THE EGYPTIAN WAR

OF

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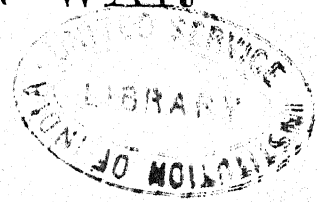

BY

LIEUT.-COLONEL HERMANN VOGT

OF THE GERMAN ARMY

A TRANSLATION

WITH A MAP AND PLANS

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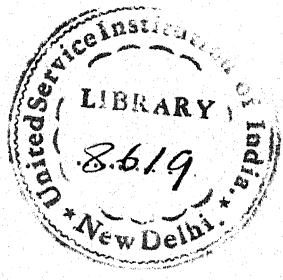

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

The following pages are translated from an account of the Egyptian campaign recently written by an officer of the German army. A few slight corrections have been made of errors in matters of fact, easily ascertainable now that the war is over. As regards the writer's opinion of the conduct, the capacity, and the possible motives of personages whose actions are brought into view, no observations have been made. The same reserve has been maintained in regard to his judgments of the English government, the war office, the army organization, and the habits and customs which the writer supposes to be characteristic of Englishmen. If the author is sometimes misled about these

matters, these misconceptions are of little importance as compared with an independent military criticism, free from partiality or indulgence. A searching review of our military system, its weak points, the difficulties which beset us in sudden emergencies, coming as it does in connection with striking successes in the field, cannot be without its uses. Such criticism will be valuable in proportion as it reflects the military public opinion of the largest and most highly trained army of modern Europe.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE military operations in the Nile territory are practically at an end. The pen of diplomacy will take the place of the sword in reorganizing, we hope permanently, the affairs of Egypt.

Without, however, considering the political aspect of the Egyptian question, the proper moment seems to have arrived to describe, briefly and comprehensively, the warlike events that have taken place during the last few months in that historic country.

Time alone can completely elucidate the extraordinary circumstances, both political and military, connected with this short campaign; and therefore, although the best available information has been

used, as well as that afforded by the daily papers, and although a strictly truthful representation of facts has been attempted, many inaccuracies and errors of judgment will, no doubt, be found in the following pages. Yet it may be hoped that this book will not entirely miss its aim, if it affords to the military student a foundation for more detailed research, and to the general reader an interest in recent events, and a clue to the unravelling of future political transactions.

THE AUTHOR.

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OF

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INTRODUCTION.

The beginning of the Egyptian crisis, now suspended for a time by force of arms, dates from nearly a quarter of a century back. It is the result of a very natural reaction against the financial drain caused by European money-lenders and banking establishments, among which may be mentioned the Credit Foncier, the Banque Franco-Egyptien, and Rothschild, the Parisian king of the stock exchange.

The population of Egypt twenty-five years ago may roughly be computed at five millions, and her revenue at four millions, with a floating debt of one million four hundred thousand pounds. Then

the phenomenon already seen in Turkey was repeated. The facilities given by foreign money-lenders encouraged extravagance and ostentation on the part of the sovereign and the ruling classes, while mismanagement and corrupt practices were common among officials, so that the public debt rose in 1875 to ninety-one millions, and in January, 1881, to ninety-eight millions, without counting the so-called Mukabaleh debt, a forced loan from the Egyptians of £150,000, and the interest due yearly to England on Suez canal shares, which amounted to £200,000.

It is true that during the same time the revenue had increased to eight millions, and the population to five and a half millions, but the tax-payers found the debt oppressive and unendurable. The European capitalists obtained for their money nominally six to nine per cent., but really not less than eight to ten per cent., as the bonds were issued at low rates. A high commission was also charged. Moreover, as some of these shares, when at par, had to be paid back with premiums, the whole of these loans were usurious to the last degree.

The interest on these borrowed millions was punctually paid up to the end of 1875, when the Khedive found that he could not satisfy his

creditors, and the British government interfered in his favour. Mr. Cave was sent to examine into Egyptian finances, and he reported that loans at twelve and thirteen per cent. were being agreed to and renewed at twenty-five per cent., and that some measure of consolidation was necessary.

The two western Powers now took the matter in hand, but they thereby recognized the whole of these usurious demands. The debt, although under their control, and therefore secured, was not reduced by the amount already paid in premiums for risk. Nor was the rate of interest diminished to something more nearly approaching the rate payable on English consols, which was three per cent.

A tribunal under the jurisdiction of united European and native judges was also established in Egypt to decide complaints of foreigners against natives, and *vice versâ*. In May, 1876, this tribunal gave judgment that the income of the Khedive Ismail, from his private landed property, could be appropriated to pay the creditors of the state, and an execution was put into the Viceregal palace, Er Ramleh, near Alexandria. The Khedive pronounced the judgment invalid, and the tribunal ceased to act.

Two commissioners were now again sent to

report on Egyptian finances — M. Joubert, the director of the Paris Bank, for France, and Mr. Goschen, a former minister, for England. These gentlemen proposed to hand over the control of the finances to two Europeans, depriving the state of all independence and governing power. The Khedive, in order to resist these demands, convoked a sort of Parliament in order to make an appeal to the people. From this Parliament was afterwards developed the Assembly of Notables, and the National party, now so often spoken of.

In 1877 a European commission of control over Egyptian finance was named. In the following year, when only part of the interest due on the coupons could be paid, this commission, in conjunction with a committee of bondholders, proposed a readjustment of taxation to meet the extortionate claims of the European creditors. By this readