers.

The troops welcomed these orders, which, however, caused the utmost consternation among the natives who had befriended us, and now anticipated an attack from all the tribes favourable to the Mahdi. A few useful articles were given to them, and then the rest of the stores were sent down the river in boats.

On the afternoon of the 24th of May the armoured train left Suakim with the Gardner guns and fifty rank and file of the Shropshire Regiment, and the same number of Sikhs and Bombay Infantry, and came swooping down upon the enemy, who were busy tearing up the line. The troops opened a rattling fire on them, killing and wounding some hundreds, on which the Arabs fled to the hills. Another body who were severely damaging the line at Handoub escaped without any casualties.

Thirty vessels which had been lying in the harbour, laden with railway plant, began their return to Britain on the same day.

Lord Dufferin was of opinion that if this line of railway was carried out it would do more to repress the inhuman slave trade than any other measure we could adopt, as the Power that holds the Delta of the Nile is naturally marked out as the proper custodian of the great trade of North-Eastern Africa.

When the opinion of General Gordon was invited in 1882 about the construction of this railway, he replied as follows:—

“Speaking from a long experience in the Soudan, I feel convinced that until such a communication is

made, no real progress can be reckoned on in those countries. Their being so near Egypt, and yet so backward as they are, is simply owing to the great difficulty in getting to and from them to the Red Sea; a belt of arid sand of two hundred and eighty miles separates them from civilisation, and till this is spanned no real progress can be made. There can be not the least doubt but that the route, Suakim to Berber, is the true natural route to be opened. Had this route been opened when I was in the Soudan it would have been infinitely more simple to have governed those countries. The hidden misery of the people in the dark places of the Soudan exists because no light is thrown on those lands, which light this railway would give; and it is certain when it is known that the railway is completed, an entire change will take place in the whole of this country. As long as the present state of affairs—with no communication—exists, there will be revolts and misery, and this will entail many thousands per annum on the Exchequer of Egypt, for it is certain that Egypt cannot throw off the Soudan and allow other countries to hold it. I conclude by saying that the railway is a *sine quâ non* for the well-being of the Soudan.”

By the 25th of May the construction of large and airy barrack-huts, for the accommodation of the troops at Suakim, was rapidly being proceeded with; but it was now necessary to convert the hulk *Underwriter* into an additional hospital ship. Her 'tween decks were spacious and lofty, and everything was done by the medical staff on board to ensure the comfort of the increasing number of sick.

It was now reported at headquarters that 800 Arabs were in possession of our abandoned fort at Handoub, a permanent menace to the unfinished line of railway.

About this time it was stated in Alexandria that a movement was in progress on the western frontier of Egypt, spreading through Tripoli and extending even to Tunis, that was

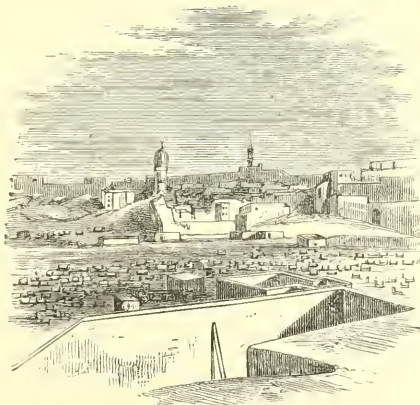
fraught with more danger than even the power and appearance of the Mahdi; and that an active, but secret, traffic in arms and ammunition was going on along the whole coast. It was said that it was practically impossible to prevent the landing of these arms and other warlike stores, which were intended for use in an ultimate outbreak of fanaticism; and the detection of a schooner landing powder for the Soudan, some miles westward of Alexandria, and when pursued by British vessels throwing the powder barrels into the sea, was but a portion of this scheme or conspiracy.

Dr. Schweinfurth, the traveller, urged the necessity of depriving the Mahdi of the means of communication with the sea, and suggested the formation of an International Surveillance on the coast between Derna, or Beled-

al-Sur, a town of Tripoli, thirty-five miles south-west of Ras-el-Tin, and Benghazi, in order to keep a watchful eye on the headquarters of Zebehr Pasha's friends, the all-powerful Senoussi sect in Jarabub.

On the 29th of May General Dormer evacuated Tani with his troops for Cairo.

One of the proposals now under the consideration of Brigadier-General Francis Wallace Grenfell, commanding the Egyptian army, and formerly of the 4th Battalion of the Rifles, was the increase of British officers for the purposes of organisation and discipline; for many of the British officers who formerly served in that army while Sir Evelyn Wood was at its head had now resigned out of it, after the last campaign.



TOMBS AT CAIRO.



ARAB OF THE ENVIRONS OF ADEN.

CHAPTER X.

THE RED SEA PORTS.

The Blue Book—The Ports of Zeila and Berbera—Mission of Major Hunter—Strange Controversy with the Porte—Tajurrah annexed by France—Egypt and the Italians—Mancini's Despatch—Protest by Assym Pasha.

IN May, 1885, for the first time, some official light was thrown on the diplomatic and military proceedings which resulted in redistribution of the ports of the Red Sea, of the littoral of which Major Chermiside was Governor-General, with his headquarters at Suakim.

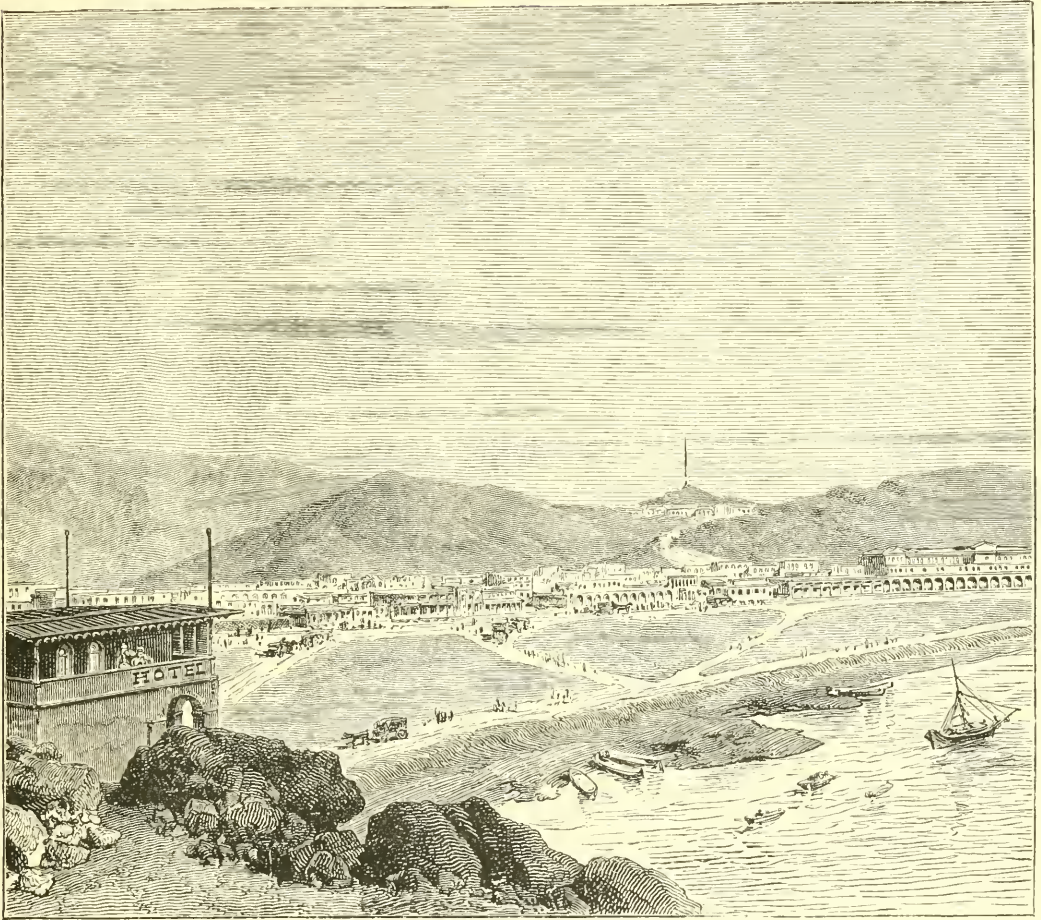
The narrative is contained in a batch of papers, published in a Blue Book at the end of the month. No small in-

dustry was required to select the more important features from the mass of details, and to intelligibly account for the parts played respectively by Great Britain, Egypt, Italy, Turkey, and France, who all appear to have had a share in the partition of the territories in question.

It is somewhat perplexing, though perhaps needless, to add, that, like most documents framed by our Foreign

Office for the perusal of the British public, the narrative breaks off just at the point where it begins to have some general interest. So far as it goes, at

Baring at Cairo that the various aboriginal tribes would probably endeavour to drive out the Egyptian garrisons from the ports on the gulf of Aden,



ADEN.

all events, the Blue Book is useful in its information, which will be found necessary to a full understanding of any settlement that may be eventually made.

It would seem that in December, 1883, Major Hunter, the Assistant-Resident at Aden, warned Sir Evelyn

not because they had any sympathy with the Mahdi, but to take advantage of the turmoils in Egypt.

Certain of these ports, particularly Zeila and Berbera on the Gulf shore, were necessary for the alimentation of our garrison at Aden, and the British Government was advised to take mea-

asures for their protection. The latter port is one of importance, as sometimes during the monsoon 150 vessels anchor in the harbour, near the town (which contains more than 5,000 huts), where the pilgrims and merchants embark for Jiddah and Mecca. As a temporary expedient a couple of gunboats were at once despatched thither.

Meanwhile Earl Granville wrote to Lord Dufferin that the British Government had advised that of the Khedive "no longer to occupy with their forces territory the retention of which had caused a constant drain of money and men, and which Egypt had neither the financial nor the physical power to hold." He further intimated that the British Government desired to propose to the Sultan "that he should resume direct jurisdiction over the ports on the Egyptian coast of the Red Sea (including Suakim), and should occupy them with his troops."

Harar it was proposed to hand over to some member of the family of the most powerful local chief, while Zeila and Berbera were to be seen to by the garrison of Aden. About the same time (May, 1884) the Egyptian Government were informed that a party of Frenchmen from Obok (or Oboe) had visited Tajurrah and announced their intention of hoisting the French flag there. This place is a town of wooden huts with two mosques, on the Adal coast of Eastern Africa, in a bay in which are the islands of Mosha and Muskah, which were acquired by our Government from the Sultan of Tajurrah

—a land of aridity and utter desolation, though it carries on some trade with Aden.

Difficulties arose with respect to Harar when the evacuation by the Egyptian troops was stated to be a work of peril. Nubar Pasha counselled delay, and asked that a British officer (Major Hunter) should be sent to superintend the withdrawal.

Sir Evelyn Baring and Earl Granville demurred to involving any British officer in what seemed to be a dangerous enterprise; but eventually, Major Hunter was sent, at the instance of the Government of India, to negotiate with the chiefs and see to the security of the ports on the Somali coast, that portion of the continent of Africa which extends between the Gulf of Aden on the north and the Indian Ocean on the south, or from Guardafui to the Rio-dos-Fuegos, inhabited by a people whom Bruce and others have represented as too savage to have any connection with.

The Turkish Government, whose only reply to the suggestion concerning the ports of the Red Sea was that it required, with that slow and obstructive people, consideration, was informed through Lord Dufferin on the 29th of May that, as Berbera, Tajurrah, and Zeila were to be evacuated by the troops of the Khedive, the Porte had better occupy the last two; but, as his Majesty had no rights over the Somali coast from Zeila to Cape Hafoon, that territory, including Berbera, would be disposed of by the Government of Great Britain.

On being pressed for a reply about two months later, the Grand Vizier told Lord Dufferin that it was necessary to await the decision of the Council of Ministers. Later still, Musurus Pasha in London endeavoured to convince Earl Granville that the Porte had distinct claims to Berbera, which, however, the Foreign Secretary refused to acknowledge. So in this quarter matters became pressing, and on the 1st of August Major Hunter, who had come to terms with the chiefs of Harar, a town in the Somali territory, 160 miles eastward of Ankobar, in Abyssinia, and on the route from that place to Berbera, warned the Government that, as disturbances between certain tribes were imminent, the safety of the Egyptian garrisons in the interior would be imperilled unless that of Zeila was strengthened by a British force.

Earl Dufferin was therefore instructed to inform the Sultan that, unless the Turks occupied Zeila, the British would have to do so. But his Lordship replied, somewhat sadly, a fortnight later, that "from day to day the Minister for Foreign Affairs had promised me an immediate reply, each day preferring some new excuse for delay."

Nubar Pasha at the same time was raising objections, and finally proposed that the issue might be delayed till the arrival of Lord Northbrook. To this Earl Granville replied that the latter had nothing to do with the subject in hand, and that the British Government, being convinced that the

advice they gave "was wise and good," had no intention of reopening the question.

Nubar Pasha consequently intimated to the Egyptian Governor of Harar that he was to withdraw his garrison under the superintendence of Major Hunter, who was to oversee the evacuation and maintain order at Zeila with British troops.

Notwithstanding this determination, we find Earl Granville on the 2nd of September urging the Sultan, through Musurus Pasha in London, to send Turkish troops to the Gulf of Aden. To this Assym Pasha responded by asserting the rights of the Sultan over Berbera, and intimating that a telegram had been sent to the Khedive Tewfik, instructing him to protect Imperial interests in that quarter against the aggression of Great Britain or any other foreign power.

While this grotesque controversy was in progress with the Porte, and while Major Hunter was preparing to occupy Zeila and the Somali coast with the aid of troops from Bombay, Sir Evelyn Baring telegraphed on the 30th September that the French flag had been hoisted on Ras Ali and Angar, thus practically disposing of Tajurrah!

A few days subsequently Earl Granville informed the Turkish Ambassador that, as the claims of the Porte to Berbera were founded on an uncompleted and unfulfilled convention, the British Government could not admit their validity. To the Gulf of Aden little further interest was attached, though British troops were despatched in due

course to Zeila and Berbera. British rights were asserted at Mosha, an island in the sea of Bab-el-Mandeb, at the mouth of the Anazo in Abyssinia, and at Iyat Island, in the same sea, ten miles north of Zeila.

The Danakils, in October, having compelled the Egyptian garrison of

subsequent to the relinquishment hereafter, should the Porte accept the proposals of Her Majesty's Government for the re-establishment at that port of the authority of the Sultan."

The centre of interest now changed to the north of Bab-el-Mandeb, the strait leading from the Indian Ocean into the



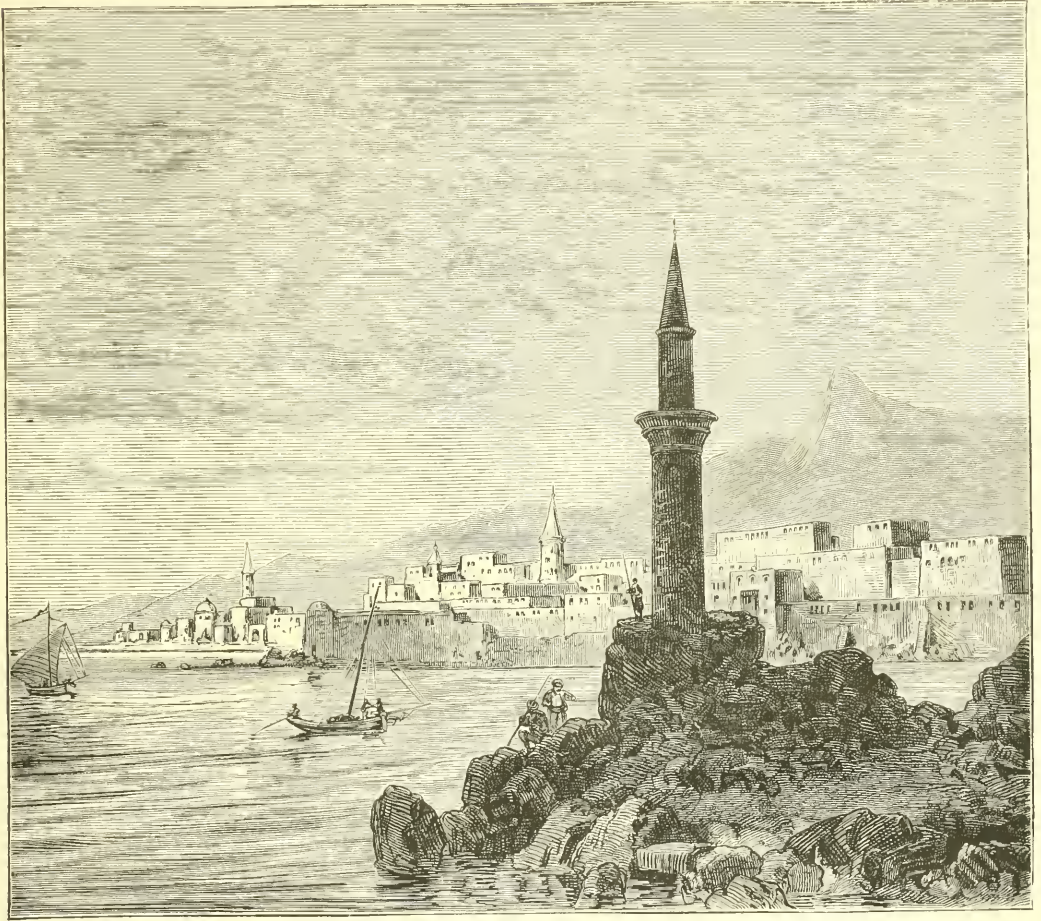
MARCH OF TURKISH TROOPS ACROSS THE DESERT OF ARABIA.

Tajurrah to retire, the French forthwith annexed it, together with the adjacent coast. Arrangements having been completed for the supervision of the Somali country, the coast line from Zeila to Ras Hafoon (on the east) was, on the 6th of February, 1885, handed over to the care of Her Majesty's Indian Government, and Earl Granville added "that the control of the Indian authorities might, for convenience, be extended to Zeila also,

Red Sea; and it is in a despatch to Sir Evelyn Baring, dated 8th of October, that we first get an intimation that the Italians had their eyes on Egypt. Earl Granville says in that document:—"Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that, in view of the intended withdrawal of Egyptian rule from the Eastern Soudan and the African coast of the Red Sea, considerable benefit may accrue to the tribes in the vicinity of Assab Bay through an extension of

the civilising influence of Italy in those parts ; and I have therefore to instruct and direct Major Hunter to be careful to avoid, in his dealings with the local sheikhs, anything which would have a

London. The abandonment of the Soudan by Egypt, the reluctance of Great Britain to extend the sphere of her operations, and the persistent refusal of Turkey to replace the Egyptian



JIDDAH.

tendency to throw difficulties in the way of an extension of Italian authority inland from Assab."

The latter is a town on a bay of the same name on the Danakil coast of the Red Sea. Three weeks later, Signor Mancini explained his views on this matter to the Italian Ambassador in

garrisons, excited alarm in his mind, about the little colony, already limited on its southern side by the French settlement of Obok, should any other power intervene between Assab and Massowah.

"Considering, moreover," wrote Signor Mancini, "the position of Britain in

the Red Sea, it seems to us that an occupation by a power other than Italy would not be consistent with British interests; and, if we have not misunderstood the constant and friendly confidence which has been shown to us by the Queen's Government from the commencement of the Egyptian difficulties, we must assume that Great Britain would look without jealousy upon a moderate extension of our colony of Assab, and would prefer that, on the aforesaid coast, the authority of Italy, for whom friendly relations with Britain are a constant political tradition, might be established in whatever form it would be found convenient."

The despatch suggested the occupation of Beilul and some adjacent territory, and asked for the opinion of the British Cabinet. Lord Granville replied that, on consulting his colleagues, the British Government felt no jealousy of the extension of Italian influence over that part of the Red Sea coast mentioned in the despatch of Signor Mancini, and would, on the contrary, be prepared to welcome it. "At the same time," Lord Granville added, "Her Majesty's Government could not undertake to give away that which did not belong to them; and I would suggest the desirability of coming to an arrangement with the Porte on the matter."

Lord Granville was now pressed by the Italian Government for the views of that of Britain as to the ultimate disposal of the entire coasts of the Red Sea, and particularly whether it would permit any foreign power to make an

establishment thereon. On the 22nd of December Count Nigra had a conversation with Lord Granville on this matter, but the latter declined to commit himself beyond the apparent facts that the ports would be evacuated by Egypt; and added that if Italy had any intention to occupy them it was a matter for arrangement with the Sultan, remarking that the British Government had no objection to Italy adding Mas-sowah to her previous programme.

A rumour having got abroad that the Italian army was to assist the British in the Soudan war, Musurus Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador, went to the Foreign Office on the 31st of December to interrogate Lord Granville as to the intentions of the King of Italy, when Lord Granville replied that the idea of military co-operation was new to him. He admitted that there had been *pourparlers* about the ports, but reminded the Ambassador that the British Government had done their best to induce the Porte to resume his ancient authority over them.

But the latter was now thoroughly alarmed by the proceedings of the Italians, and feared an extension of their activity on the Red Sea coast; and, on the 10th of January, Lord Granville was able to inform Musurus Pasha that he had received from the Italian Ambassador "the most positive assurances that there was no foundation for the rumour of Italian designs on Tripoli."

Considering the procrastination of the Porte in its dealings with this and almost every other question, it is, in a

sense, amusing to observe the state of anxiety and alarm into which the Sultan's advisers are thrown when delay and neglect at length threaten to produce their natural results.

Fifteen days afterwards the Khedive telegraphed to the Sultan that an Italian Expedition was on its way down the Red Sea, and that, in the event of its landing on the shores of Egypt, he could neither give assistance to the Governor of Massowah nor uphold his authority to the south; and, a few days later, M. Waddington came to the Foreign Office to endeavour to learn something respecting the designs of Italy and the occupation of Massowah. Lord Granville disputed the right of the French Ambassador to question him on the subject, more especially as France had herself seized a portion of the Soudan coast, without warning any one, and without permission accorded. He assured M. Waddington, however, that there was no alliance between Britain and Italy, though the conciliatory manner of the latter had greatly increased an emotion of friendship between the two Powers. But, in the meantime, the alarm of the Sultan became more patent.

The Khedive was instructed to protest formally against the landing of the Italians at Massowah, or anywhere else upon the coast of Egypt; and Musurus Pasha was desired to inform Lord Granville that the Sultan was "profoundly surprised" at a declaration made by Signor Mancini that Italy had a secret agreement with Britain respecting the occupation of Massowah

and Beilul by the former. The assistance of the British Government was also asked to prevent the Italians from carrying out their enterprise.

Lord Granville assured Musurus Pasha that the report of Signor Mancini's speech was quite incorrect, and, after adding that Britain regretted that Turkey had not taken her advice on a previous occasion, disclaimed all responsibility for the action of Italy. On the 5th of February Assym Pasha thereupon telegraphed as follows:—

"By this action (alluding to the occupation of Beilul) Italy has attacked the sovereign rights of the Empire, which rights she has declared to us, both through her ambassador at Constantinople, and through our *Chargé d'Affaires* at Rome, that she desired to respect. We have therefore thought it our duty to protest at Rome against this inexplicable action, and to renew the demand to Italy to withdraw her troops. This action being also in violation of international law, the Ottoman Government further appealed to the other Powers, and has again recourse through you to the Government to which you are accredited."

This protest, however, from such a source, could not be expected to carry weight. Remonstrance from France—if such were really seriously offered—was admirably met by Lord Granville's retort to M. Waddington about French annexation on the Soudan coast, alluded to above. If the Porte were not strong enough to hold its own, there was no special call upon us to assist it.



WAHABY ARAB.

CHAPTER XI.

GENERAL GRAHAM'S LAST DESPATCH.

The Services of General Greaves—The Volunteer Engineers, &c.—The Chaplains—New Military Arrangements—Refugees from Khartoum—A Capture at Adig—Suez Canal Commission—Whalers on the Nile—Dongolese Fugitives—The Madhi's Prisoners—The Suakim Railway at Woolwich.

GENERAL Sir Gerald Graham, then at Alexandria, in his final despatch, dated the 30th of May, refers thus to his successor at Suakim, and the services of our Engineer Volunteers at that place :—

“In bringing to special notice the admirable conduct of the troops I had the honour to command, I wish to record my sense of the loyalty and devotion shown by the staff and regimental officers, who never spared themselves, and set the troops a bright example of courage and endurance. The depart-

mental officers also worked with the utmost zeal and intelligence. I wish especially to express my high appreciation of the services rendered to the force by Major-General Sir G. Greaves as Chief of the Staff. That officer combines rare qualities, being a thorough soldier in the field and very hardworking in office. Having a perfect knowledge of every detail of duty, and being himself full of zeal and energy, Sir G. Greaves was invaluable in assisting me to organise the force, and in carrying on the arduous work of Chief of the Staff during the campaign

“The work done by the Royal Engineers was of a very extensive and varied character. In the con-

struction of zeribas, and in forming defensive posts at Suakim, Hasheen, Handoub, Otao, and Tambonk, in the clearance of dense bush, and in the formation of ground for the railway, in the development of the water supply, and in generally supplying the numerous engineering requirements of an army in the field, the energies of officers and men were heavily taxed, and I cannot speak too highly of the

paign. Of these, thirty came from Newcastle-on-Tyne and Durham, and the remainder from the 1st Lancashire Engineer Volunteers. These men were all of trades suitable for railway work, and their services would have been of great value had the campaign lasted longer. As it was, the volunteers worked well with their comrades, and the officer commanding the company reports most satisfactorily



TERRACE-CISTERNS, ADEN.

way in which all this work was performed. The officers on all occasions proved their readiness and resource, while the men worked cheerfully under the most trying circumstances. The Telegraph Service was admirably carried on, and proved of the utmost use to the force. During the action of the 22nd of March communication was maintained by telegraph with the zeriba. The railway owes much to the Royal Engineer officers employed in connection with it; while the 10th Company maintained the narrow-gauge line and took charge of the water supply at the base. This company, which landed on the 7th of April, had thirty-nine men from Volunteer Engineers who had enlisted for the cam-

on the admirable spirit and discipline shown by them. It is interesting to note this fact, as it may be considered the first experiment in associating the Volunteer force with a combatant branch of the Regular Army on active service. The balloon detachment under Major Templar, 7th Battalion King's Royal Rifles, was attached to the Royal Engineers, and proved useful in reconnaissances on several occasions. On March 25, a balloon accompanied the convoy to the zeriba, and probably (its appearance) frightened the natives, as no attack was made. Unfortunately the prevalent high winds made it impossible to employ the balloon."

Sir Gerald Graham omitted to mention the useful services of the volunteer telegraphists from Edinburgh, Liverpool, and elsewhere.

After referring to the Signalling Department, which was worked well by Major E. T. Browell, R.A., Captain Rhodes, Berkshire Regiment, Lieutenant Lloyd and Colour-Sergeant Sibbald, both of the Grenadier Guards, and Corporals Graham, 5th Lancers, and Taylor, of the Berkshire Regiment, the General adds :—

"The chaplains attached to the field force, whether Church of England, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, or Wesleyan, were zealous and active in their duties; and I desire to acknowledge the services of the Rev. W. H. Bullock and of the Rev. R. Collins, Roman Catholic Chaplain, who displayed great coolness and presence of mind at the fight of the zeriba on March 22nd."

The army postal duties were carried out under Major G. C. Sturgeon, of the 24th or General Post Office Rifle Volunteers.

About the end of this despatch, which we cannot give at full length, the General says :—

"I have to acknowledge my obligations to Colonel Chernside (local rank), the Governor-General of the Red Sea Littoral, for service rendered by him to the Expedition. Colonel Chernside was appointed Egyptian Military Commissioner, and was always anxious to give me every information and assistance in his power. Mr. A. B. Brewster, Director of Customs at Suakim, acted as chief interpreter and Secretary to the Intelligence Department, and his services have been of much value to it."

On the 30th of May some of the military arrangements were finally made. The 1st Battalion of the South Staffordshire Regiment and the 1st Battalion of the East Yorkshire Regi-

ment were to be stationed at Assouan; the 1st Battalion of the Cameron Highlanders at Korosko; the 1st Battalion of the West Kent Regiment at Wady Halfa; the 2nd Battalion of the Essex Regiment, the 1st Battalion of the Black Watch, and the 2nd Battalion of the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry at Cairo; while the 1st Battalion of the Gordon Highlanders was bound for the Mediterranean, and the 1st Battalion of the Royal Irish Fusiliers, with the 1st Royal Sussex, were to return home.

On May the 31st Sir Redvers Buller telegraphed to Cairo that the Black Watch had reached Dongola, "all ranks looking well and healthy." Refugees were still flying in hundreds from Dongola; and on the same day a council of Ministers at Constantinople was again discussing futilely another note of Lord Granville's proposing the Turkish occupation of Suakim and other ports of the Red Sea Littoral.

A Greek refugee arrived at Dongola on the 31st of May from Khartoum. The poor fellow was in a pitiable condition, having been thirty days on the road, and in hourly terror of being captured, and but too probably tortured. He says that at the time he left there were in the city twenty-two nuns, priests, and Greeks. They were unmolested, but had lost everything and were poorly fed. At the capture of the city no less than thirty-four Greeks suffered death. The survivors, who numbered eight, embraced Mohammedanism to escape a similar fate. The number of the Mahdi's adherents was

but few, the terrible fear which had been inspired by the brilliant successes of the British forces being paramount.

A native spy also made his way in on May 31. He stated that up to eight days before no news had reached Khartoum of the withdrawal of our forces.

On the 1st of June it was reported at Suakim distinctly that several of the once friendly tribes, in rejoining Osman Digna, stated that they now saw in him a true and not a false prophet, his words having been strictly fulfilled; that the large promises of the British were untrue, and had left them nothing but the fierce enmity of the Mahdi, whose emissaries were entering Suakim daily, where the number of sick was still on the increase, and also among the Italian garrison at Massowah.

The Mahdi was stated to have sent ten pieces of cannon to Osman Digna, who expected soon after a large supply of arms and ammunition.

On the 1st of June an Egyptian vessel with tribal or native police on board surprised a party of Osman's people at a place named Adig, slew twenty of them, and captured a number of prisoners, with 150 camels and 1,000 cattle, and came safely into Suakim Harbour the same evening. At the same time the Arabs elsewhere made a most threatening demonstration with the object of severely wrecking the railway, but the guns were sent to the front, and a few cannon shot dispersed them.

In the beginning of June the Ministry of Public Works decided, for

sanitary reasons, not to open the Khaleig Canal, which traverses Cairo in a perfectly straight line from one end to the other, and is said to have been projected by Amroo to connect the Nile with the Red Sea. On the other hand, numerous petitions were presented to the Khedive, signed by the Cadi and other religious chiefs, protesting against the violation of sacred customs. "We stand here where it starts," says Ebers; "this is old Cairo, the humble author of a magnificent daughter, the Fostât of the Arabs in the first century of Islam."

At this time (in June) a statement appeared in the Paris papers to the effect that, on his return to London, M. Waddington had an interview with Lord Granville, for the purpose of laying before him important proposals made by the French Government with reference to the Egyptian and Soudanese questions. But this statement was not founded on fact. M. Waddington, it would seem, had spoken to the Foreign Secretary about the Suez Canal Commission, then sitting in Paris, and which, he said, had come to a deadlock.

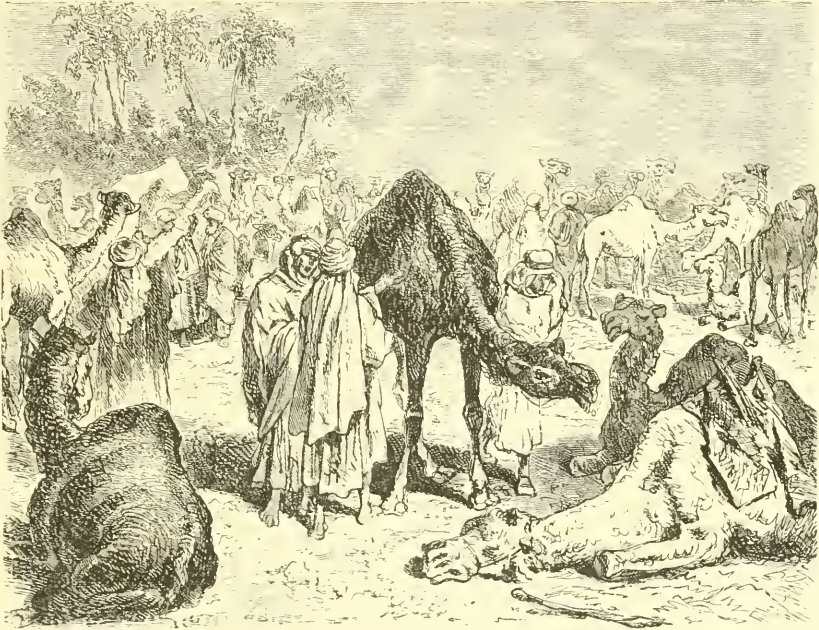
The British and French Commissioners each took up their stand upon different texts, and this seemed likely to go on indefinitely. M. Waddington therefore intimated to Lord Granville that the French Government would not insist on the adoption of their text, if the British Commissioners were prepared to form another providing guarantees which France and the other Powers regarded as essential.



OLD CAIRO.

"I gathered, in the course of conversation," wrote the Paris correspondent of the *Standard*, "that there is none of that tension at present existing between the two Governments that was observable some time ago, and there is absolutely no warrant for the hostile

The Nile was then very low—natives said, lower than it had ever been seen before—thus causing much shoal-water, and increasing the troubles of the voyage. Abu Fatmeh had proved a very fortunate station, as its ample gardens supplied the large hospital



CAMEL MARKET.

attitude towards Great Britain attributed to the French Cabinet by several organs of the London Press."

On Tuesday, the 2nd of June, the Black Watch, in a squadron of whale-boats, passed down the Nile by Abu Fatmeh; and, by the arrangements in progress, it was proposed that the whole of the troops in that quarter should be conveyed down the stream by the 23rd, when Colonel Grant and other staff officers were to leave, General Brackenbury accompanying the rear-guard.

with fresh fruit and vegetables, and also the sick convoys.

"The whalers still continue to take the sick to Akadeh (El Akasha?),” wrote a correspondent; “capital rest camps have been built *en route* to the head of the railway, which can be reached by a fortnight’s march. The heat to-day (2nd of June) is 115 degrees. The natives are passing north; all that are able to do so are leaving the neighbourhood.”

On the following day Korti was

occupied by a body of the Mahdi's troops, who announced their intention of marching on Dongola as soon as the British quitted it. The Mahdi announced his intention of annexing it. A newspaper, called the *Dongola News*, was published in our camp there, and circulated among the soldiers. The result of the Derby was among the last home news reported in it. As soon as the last of our troops withdrew, the chiefs of Ambigol, with their followers, flocked to the standard of the Mahdi.

At this time, Major Rundle brought to Cairo several Korosko chiefs, for whom quarters were found at Boulak, and with whom, and the tribes they represented, it was proposed to treat for the defence of the Nile approaches to Wady Halfa.

On Sunday, June 7th, the Black Watch, with other troops following, left Abri, and, though pulling their whale-boats most of the way, were not much inconvenienced by the intense heat upon the water.

On the 8th of June Sir Charles Wilson reached Cairo on his way to London. He announced his conviction that the Mahdi meant to advance slowly upon Egypt, and that the invasion had a fair chance of success. He entirely repudiated the idea that, by any possible means, he could have reached Khartoum in time to prevent its capture, or to save Gordon.

Had he been able to go thither direct, he asserted that the earliest possible moment at which he could have reached that place would have been the afternoon of the 26th, but it was at the

dawn of that day that the town was betrayed and the enemy admitted; and "that if there were any really preventible delay in the last stages of the drama, it must be looked for in the twelve days lost at Gakdul."

On the same day, the 8th of June, a number of fugitive Greeks arrived in Cairo, with the startling story, revived from time to time, that General Gordon was still alive, and that they had actually seen him in the town of Berber!

On the preceding evening Suakim was again attacked by the enemy, whom the guns on the Water Forts drove off; but a spy came in with tidings that a scarcity of food prevailed among the rebels, and that they were being decimated by the smallpox, which had spread among them as far as Kassala and Berber—a combination of evils which caused desertion among the followers of Osman Digna and the Mahdi; but did not prevent those of the former from harassing our Suakim garrison by nightly attacks, which exasperated the guards and outpickets.

The final act in the abandonment of the Soudan was said to be consummated when Sir Redvers Buller and his staff quitted Dongola on the 18th of June, after first searching every house to see that no one was left behind. The town was then absolutely empty, waiting to be re-peopled by the men of the Mahdi.

"I had a conversation with Nubar Pasha this afternoon," said the correspondent of the *Standard* at Cairo. "He appeared to have some hope

of more energetic action on the part of Great Britain, adding, however, that, with six months more of the present paralysis Egypt would be dead. With reference to Lord Wolseley's despatches on the abandonment of the Soudan, and especially of Dongola, Nubar Pasha remarked to me :—‘ He says in these pages what I said in three lines in my last message to Earl Granville, through Sir Evelyn Baring—a message which was not among those selected for publication, and which was as follows :—

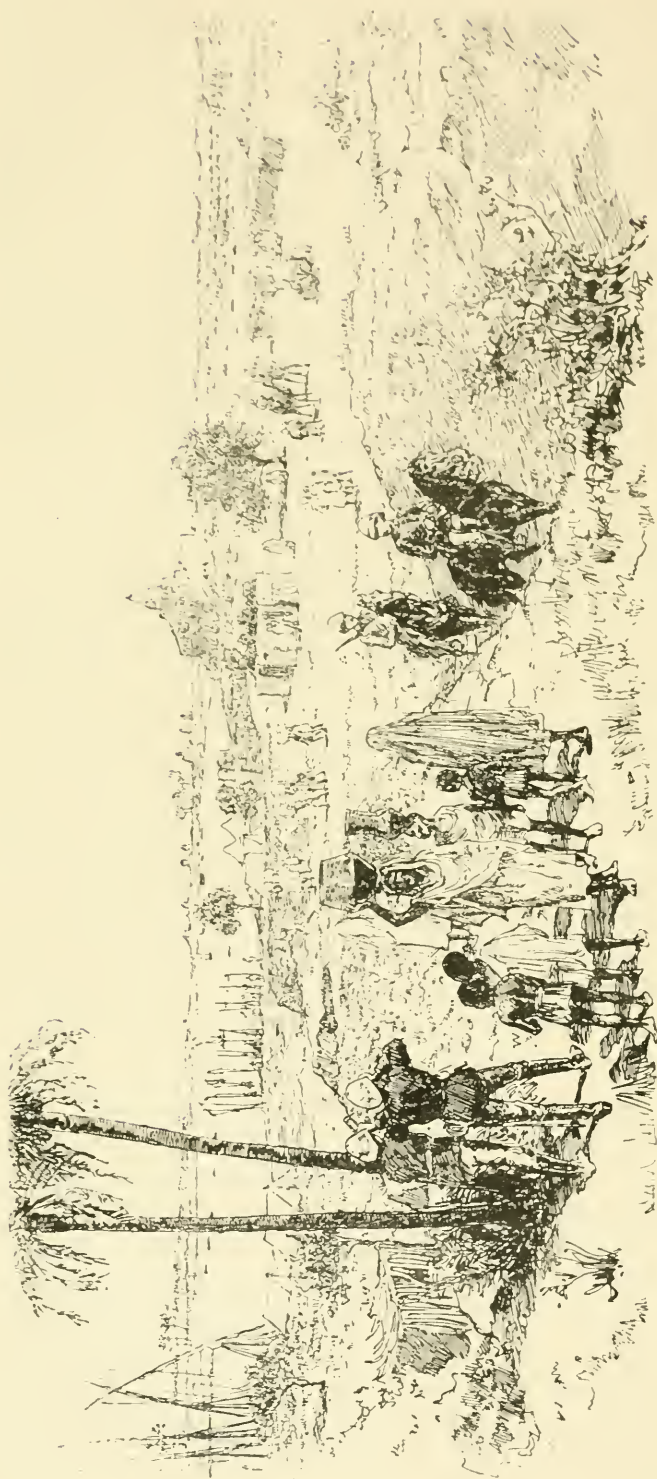
“ ‘ For the last time, before it is too late, I pray you to reconsider your decision to abandon Dongola. It will be an irrecoverable blow to Egyptian and English reputation, and is certain to bring fatal consequences.’ ”

A squadron of four French ironclads now came to anchor off Alexandria, and their presence on the one hand, with our departure on the other, persuaded the Egyptian public that this unexpected visit was in some way connected with the secret current of political events.

That the abandonment of Dongola was having a fatal effect on the terrified people of that province was evinced by the fact that, before the day on which Sir Redvers Buller left, twelve thousand eleven hundred refugees, including soldiers from Berber and Khartoum, had quitted it to seek shelter in Lower Egypt within the space of six weeks.

“ What provision have our Government made for the unfortunate people who are now trooping out of the Soudan by the thousand ? ” asked the

Globe, at this crisis. “ Britain cannot shake off, without incurring infinite dishonour, this responsibility. But for her, the Dongolese and others who have just sought refuge in Egypt proper might have remained in their own towns. The Mahdi would not have touched them had they not given help to the infidel. They did so, too, partly undercompulsion. Originally the greater part of the tribes were as much inclined to welcome the false prophet as a true one, and the Mudir of Dongola was often put to sore straits to hold his own until our troops arrived. When these last began to pour in, the local tribes hastened to profess friendship and loyalty, not doubting that the English came to annex as well as conquer. From that time they gave us most valuable help in many ways ; indeed, but for them the Expedition must have been starved long ago. Recognising their good services and the utter shamefulness of leaving them to be massacred, the Government accompanied their decree of abandoning the Soudan by an offer to assist the migration to Egypt of any Dongolese who might prefer flight to certain death. . . . So far our promise is fairly redeemed. But to merely transport these poor wretches to Egypt, there to die of starvation, would be a curious sort of kindness. That fate will inevitably overtake them, nevertheless, if their maintenance is left to the Egyptian officials. The Khedive will give orders, no doubt, that their wants shall be attended to at the public expense ; but his treasury is nearly



EXIT OF THE HANNEK CATARACT: VIEW FROM ABU FATMEIL.

empty, and were it full the native officials would certainly pocket the greater part of any sums disbursed for the relief of the Soudanese refugees. The only question is, therefore, whether England will see to it that they do not perish for lack of food. She has rescued them from the Mahdi; but that will be only a poor performance of her duty unless she follows it up by rescuing them from starvation."

But we never heard publicly whether Great Britain moved in the matter.

The unusual influx of starving fugitives, with the fear of further eventualities, caused then the greatest uneasiness in Egypt; and still at this date we read of a new expedition in prospect, for the printed orders we have quoted record that "Lord Wolseley and a party of officers made a successful trial trip yesterday in one of the new stern-wheel steamers which have recently arrived at Cairo from England for the use of the Nile Expedition."

On the 15th of June a letter from the Mahdi, which was believed to be genuine, had been received at Dongola, before General Buller left the town, bearing the signatures of many Christians, among others those of Slaten Bey (who was said to have been put to death at Khartoum) and Lupton

Copts, Greeks, and Syrians, who avowed themselves as being no longer Christians. At the time this letter arrived, there came to Dongola the brother of Khasm-el-Moos, of the Shagiye tribe, who had made his escape from Khartoum, and he reported that the Christian prisoners were treated well.



WAHABI ARABS SCOURING THE DESERT.

Bey. Those who signed stated that they were perfectly happy, and wished to remain with the Mahdi. This letter came as a reply to one proposing to exchange the Mahdi's Christian prisoners for his relatives in our possession. He stated that these relatives had no claim upon him, and he viewed them now as enemies. The letter finally exhorted the British to embrace Islamism. It was dated from the camp at Omdurman, and was signed by ninety-five persons, mostly

Other accounts were different. The *Vaterland*, of Vienna, about the same date, published a letter from Cairo, sent by Father Egyrer, announcing that the Vicar Apostolic, Monsignor Francis Sogaro, had left that city for Rome on the 5th of June, after an absence of more than two years, chiefly spent in Khartoum. This letter stated that the fate of the missionaries captured by the Mahdi was then still uncertain. The lost men described their situation "as most painful," adding that all

attempts to procure their release or send them money were vain.

Through the Austrian Consul-General at Cairo, Monsignor Sogaro obtained leave from the Emperor Francis Joseph to intercede with the Mahdi in his Majesty's name, and Zebehr Ramah Pasha promised to forward a letter on the Emperor's behalf, but was prevented from doing so by the Egyptian authorities. Monsignor Sogaro then sent Father Vincentini, with letters of recommendation given by Lord Wolseley. Starting from Dongola on the 17th of October, 1884, the Father reached the town on the 16th of November, and, after long and prudent negotiations, he confided a letter to an Arab named Abdel-Djabher, who left for Omdurman on the 13th of December and returned on the 26th of February, 1885, with a piece of linen, on which one of the prisoners had traced in pencil a few words stating that he was in the utmost distress.

Two messengers since then had been sent with remittances to the prisoners, one to El Obeid, and the other to Omdurman; but up to the date of the letter in the *Vaterland* neither of them had been heard of. It concluded by stating that the Roman Catholic missionaries in Cairo were educating a number of negroes and negresses who had been brought from Khartoum. Several of these had been baptised, prepared for confirmation, and intended for missionary work in the Soudan. On the 12th of October, 1885, the papers stated that Father Bonomi, Bishop of Sogaro, lately a prisoner with the Mahdi, had safely reached Vienna.

On the 12th of June, the Sheikh Morghani and the officers of the Khedive's garrison at Gallabat arrived at Suakim *en route* for Cairo, bringing with them two standards captured in their last sortie from the town.

On the same day H.M.S. *Falcon* (a screw composite gun vessel), Commander J. E. Pringle, arrived to strengthen the naval force at Suakim, which was not attacked, as had been predicted, on the first day of the Feast of Ramadân, though some of the enemy were seen moving towards Tamai. General Greaves had now left the garrison for England, *viâ* Alexandria, the next senior officer taking over the command.

To turn to useful account a great portion of the surplus plant of the Suakim railway, new lines were extensively laid down with it in a more peaceful quarter, namely, on the Experimental Range and General Practice Range in the Government marshes adjoining the Royal Arsenal at Woolwich, and some 400 men were set to work on them. One of these lines extended across the marshes for two miles, to the second powder magazine and the gun-cotton magazines.

A field of 18 acres was made over to the Royal Engineers for the storage of the Soudan railway plant, and June saw the engines and trains, marked "*Suakim—Berber*," at work, and forming an aggregate of some two miles in length.

Some of the carriages were literally travelling houses, built solidly of wood, so thick as to be bullet-proof.

CHAPTER XII.

HOME-COMING OF THE AUSTRALIAN CONTINGENT.

Operations at Suakim—Admiral Hay's Despatch—Riot at Suez—The Dongola Fugitives—The Khedive at Alexandria—Arrival of the Australians at Sydney—Address of Lord Augustus Loftus—Sir Evelyn Baring—Letter from the Mahdi—Ramadan.

IN reference to the operations at Suakim, the following despatch was received at the Admiralty from Admiral the Right Hon. Lord John Hay, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief on the Mediterranean Station :—

“*Alexandria*, at Malta, June 8th, 1885.

“Sir,—Be pleased to lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the enclosed Report, dated May 20th, by Commodore Molyneux, C.B., on the services rendered by the Red Sea Division of the Mediterranean Squadron in the course of the operations which have extended over a year in a climate, and generally under circumstances, of a somewhat trying character.

“The fact stated by the Commodore that the immense number of vessels, some of great length, were piloted without a single accident to vessels or piers, in a channel so narrow and with such sharp turns, is as creditable as the result is astonishing, considering the difficulties to be contended with.

“I refrain from referring in detail to the services of the officers and men, to whom full justice is done in the Commodore's report, further than to add my testimony to the admirable manner in which the service has been carried on, and which has—without exception—given me entire satisfaction. It is perhaps unnecessary to state how fully sensible I am of the admirable manner in which Commodore Molyneux has performed the duties of senior officer in the Red Sea. He has displayed tact, intelligence, and judgment, in dealing with an infinite variety of circumstances, and always with credit to himself, and with advantage to the public service.

“John Hay, Admiral.”

The report from Commodore R. H. M. Molyneux, C.B., of H.M.S. *Sphinx*, dated at Suakim, 20th May, says :—

“In a narrow and intricate harbour like this, much depended on the manner in which the large

transports were piloted and handled. This service was performed with conspicuous ability by Lieutenant Thomas MacGill (H.M.S. *Sphinx*), the Harbour Master, ably seconded by Lieutenant William B. Fawcaker, also of the *Sphinx*, who acted by my order as Assistant Harbour Master, and Lieutenant William Scullard of the *Carysfort* also assisted occasionally when necessary.

“The entry and departure of large transports was, for a few weeks, almost incessant, and included vessels up to 450 feet in length; that these were taken in and out, berthed alongside the piers, or secured elsewhere by these officers, without a single accident to either ship or pier, is a sufficient evidence of the nerve and judgment displayed, and I strongly recommend Lieutenant Thomas MacGill to your Lordship's very favourable consideration.

“The arrangements made by the Admiralty for the supply of water to the troops were on so liberal a scale, that, after the arrival of the condensing and tank vessels, there was never any possibility of a failure. Nevertheless, the service required constant and close supervision to ensure efficiency, and to maintain the purity of the water, and this was well performed by Lieutenant William M. Maturin and Mr. Francis Ford, Chief Engineer, working under the principal Transport Officer. The arrangements for the water supply previous to the arrival of the British condensing ships have been already fully reported to your Lordship.

“The work of the Naval Transport Department was exceptionally heavy, as, in addition to the ordinary requirements of a force of 12,000 men in the field, the nature of the country required a very large number of camels and other transport animals, with their drivers, forage, &c., while the simultaneous construction of the railway added enormously to the tonnage and people to be landed and provided for.”

Most people were now under the impression that by the evacuation of Dongola and the Nile camps, Great Britain would be enabled to withdraw large bodies of her troops from Lower

Egypt generally ; but this impression was entirely wrong. Two battalions of infantry only were to leave the country, while the force had been lately augmented by one cavalry regiment.

Early in June the Khedive, in recognition of their services with the

On the night in question a Greek, well armed, entered a drinking den in a very low quarter of Suez, the landlord of which was a Belgian. The Greek, who was in a quarrelsome mood and bent on mischief, struck a table with his cudgel and demanded



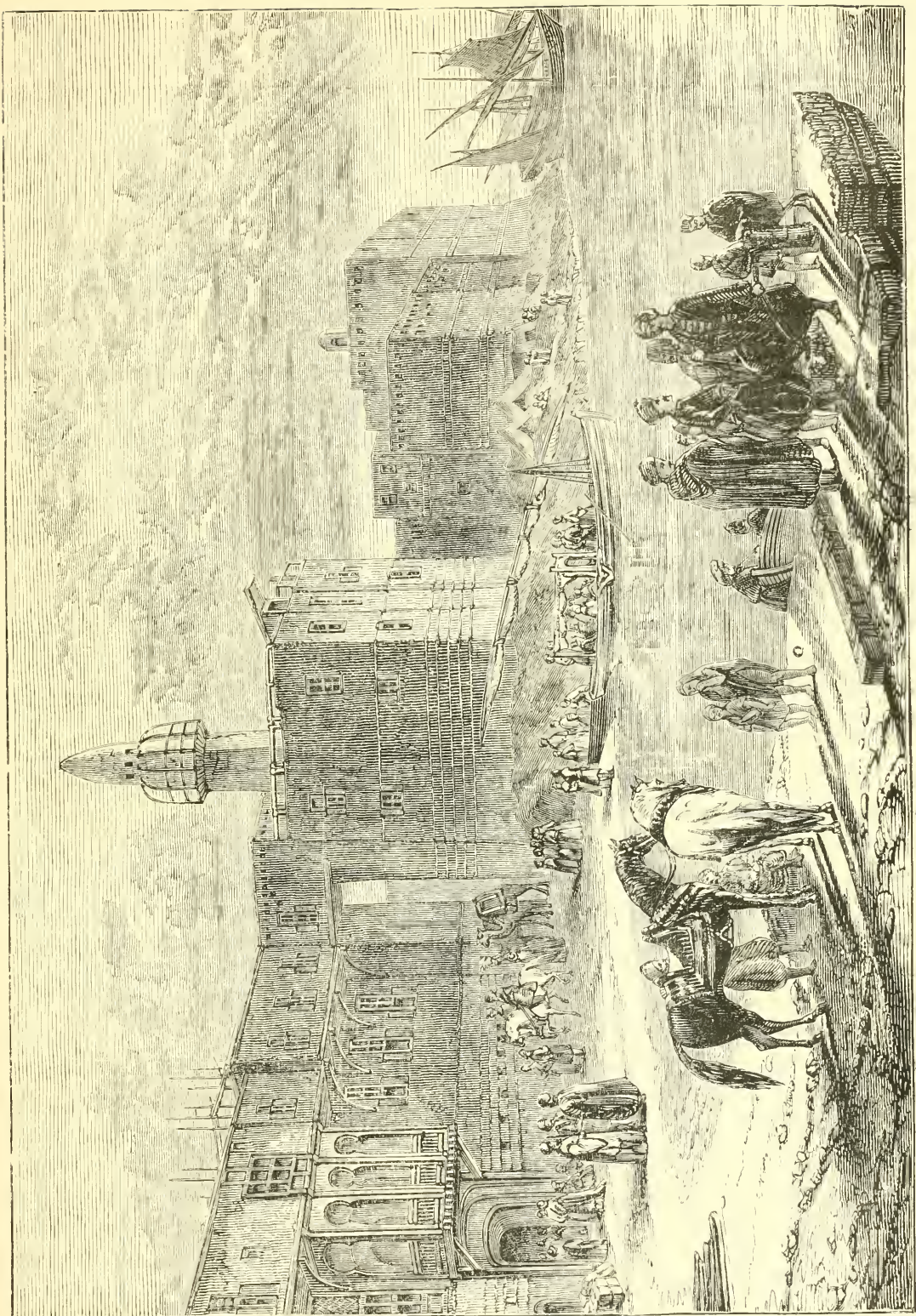
THE HARPER OF SHEIKH MAHOMMED ALI, OF THE "FRIENDLY" AMARAS, PLAYING TO SOME GUARDSMEN.

Egyptian army, conferred the rank of *Bimbashi*, or Major, on all British officers serving with the force and then holding the rank of Captain.

In the first week of June a serious riot, requiring the intervention of our troops, broke out at Suez, which has among its population a mixture to be found in all Egyptian ports—Italian loafers, cut-throat Greeks, and the lowest sweepings of the Levant, with whom the average Egyptian police are quite inadequate to cope.

that a certain pretty waitress whom he named, also a Hellenist, should serve him ; but the landlord simplified matters by drawing a revolver from his girdle and shooting the noisy customer dead. All the Greeks in the house now rushed forth, giving the alarm and uttering cries for vengeance. So the Belgian was fain to escape and take refuge in a neighbouring house.

Very soon the entire Greek population, who, as elsewhere in Egypt, form at Suez almost the majority of the



SCENE IN SUEZ.

townspeople, and are very "clannish"—avenging *en masse* any injury done to a compatriot, and in an indescribably reckless manner—were under arms, with revolvers, sticks, knives, and daggers, and, storming the house where the Belgian was hidden, killed him and literally hacked his body to pieces.

The police were soon on the spot, but were useless. The Egyptian policeman, though a formidable figure in his scarlet *tarboosh*, smart red and grey uniform, with clanking sabre, rifle, and bayonet, is without courage and utterly helpless in a time of emergency like this. And, *apropos* of the *tarboosh*, we may here note that it is supplanting the turban more and more, because it is worn by all officials and men of mark in Stamboul, the metropolis of the Moslem East. The Greeks had now drawn blood, and they grew simply mad with fierce excitement, and proceeded to loot all the adjacent dwellings, which were chiefly kept by Italians, and were places of the worst repute. Yells, shrieks, and oaths loaded the air, and the work of sack and pillage went on, till the Greek Consul and the Governor of Suez came upon the scene, and by their influence a kind of order was restored. But still the Greeks went raving about in armed gangs, vowing death to every Belgian they might lay hands on.

After a time the British Consul brought out a body of British troops, who cleared the streets with the bayonet. Yet in this riot at least three lives were lost, and many persons were cut, slashed, or otherwise severely

wounded. But our troops were relieved of their patrol work on the arrival of Captain Fenwick with a body of gendarmerie by train from Cairo.

"With a few stout London policemen," wrote a correspondent, "this serious affair never would have occurred. A simple tavern fray could never have assumed the grave proportions of a riot, attended with destruction of property and a panic among the people. It may be as well to recommend that a special body of gendarmerie, enrolled in Europe, should be added to the Egyptian police and distributed in towns like Port Said and Suez, where such a mixed, excitable, and far from respectable mass of people, form the major part of the population."

This correspondent stated that the evacuation of Dongola and the general retreat of our forces from the Nile was exciting the liveliest alarm at Cairo in the early days of June. Though aware that fugitives from the former town, Wady Halfa, and elsewhere, would flood the lower provinces, the authorities were satisfied to think that the terror-stricken crowds of fugitives, bearing with them their aged, their children, and infirm ones, would be in a position to bring with them abundant supplies, or sufficient to last them till they could "get something to do. Telling this to a high Egyptian official," he adds, "I was met with this very characteristic reply:—'This is no business of ours; these people have left Dongola on their own account, and they must just look after them-

selves. Whether they are well supplied with food or not is their affair—not ours.'

"I regret to state," he adds, "that a report is in circulation to the effect that the English are no less callous, and this is quoted by the anti-English among the natives, who are legion, and by those in our midst who have a sneaking kindness for the Mahdi. There is no doubt that the unhappy countries in and adjoining the Soudan, which have suffered the inconvenience, if not the horrors, of war, are in a fair way of being visited by the twin sisters, famine and pestilence. The fleeing of whole 'cityfuls' of people, and the steady migration of whole tribes who have lost all hope in the Mahdi's mercy, on account of their connection with the British, is a very serious matter, and requires attending to before it assumes a more alarming proportion. It seems that poor Egypt will have to feed a host of refugees, after having had to pay a pretty stiff account in fighting, or, rather, whetting the appetite of the Mahdi."

On the 8th of June the Khedive, with his Ministers and Court, left Cairo for Alexandria, where he meant to pass the summer at the Ras-el-Tin Palace, by the sea. He received a wonderfully enthusiastic reception from his Alexandrian subjects, the same people who in 1882, after the bombardment of their city, threatened to take his life. At this time Tewfik was much disturbed by rumours that the ex-Khedive, Ismail, was about to return, or that Prince Halim was to

replace him on the throne. But Sir Evelyn Baring gave him ample assurance of steady support by Britain, the Government of which was in every way satisfied with him.

"Tewfik, smiling sadly," wrote a correspondent, "asked if the Government were sure of their own position, and quoted the old proverb touching King Stork and King Log. What with the palace intrigues, general disaffection among his subjects, that dreadful indefinable power coming from the south, and the bullyings of rival representatives, the Khedive is far from being a happy or a hopeful man."

We read that three days after this, the State reception held by the Khedive, in celebration of the anniversary of his Highness's accession, was attended by the patriarchs of the different religious creeds, the diplomatic body, the principal officials, and the European notabilities.

The 23rd of June witnessed the return home—to take it chronologically—of our Australian Contingent from the scene of its service in the Soudan, and it was made the occasion of a demonstration and welcome quite Australian, inasmuch as the whole of the Colonies voluntarily sent representatives to congratulate the troops, and to express their high sense of their conduct in the duties they had done.

Victoria was represented by Sir George Verdon; South Australia by General Owen; Queensland by Colonel Muir; Tasmania by Colonel Legge; and New Zealand by Colonel Haultain. The Government lent great im-

portance to the occasion by ordering the day to be observed as a public holiday, and by massing in the metropolis the whole of the available forces, numbering about 5,000 men; while Rear-Admiral George Tryon, C.B.,

G.C.B., Admiral Tryon, Commander-in-Chief of the Australian station, and a number of other officials, while the people, full of enthusiasm, mustered in their thousands.

The troops having been reviewed by



OFF ALEXANDRIA.

furnished an Imperial escort from the British war vessels then at the station, but the effect was marred by unfavourable weather.

The *Arab*, with the Contingent on board, was placed in quarantine for a brief time at Sydney, and on the morning of the date above given the official landing took place. Among those present were Lord Augustus Loftus,

the Governor of New South Wales, Lord Augustus Loftus, who was also *ex-officio* Commander-in-Chief of the Land Forces, thus addressed them:—

“Soldiers,—On behalf of Her Majesty and the people of this country, I offer you her thanks and their welcome on your return to the Colony. We rejoiced at the privilege accorded us of sending you on the service for which you were despatched, and our joy is the greater at receiving you back again, after having performed that service to the credit of



A NIGHT OF THE RAMADÂN.

your country, to the entire satisfaction of the Imperial officers under whom you were placed, and to the advantage of the Empire the story of whose exploits is inextricably interwoven with some of the most glorious passages of military history. They received you with respect; they laboured by your side in your short campaign, and would have gladly and confidently shared with you the glory of the conflict. It is twenty-six years ago—on January 28th, 1859—that a great English statesman, a great orator, and one of the greatest men of letters of this age, said at a public banquet in London, speaking of the Australian Colonies, these simple but memorable words:—‘It may happen that the time will arrive when the other great Powers of the whole world will rise up against the venerable parent of so many noble children. If that period should ever arrive, I believe the Colonies will not be unmindful of the tie which binds them to the mother country. I believe their vessels will come thick and fast across the ocean to her assistance, and that voices will be heard universally among them saying, in effect, that while Australia lasts England shall not perish.’ Your action has, as far as the sympathy of the Colonies is concerned, made the late Lord Lytton’s hopeful words a prophecy for purposes of defence, and has practically established an Imperial Federation.”

The troops were then dismissed, after giving three ringing cheers for Queen Victoria.

About this time a Blue Book was published containing correspondence respecting the offers so patriotically made by different colonies of local troops for service in the Soudan. The offers of men and artillery for the force at Suakim came from Canada, Queensland, New South Wales, South Australia, Victoria, the Fiji Isles, from the Regent of Perak in the Straits Settlements; but the Australian Contingent was alone accepted by Her Majesty’s Government, which, through Lord Derby, conveyed her thanks on the 21st of May to the New South Wales Government for the grand

patriotic action taken by the colony, and acknowledging the valuable services of its soldiers.

It was now understood that three of our battalions—one being the Black Watch—which left the Soudan for Alexandria were to form a portion of the temporary garrison there.

When news now came to Cairo that Sir H. Drummond Wolff was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and British Plenipotentiary in Egypt, in place of Sir Evelyn Baring, it was received by the British colony there with satisfaction, as indicative of some change of policy on the part of the Government.

It must, however, not be thought that any blame was attached to Sir Evelyn Baring personally for the blunders that had been perpetrated in Egypt, and more particularly in the Soudan, during his tenure of office; but it was felt, from the moment the order was issued for the abandonment of the country, after the outpouring of so much blood and treasure, “he was committed,” as a correspondent wrote, “more or less to a line of policy that was radically wrong.”

In the middle of June a letter from the Mahdi was shown at Cairo, one merely prophetic in its tenor; but every document that came from the hand of so remarkable a personage had some interest. He would, he stated, shortly arrive at Wady Halfa, and after the Feast of Ramadân at Cairo.

Ramadân, to which we have had so often to refer, is a month the most sacred of the Mohammedan year. Before it is ushered in, says Ebers,

festivals of peculiar significance are kept, as, for instance, the solemn night of the middle of the preceding month, Shaaban, in which the future fate of mankind is weighed and meted out, when God separates the good from the bad, while the faithful pray and tremble. "It is the month of my people," said the prophet, "the month in which their sins are forgiven them."

In this month all the canonical books of the Moslem religion were revealed, the revelation to Abraham, the Law of Moses, the Gospel of Christ, and Koran of Mohammed. It is during the last third of this month that the "Night of Dignity" occurs, in which the seas become sweet, the gates of Paradise open, and God grants pardon to the world.

Although Ramadân often falls, says Ebers, in the middle of the hottest summers, the command forbids the tasting of any food from the rising to the setting of the sun. "Not a morsel must mitigate the most gnawing hunger, and not a drop of water passes the burning lips; nay, even the beloved cigarette is forbidden, for the Arab 'drinks' his tobacco smoke. Only such as are sick, travelling, or on the field of battle, are exempt from this ordinance, and then only on condition that they take the first favourable opportunity of repairing the omission."

So it was at the close of this stern month of fasting and penance that the Mahdi promised and threatened to come swooping down on Cairo.

Improving on the ten command-

ments given to Moses, he now issued twelve. Among them was an edict that all foreigners were to be put to death unless they embraced Islamism, and then paid taxes. When he reached Cairo he would suppress the tribunals, the consulates, government offices, and all newspapers, save one, which was to be edited by himself.

About the same time several new documents of his appeared in the columns of the *Ackbar*, two of which may suffice as specimens. In a letter to the Emir of Shendy he wrote thus:—

"Thou tellest me that the residence of the former Sultans of Shendy has been destroyed, and that the jackals and lions are living therein. Herewith thou receivest a sum of money—six hundred telluris—to defray the cost of repairing the palace, for I think of instituting there a Medresseh, or School of Divinity, for two hundred and fifty Talamirs, or Divinity Students. To this purpose I intend to devote one third of the ransom which I shall receive for the Christian missionaries and nuns who are in my hands."

The other document was a proclamation to his army, which ran thus:—

"To all the faithful who are fighting for God, the Prophet, and their servant, Mohammed Achmet Shemseddin.

"How are you faithful, when you are again murmuring because you are prevented from making pilgrimages to Mecca by the continuance of the war? Do you not know that killing an infidel is more agreeable to God than offering prayers for a thousand months? Do you not know that, not only from Mecca, the mother of cities, but also from every field of battle, a path leads to Paradise?

"Oh, ye faithful! I assure you that if you die in the morning, fighting against the infidels, you will, even ere it is noon, be with the Prophet in Paradise. There silken robes of green will clothe you, and golden bracelets adorn you. You will repose by the banks of cool rivers, and sip refreshing drinks, while sixty ever-youthful hours, each bright as the moon, will smile upon you."



THE NILE: DANGEROUS PART OF THE HANNEK CATARACT.

CHAPTER XIII.

DESERTED DONGOLA.

Letter of a Twenty Years' Resident—Narrative of Two of Gordon's Soldiers—Dongola Deserted—The Bazaar there—The Christian Quarter—Messenger from Kassala—The Terror of the abandoned Tribes—Kassala still holding out—Olivier Pain—Change of Government in England—Meeting of Osman Digna and the Mahdi—Ismail and Nubar—The Tewfik Dynasty.

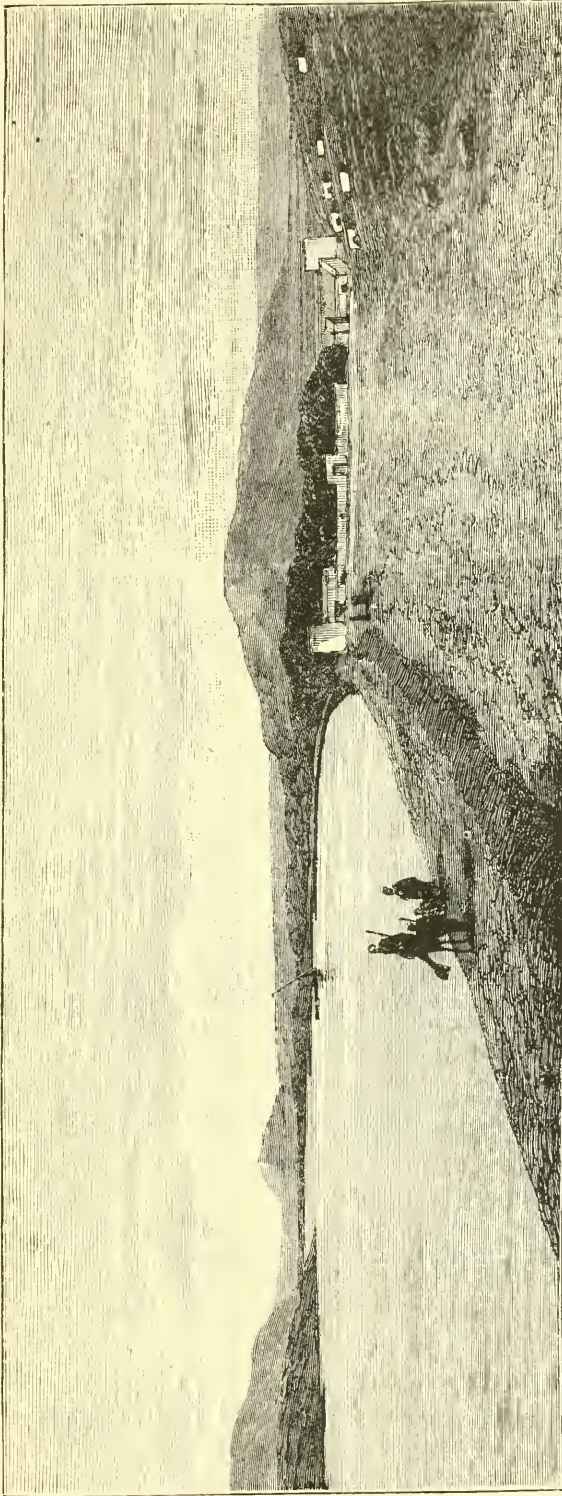
THE *Ackbar*, ere long, published another circular addressed by the Mahdi to his emirs, in which he said that the conquest of Egypt was far from being his sole object; and that he would never rest until all the states and provinces of Northern Africa, including Tunis and Algiers, were liberated from the Christian yoke, and restored, as of old, to the entire and exclusive dominion of Islam.

It was now decided that we should hold the province of Dongola as far as Akasheh. The railway between that place and Wady Halfa was to be completed about the 15th of July,

and after that date a detachment of British troops was to occupy the former place.

Concerning the intended mission of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, which was ere long to assume so much importance, "A Twenty Years' Resident in Egypt," now wrote a remarkable letter, as follows, to the *Times*:—

"For the past three years Englishmen in Egypt, without distinction of party, have been crying out against the Liberal Government of King Log. It appears to me they are likely to have still greater cause for complaint against the Government of King Stork.



LOOKING DOWN THE NILE TO ABU HAMMED FORT.

Of all appointments, it would be difficult to suggest one more fraught with danger to the interests of Egypt than that of Sir H. Drummond Wolff. Lord Rosebery, in his clever speech at Edinburgh, has already done good service by calling attention to this appointment. . . . Sir H. D. Wolff is intimately associated with Lord Randolph Churchill, and it is hardly denied that his mission is likely to be hostile to the present Khedive, whom Lord Randolph has charged with perjury and murder. It is not necessary to clear the Khedive from such charges, which probably the Secretary for India regrets; but I cannot avoid asking the British Government to hesitate before it adds the betrayal of Tewfik to the betrayal of Gordon in the history of our intervention in Egypt. The real charges against Tewfik Pasha are weakness and indecision in his government of Egypt. The charge, therefore, against Tewfik resolves itself into this: that he has loyally followed the counsels of the British Government. I have followed the events in Egypt, during the last five years, with the advantage of intimate knowledge of the Khedive and of the British representatives,

and I assert, without fear of contradiction, that in no single instance has the former acted except under the direct advice of the latter.

"By so acting he has incurred much unpopularity among his own subjects and co-religionists. We have subjected him to the taunts of 'Englishman,' 'Christian,' and now we are ready to throw him over. Is Tewfik to be sacrificed? Let him go, but mark the result. What has been the one cardinal fault in our administration in Egypt? The absence of stability and continuity. We have had one policy for Monday, another for Tuesday, and a third for Wednesday. We supported Clifford Lloyd one day and abandoned him the next. The prevailing idea in Egypt has been that the support of Britain's rule means desertion by England." Tewfik, he concludes, "has loyally—not too loyally—sacrificed his own opinion to the instructions which he has received. Had his own advice been followed, the condition of Egypt would have been totally different to what it is to-day, and no man living is better fitted to carry out the only policy which can be successfully adopted in Egypt—the absolute assumption of all the responsibilities of government."

Under date 5th July, we read that the Austrian press still continued to comment upon Sir H. Drummond Wolff's mission to Egypt, and, almost without exception, in unfavourable terms. Even those papers which had most opposed the Gladstone Government looked upon this appointment as a mistake.

As every item regarding the fall of Khartoum is of interest, we may here give some information that was published at Cairo as given by two of Gordon's soldiers, dated 6th of June:—

"Statement by Sergeant Ibrahim el Kadi, who had been in the Soudan for three years with the garrison of Khartoum under Hassan Bey el Bah-nassawy.

"All the troops in Khartoum were distributed along the fortifications, and ceased not to fight against the enemy day and night.

"The food of the troops consisted principally of biscuit; and, as other provisions failed on account of the siege, gum was eaten and the pith of the date trees. The officers' horses were eaten, and a soldier was thought clever if he could get hold of a piece of meat.

"When the soldiers of the Mahdi knew there were no provisions in Khartoum, they attacked the town at dawn, having crossed from Omdurman during the night. They killed freely and pillaged the goods of the merchants. At the end of three days the town was in ruins; the men, including the old and sick, were killed, but the women were saved alive.

"About fifty soldiers who had not been killed, including the sergeant who relates this, were brought before the Mahdi, who ordered them to be stripped naked and let go.

"The soldiers of the Mahdi killed Gordon Pasha on the first day they arrived in Khartoum. They called on him to submit and become a Mussulman, but he refused, and was killed by a blow of a sword, after he had killed ten of those who attacked him."

(It is notable that this is another version of Gordon's death, and that Sergeant Ibrahim makes no allusion to the alleged treachery of Farag Pasha, though his comrade does.)

"Ibrahim Bey Fawzig, Hassan Bey el Bah-nassawy, and the doctor Abdoo Effendi, are still alive.

"The Mahdi is a man about forty-five years of age, with an affable countenance. He wears a robe of dark-coloured cotton, and sandals. His prestige and influence with his army are very great.

"The narrator and some other soldiers walked to Berber, begging for food on the way. Berber was in ruins and governed by the Emir Mohammed el

Kheir, who had two steamers. The sergeant continued his journey on foot as far as Assouan from whence he was sent to Cairo.

"Cairo, June 6th, 1885."

"Statement by Sergeant Ahmed Mohammed Saleh, who was attached to the troops that garrisoned the palace of Gordon Pasha.

"Khartoum was in a critical state for want of food for some time before it was captured. An ardeb of maize cost a thousand dollars; an oke of lentils thirty francs; an oke of rice ten francs.

"The Mahdi ordered Walad el Neghourry, with twenty-five thousand men, to fill up the ditch of the fortifications and make the ground level. This was done with the knowledge and connivance of several of Gordon's officers, such as Farag Pasha, Ahmed Bey Ali Galleh, and Hassan Bey el Bahmassawy.

"After the ditch had been levelled during the night, the rebels rushed in at dawn and killed every one they met. They attacked the palace of Gordon Pasha, and killed him, after he had killed ten of them. They cut off his head and sent it to the Mahdi. The massacre was continued, and the soldiers of the Mahdi pillaged everything.

"When the steamers with the British soldiers arrived at Khartoum the army of the Mahdi kept up a heavy fire upon them, and made them go back.

"The coming of the steamers was made known beforehand to the rebels by the Arabs, who told them daily of all that happened in the north.

"The fortifications of Khartoum were very strong, and the entire garrison was about eighteen thousand men. Without treachery the enemy could never have got in. Once masters of the town the rebels killed the greater part of the soldiers. Farag Pasha and Ahmed Bey Ali Galleh were also killed, but Hassan Bey el Bahmassawy was sent to the Mahdi.

"The women were sold as slaves, the most beautiful being kept for the Mahdi himself. All that happens in Egypt is made known to the rebels by letters which are sent from there.

"The sergeant heard that the Emir Nur Anga had been sent by the Mahdi with 25,000 men to Kordofan, against those who were in rebellion, and that another, Walad el Negoum, with 15,000, had been ordered to Dongola, but had not started.

"It was said that 20,000 (?) people were killed in Khartoum, many of whom remain unburied.

"Slaten Bey was a prisoner with the Mahdi, and kept in chains. There were fifteen other Europeans with the Mahdi at Omdurman, who were dervishes (Christian religious).

"The sergeant remained for two months with Hussein Pasha Khalifa, after which he escaped to Egypt, and arrived at Assouan on the 27th of April. He heard that the British soldiers had killed in all about 25,000.

"Cairo, June 6th, 1885."

Early in the next month the *Ackbar* reported that the chief of the Kabba-bish tribe, hitherto the most trusted of our "Friendly" Arabs, had been fain, in his desertion by us, to send a mission to the Mahdi, offering to conclude a treaty of peace and amity with him. It was also reported that the famine in Kordofan was assuming terrible proportions, and that the scarcity of food at Khartoum was great; but there was no advance as yet on Dongola.

Writing under date June 12th, the military correspondent of the *Daily News*, with reference to the refugees, gives us a curious picture of that city as deserted. He said, that were any one unacquainted with the fact of the desertion of Dongola to enter the town now, he would be under the impression that the inhabitants had been just warned of the approach of some most ruthless enemy, from whom they were flying with all speed. As he wandered through the deserted streets, where it was a most risky thing for him to linger, he could see open boxes and shattered bales, with scattered garments of all kinds thrown about; the half-starved animals, on whose backs they had been packed, having been unable to travel away with them. Doors everywhere stood open, some torn from their hinges, and if he entered the silent houses he would see rooms, once comfortably furnished, now with the mat-

covered earthen floors strewn with every conceivable kind of rubbish, broken jars, of beautiful and classical shapes, made from the red clay of the Nile, old pots, cunningly made by the

last meal, the feast of the Passover, eaten in hot haste, with staff in hand, and loins girded for the long journey to the land of the Pharaohs. "Proceeding onward through the winding



ARAB DONKEY-BOY.

bazaar tinsmiths from old preserved meat tins, and *augeribs*, the Soudanese term for bedsteads, constructed of wood, with cowhide cut in strips.

There, too, were painted plates, stuck perpendicularly in the mud walls by way of ornament, and pretty little scarlet-headed birds, common to Dongola, seeking for the crumbs of the

alleys the stranger comes to a large door, blue painted, and even boasting a brass knocker of quaint device. In front of it are camels, some heavily laden with gaily-painted boxes, some saddled with ladies' chairs, sedan-shape, some with bedsteads transversely placed, and resting on the flank of a huge box, and others with odd-looking

trunks containing the household goods. The door is only partially open, but men are seen hurrying and bustling about, while the wailing of women is

happy home? And those cries, plaintive and wild, are the lamentations of early associations of much that gladdened their life."



SUGAR CANE HARVEST IN UPPER EGYPT.

heard, and now and then that piteous shriek of grief peculiar to Oriental ladies in distress. The family circle is breaking up; the female portion of it are weeping as in ecstasies of grief, for are they not leaving, and for ever, what has been to them for years a

In the market-place, under the far-stretching branches of the ancient sycamore trees, were crowds of wild-looking women, scantily clothed, but with their jetty tresses carefully plaited and oiled, selling all sorts of articles, which they had collected when the

exodus commenced — looking-glasses, tumblers, plates, and rubbish of every kind. All over this strange market-place, in a whole mob of confusion, were barterers and buyers of broken-down donkeys, mangy ponies, and diseased camels, all living skeletons, and almost *in articula mortis*, and dealers in damaged sugar, putrid meat, &c., condemned even by the British commissariat, and abandoned by it.

The gates of the bazaar which the soldiers of our Guards were wont to call, laughingly, the "Burlington Arcade," were close by. There the wealthier Dongolese merchants were wont to exhibit their goods, but all were vanished now; the merchants were gone, and the goods had been sold at a fiftieth part of their value; near at hand, under some dwarf pillars, was the police zaptieh; but there no longer was a culprit prostrate on his face, and yelling under the strokes of the kourbash. Here were some dirty-looking Egyptian soldiers, there some hook-nosed Greeks, with drawn knives, squabbling over plunder picked up. "What is this?" asks the correspondent. "A Greek has accused another of having obtained from him £150 worth of stores. The other cannot bring it to his recollection, and suggests to the first that he must be mistaken. Whereupon Greek the first attacks him with a long knife, but runs against some half-drunk Bashi-Bazouks, who knock him down and whip out their knives, which they still carry, though they have been disarmed. Tableau—a free fight with knives in picturesque cos-

tumes. As many of the Bashi-Bazouks are of Hellenic origin, this is a case of Greek meeting Greek."

Though thousands upon thousands had fled from Dongola, the bazaar still seemed choked. Many of the Greeks looked weary and broken-hearted, offering their goods at reduced prices prior to flight. The poorer classes of Egyptian merchants, squatted on their haunches, strove to dispose of damaged paper, cases of salmon and lobster, sardines, pots of jam, scarfs, crockery, matches, the last relics of their stores, all at nominal prices, for it was their last chance, as they had to fly in turn if they did not desire death at the hands of the coming race, or on the day signified by the Intelligence Department.

A jabbering mob looked on, but none bought anything save some soldiers of the rear-guard. Higher up some Greeks, whose occupation seemed gone, were collected in a filthy *café*, gambling, quarrelling, and drinking *mastick*; and the visitor, now come to the end of the uncovered bazaar, and, reaching the "grand" one, formerly devoted alone to the dealers in cottons and silks, would find it abandoned and the stalls blocked by deserted and overthrown wardrobes.

The adjacent mosque was swept clean for the expected new-comers—the men of the Mahdi.

In the Christian or Coptic quarter, the mud-built church, whose outer gates were a short time nailed up by the then vacillating Mudir of Dongola, were thrown open by his new Vakeel.

A few women in black cloaks and some fewer men were seen to go in for the last time to worship and pray for protection through the long and toilsome journey that lay before them to penury, toil, and starvation. "Outside are their camels, with huge burdens piled on their backs, kneeling, sounding their tremulous and guttural half-growl, half-roar. Poor beasts! they look as if they could not last a day's journey. There, too, stand their only friends, the donkeys, the picture of patience, saddled for the road, awaiting their masters and mistresses. On through the narrow winding lanes and thoroughfares all is silence, except when a dog howls at a deserted portal, or a small group of disconsolates sit weeping and moaning, wringing their hands, awaiting the member of the family who has gone for the one camel allowed by Government."

At this period the *Daily Telegraph* stated that no decision had been arrived at by the Ministry in regard to the occupation of the province of Dongola, and that the abandonment of it had been condemned by the highest military authorities at Cairo; and the *Times*, commenting on the Egyptian policy of the Government, said:—The announcement that Akasheh, in the province of Dongola, is to be retained as the provisional frontier and garrisoned by a body of British troops is not in its immediate effect a material departure from the principle that the Egyptian dominions should not be allowed to extend to the south of Wady Halfa. Akasheh is not many

miles farther up the Nile than Wady Halfa, and, as the railway would be opened for traffic to the former point within three weeks, there would be a superfluity of cant in abandoning it. If the Government were content to limit their ambition, so far as the southern frontier of the Khedive's dominions was concerned, to keeping the British outposts at the farthest points to which the railway extends, they would provide with the least possible amount of risk for the gradual development of Egyptian influence in the Nile valley.

On the 30th June the Monassir tribe made a fierce raid on Old Dongola, and carried off more than a hundred camels.

At this crisis there arrived at Dongola a messenger from Kassala, the gallant commander of which, we have said, served under Marshal Bazaine in Mexico till the embarkation of the latter at Vera Cruz in March, 1867. This messenger, whose narrative was rather picturesque, had undergone an infinity of toil, much peril, and been no less than five months on his journey from Kassala to Dongola. Said Osman had given him a note to General Gordon, of whose fate he (the bearer) was till then ignorant. This he concealed in the saddle of his camel. He had three other letters—one to Massauhed, one to Mohammed Achmet, the Mahdi, and a third to the Mudir of Dongola.

Pretending that he was going to the Mahdi, he showed his missive addressed to him, and thus got through the blockading force unmolested. The Arabs, he stated, mustered then from



THE NILE: ENTRANCE TO THE HANNEK CATARACT—VIEW FROM KORDOFI.

six to ten thousand strong; there was fighting every day, and every day numbers of them were killed. The messenger was disguised as a camel driver, and everywhere gave himself out as a Mahdist. Little food sufficed him; for ten consecutive days he had nothing to live on but dates.

He had to avoid the villages, was always alone, and thus found the journey alike weary and dreary, as he slept by night in wild and lonely places; but he was determined to reach Gordon and seek assistance for Kassala, as he never doubted that by that time the British relieving column would be in Khartoum.

At Metemneh he heard that Khartoum had fallen, and he was then made prisoner by Wadna Juma, who believed that his mission to the Mahdi was all a pretence, but did not kill him, as he was uncertain as to the truth or falsehood of his story; so Wadna Juma wrote to the Mahdi on the subject, ordering the prisoner to be well

watched. However, he managed to escape. His camel, he said, was a fine animal (quies *kateer*—is very good). on him. Off! off we went at a galloping pace. They fired shots after us,



ABYSSINIAN HORSE-SOLDIER.

but failed to hit. Well done, my camel," he continued, "for he did not like the camels he was with. I gave

him a sign before mounting and he knew it well. He cared not for the food he was getting. Off! off to the desert went he, and towards the setting sun. Who so fleet as to catch us? They pursued for miles; but I laughed at them as we dashed the yellow pebbles aside. 'If it so pleases Allah,' I cried, 'you will see my face no more, not one of you.' On, on, rapid strides into the night. I came to Abu Klea, the wells where the battle was. We passed the skeletons grinning up at the moon, for it had now risen high. I stopped for water—no one was near; I was alone in the desert, and free from my enemies, thanks to my good camel."

According to the military correspondent of the *Daily News*, who took his narrative at Dongola, it would appear that at Handak and other places the people seemed afraid of this wandering Arab, though some admitted to him that they wished for the presence of our troops, as many emissaries of the Mahdi had come there and threatened them with condign punishment for having supplied the British with food.

"Alas!" said they, "we are a people to be pitied; we were robbed by the dervishes before, and by the Bashi-Bazouks after we had driven the dervishes away; and now, behold, we shall suffer a third time, for we have helped the British and they have left us to our fate. We are in great dread. Happy would it have been for the fertile valleys and plains where the dhurra waves and the palm trees cast their shadows on the banks of the

Nile, where the Baggara, the Hassaniyeh, and the Shagiyeh tribes watered their flocks and herds in peace until lately, if the British had restored peace. Now what will happen? There will be endless fighting, bloodshed, and rapine, tribe warring against tribe, and sheikh against sheikh. No one can foresee what will be the end."

By the 2nd of July hopes were entertained that Kassala would hold out till relieved by King John of Abyssinia, as the garrison had lately obtained provisions and other supplies; and the *Mubashir* reported that the King had declared his readiness to advance if Britain, Italy, and France would guarantee his present possessions and consent to his annexing the whole of the Red Sea coast south of Suakim, including the town of Kassala itself.

By the 15th came other tidings that the garrison was reduced to the last extremity, though holding out in the hope of relief, not from the British, but the Abyssinians. The enemy had made one most furious attack, but had been repulsed after hard fighting; and word had been sent to the Abyssinian general, Ras Alooia, that, if he succeeded in relieving the garrison, he would receive a hundred thousand pounds, together with a great store of arms and ammunition.

Major Chermiside telegraphed to Cairo that in the last attack, made on the 15th and 16th of June, in achieving the repulse the garrison slew 3,000 of the Mahdists and captured 1,000 oxen, 1,000 sheep, and 700 rifles.

On July the 27th the state of Kassala and probable fate of it was brought before the House of Commons by Sir William Barttelot, who made some inquiries of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who replied that he could not announce what steps Her Majesty's Government were taking with a view to the safe withdrawal of the garrison of Kassala.

Sir William Barttelot next inquired whether they were taking any steps at all, and was answered in the affirmative. But the matter dropped, and Kassala was left to its fate.

On the 22nd Sheikh Idriss, at Cairo, had reported that the garrison might hold out for two months.

Early in the month it was announced that, besides having resolved to raise a civil action in the London Law Courts against Colonel Smith and Lord Wolseley, for having put a price on the head of Olivier Pain, the French journalists, to make capital out of a myth, had decided that a grand funeral solemnity should be organised and celebrated in one of the largest halls in Paris. The Bureau of the Republican Press Association did not fail to let M. de Freycinet know what they proposed to do; but it was believed that the Minister for Foreign Affairs regarded the action taken in the matter as fantastic and ridiculous, and was disinclined to be dragged into it.

The *Temps* of 2nd July contained, however, the following note:—"The Minister for Foreign Affairs has addressed a telegram to M. Taillandier, our agent at Cairo, requesting him to

collect all the information he possibly can concerning the death of Olivier Pain." But it was considered remarkable that not one Republican paper had the courage to comment individually on the proposed action of the Press Association and the contemplated "funeral solemnity."

The announcement that the new British Government meant to re-occupy Dongola, or rather, a portion of it at Akasheh, gave considerable satisfaction on the Continent in some quarters. Austrian critics spoke of the measure as a step in the right direction, and one imperatively dictated by a due regard for Egypt, for the safety of which Great Britain had now rendered herself responsible. And the favourable impression which the news was calculated to produce, did not fail to increase the goodwill of Germany and Austria towards the new Cabinet. By their refusal to allow the lead to France in the Suez Canal question, the two Allied Empires had already evinced their friendliness to the British Government.

Upon that subject M. de Freycinet had addressed a circular letter to the Powers before the new Cabinet was formed; and, after the accession of the Government to office, the French Premier wished to bring pressure to bear on Britain by the same methods that were employed when Lord Granville was in the Foreign Office. But now the two German Powers made their influence felt, and gave France to understand that, in their view, the question was by no means so pressing



NATIVE OF ASSOUAN.

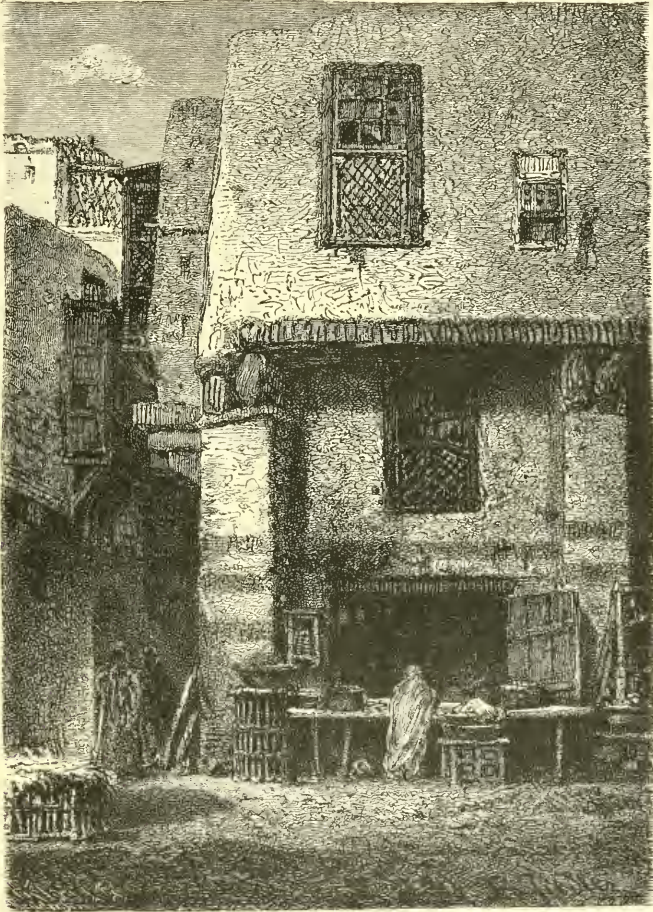
as she had attempted to make out, and that, at all events, it would only be right and decent to leave the new

Ministry time to make up their minds as to the policy they would think it proper to pursue with regard to Egypt.

To stir up the Suez question at a moment when the Ministerial crisis was barely over, would, in the opinion of Austria and Germany, have been a decided mark of ill-will, and, at the

enough to meet the French Cabinet with friendly overtures.

As a proof that the Italians meant to take a firm footing in Egypt, a delegate, Signor Stefanoni, arrived at



ARAB EATING-HOUSE IN CAIRO.

same time, so unfair, that none of the Powers could be expected to follow France in such a course. Upon this distinct intimation, M. de Freycinet deemed it prudent to let the matter drop; and he did so the more readily as Lord Salisbury was well advised

Cairo to negotiate with the Egyptian Government, and induce it to hand over the entire custom-house at Massowah to Italy. The difficulty of granting this was that all the customs receipts, including those of Massowah, were pledged to the unified debt.

About July the 7th it was reported and confirmed in Cairo that Hussein Pasha Khalifa, a previous governor of Berber, was on his way to the former city, charged with letters from the Mahdi to the Khedive, but had been detained for several days at Korosko. The object of his mission was not distinctly known; but, as a pretext to get away from Berber, he promised to distribute among the Abbade Bedouins a proclamation, as a prelude to the invasion of Upper Egypt by the Mahdi and his followers.

Intelligence received by the *Ackbar*, from Suakim, at this time, stated that the Mahdi was at Omdurman, and busily engaged in increasing his army for this purpose, but that in his efforts to carry out this bold design he was meeting with great difficulties, as the Soudanese were sick of a profitless war. They were suffering from want of food, as only half the soil usually cultivated had been sown in the preceding winter, owing to the unsettled state of the country. The exportation of grain had totally ceased, and whatever money was in the treasury of the False Prophet was sent out of the Soudan for the purchase of arms and ammunition, in Tripoli and Bengazi, on the east coast of the Gulf of Sidra.

This paper also reported the arrival of Osman Digna at Omdurman, to congratulate the Mahdi on the conquest of Khartoum. The latter sent out four emirs and a hundred and fifty finely-appointed horsemen to meet him half way at Kerreri. On the visitor's

arrival at Omdurman the Mahdi embraced and kissed him, and afterwards presented him with five thousand thalleries and a magnificent dagger, embossed with silver, a gift to the Mahdi from his admirers in Cairo.

When the messenger who brought this news left Omdurman, the Mahdi had in camp 6,000 men and 800 camels. Half the troops were clothed with a shirt and girdle only, as all articles of dress were extremely scarce. The Mahdi himself usually appeared in a white camise, or coat, and trousers, his feet being cased in costly sandals embroidered with gold.

In the first days of July rumours were rife concerning the co-operation of Turkey in the affairs of the Soudan, and semi-official advices from London, in the Vienna papers, stated that Lord Salisbury was about to open negotiations with the Sultan, with a view to carry out General Gordon's idea in these matters; and, according to the *Daily Chronicle*, positive assurances had been received to the effect that the British Government had decided, in spite of the protests of Lord Wolseley, Sir Evelyn Baring, and Nubar Pasha, that the defensive frontier of Egypt should be at Wady Halfa. The *Politische Correspondenz* went the length of stating that the British Government had consented to forego the payment of outstanding interest on the Suez Canal shares which it held, and had furthermore advised the Egyptian Government, through Nubar Pasha, to withhold payment also of very considerable debts, so as to enable the

official salaries for June to be paid. But no resolution on the military situation in Egypt or the Soudan was to be taken until the arrival of Lord Wolseley in London.

Concerning Nubar Pasha, whose name we have so frequently mentioned, Ebers says that the success of the ex-Khedive Ismail in carrying out his most important reforms was—in addition to his own restless industry—due to the zeal and talent of that distinguished Egyptian statesman. Nubar Pasha it was who also brought to a happy termination those transactions with the Porte, which secured to the Khedive and his family the perpetual right of succession to the eldest son, besides the privileges of coining money, of raising loans, of concluding treaties, and of maintaining an army of some 30,000 men. This firman procured by Nubar cost the ruler of Egypt untold millions, and laid him under an obligation to pay to the Porte an annual tribute of 133,635 purses, or about £700,000 sterling; and it was not bought too dearly, for it was not until then that the cherished plans of the deceased Mehemet Ali, which had failed again and again, through the opposition of the European Powers, were carried out, “and the throne of Egypt was secured to the family of the Khedive, who increased his now independent territory by taking possession of the Somali coast, which is bathed by the Indian Ocean, and rich in almost every kind of produce, and by acquiring the kingdom of Harar and the Abyssinian provinces of Bogar and Gallabat. He

extended the limits of his kingdom still farther by the conquest of the Negro States near the White Nile, and of Darfour, in the heart of Africa, till then an impenetrable region, and the extent of his frontier was not reduced even by the unfortunate issue of the last Abyssinian war. Not even the most prejudiced adversary,” continues Dr. Ebers, “can refuse the ex-Khedive (Ismail) the title of ‘Increaser of the Kingdom,’ and no one can venture to grudge him the fame he well earned by his liberal concessions and grants to those European servants who made his country their study, and by the intelligent care he bestowed on the monuments of antiquity, which had so long been abandoned to ruin and neglect.” And in all these works he was ably seconded by Nubar Pasha.

At the same time that the reports of Turkish co-operation (which never came to anything) were in circulation, there were others current of a disturbing nature to the Khedivial family, raised by the adherents of the ex-Khedive and Prince Halim, as to the intentions of the British Government with regard to Egypt. “The international gang of speculators, and those helpers of the press who have linked themselves together against the present rulers of Egypt,” says a correspondent of the *Standard* of 4th July, 1885, “are engaged in various intrigues to get Ismail restored to the Khedivate, or to supplant Tewfik by Prince Halim. Their latest stratagem is to represent the Cabinet as favourable to these schemes. Such representations, which



THE NILE: THE BATN-EL-HAJAR—VIEW FROM THE ROCK OF ABU SEIR.

are persistently urged in the various organs at the disposal of this clique in London, are calculated to do the Cabinet harm in the eyes of Continental authorities, unless authentically exposed as baseless fabrications. With regard to Prince Bismarck, there is not a word of truth in the rumour that he has recommended the appointment of Prince Halim or the restoration of Ismail, the prince whom he was most active to assist in deposing. All reports as to the German Chancellor having repented of his action with regard to Ismail, are inventions emanating from the same source as the *canards* respecting the views of the Conservative Cabinet."

And here a brief outline of the Tewfik Pasha dynasty may not be out of place.

It was as a subaltern in the Turkish army sent against the French in 1802 that the man first trod Egyptian soil, who, by his unhesitating energy and statesman-like talents, was destined to effect a revolution in the position of affairs in the Nile valley.

Mehemet, or Mohammed Ali Pasha (of whom we gave a portrait in Vol. I., page 17), was a native of Kavala, a town of ancient Macedonia, not far from the shores of the Grecian Archipelago, where his father, Ibrahim Aga, was head of the police. Born in 1769, he was a hero and a victor, who, but for the intervention of the European Powers, would have won, not only Egypt, but the throne of Turkey. Few know all he did for the internal development of the former, or understand that the country owes



to him that impetus towards innovation which has proved a blessing to the present, and on which rest all Egypt's hopes in the future. To him Alexandria owes the renewal of its splendour, and it is with good reason that his equestrian statue now decorates the finest piazza, named after him, of the beautifully-built Frank quarter.

In 1841 he was granted, by firman, the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt, but ranking as a Vizier of the Ottoman Empire. He died at Alexandria in 1849. He had sixteen children; of these only five, three sons and two daughters, were surviving about 1850, viz., Said Pasha, Admiral of the Egyptian Fleet, born in 1818; Halim Bey, born in 1826; Mehemet Ali Bey, born in 1833; Nazleh Hanum, born in 1797, widow of the Defterdar Mohammed Bey; Zeinab Hanum, born in 1824, and married in 1845 to Kiamil Pasha. Halim Bey was four years in Paris, where he received a liberal education.

Mehemet Ali's second son (after Ibrahim Pasha, who commanded in Syria) was Tusoun Pasha, born at Kavala, who left an only son, Abbas Pasha, born in 1813, and for a time Viceroy of Egypt. Tusoun died of the plague in the camp at Damanhour in 1816. Mehemet Ali had also, at Kavala, by the same wife, a third son, Ismail Pasha, who died in the Sennaar war. Another son of Mehemet Ali, Hussein Bey, born in 1825, died in 1847 at Paris, where he had been sent for his education.

Ismail Pasha, G.C.B., born December 31st, 1830, son of Prince Ibrahim—

eldest son of Mehemet Ali—succeeded his uncle, Said Pasha, on January 18th, 1863. The succession was made hereditary in the direct line, by firman, the title of Khedive (a Turkish word for Viceroy) was conferred upon him in June, 1867, and the complete autonomy conceded, while the right of unlimited augmentation of the army and navy, &c., was further ratified by firman on the 29th September, 1872. His children were, according to McCoan's "Egypt":—

1. The Princess Tawfideh, born in 1850, married in 1868 to Mansour Pasha, son of the late Achmet Pasha, and nephew of Mehemet Ali.

2. Prince Mehemet Tewfik Pasha, his heir apparent, born in 1852, married in January, 1873, Eminah Khanum, daughter of the late Il-Hawi Pasha, by whom he has a son, Abbas Bey, born July 14th, 1874.

3. Prince Hussein Kiamil Pasha, born in 1852, married in January, 1873, Ain-el-Haat, daughter of the late Achmet Pasha, by whom he has a son, Kemal-ed-dyn Bey, born in December, 1874.

4. Prince Hassan Pasha (whom we have referred to elsewhere), born in 1853, married in 1873 Khadijah Khanum, daughter of the late Mehemet Ali Pasha (who died in 1861), by whom he has a son, Aziz Bey, born in 1873, and a daughter, Azizah Khanum, born in 1875.

5. Princess Fatima Khanum, born in 1852, married in 1873 to the late Tusoun Pasha (son of Said), who died in 1884.

6. Prince Ibrahim Helmy Pasha, born in 1860.

7. Prince Mahmoud Bey, born in 1863.

8. Prince Fuad Bey, born in 1867.

9. Princess Djemileh, born in 1869.

10. Princess Emineh, born in 1874.

11. Prince Djemal-ed-dy Bey, born in 1875.

When Ismail Pasha was deposed for alleged tyrannies, his son Tewfik was made Khedive in his stead ; but General Gordon remained to the end a devoted adherent and admirer of the former. "Nothing," he wrote, "has so much contributed to make the Mahdi's cause popular, and his success possible, as the weak administration, or pretence at administration, which has gone on at Cairo ever since Ismail was deposed. With the Arabs nothing is so strong as power. Nubar Pasha may succeed, because he is capable of resisting the intrigues of Tewfik, which have hitherto been fatal to every one of his ministers. It was my knowledge of Tewfik's weakness, and the certainty I felt of his failure, which induced me to throw up my command at Khartoum four years before. When I heard that my friend Ismail was no longer Khedive of Egypt, I first determined to hold the Soudan in his name against all comers. How could I forsake one who was ever loyal in the support he gave me against the slave dealers? I prayed for guidance, and, as I would not incur the mighty responsibility of a great shedding of blood, I preferred to retire. Nubar's dream is as old as Ismail's time. He would rule Egypt at any

price as an Armenian regent. To achieve this he would be ever loyal to Britain. But this must not be allowed. If Egypt is to have a ruler or regent capable of maintaining a strong and efficient government, Ismail must be the man. He is the worst used man in Europe. He was the best and most capable ruler Egypt ever had, with all his faults, and the calamities we are now witnessing are the natural consequences of the withdrawal of his master-hand."

Sir Drummond Wolff's alleged hostility to the Khedive Tewfik gave him, on his nomination to his important mission, a new interest in the eyes of Ismail's adherents, who forgot that Britain was bound, by every pledge that could be considered binding, to support Tewfik ; and the following were some of the remarks made by one of the most enlightened Pashas to the correspondent of the *Standard* at Cairo.

He argued that it was of the highest importance that "whatever Khedive Egypt might have, he should be a man having some interest in the country, and possessed of sufficient intelligence to enable that interest to bear fruit. In spite of all that people might say about a puppet Khedive, no one outside the ministerial world can understand the immense weight attaching to the Khedivial name. The strongest protectorate, or the most earnest minister, will always be paralysed unless the co-operation of the Khedive can be secured."

"My informant," adds the writer, "spoke cautiously, and evidently in-

tended to imply more than he cared to speak openly."

On the 3rd of July a number of Osman Digna's followers penetrated the lines at Suakim, having gained access by an outlying garden, where some rough traces of their presence were found in the morning; and on the 5th it was announced that, after

further correspondence with Lord Wolseley, the Government had decided to hold the line of railway as far, at least, as Akasheh. This post turns the greater part of the cataracts, and is most useful for strategical purposes, as it enables an army to be advanced into the Soudan at any time.



THE PYRAMIDS AND SPHINX.

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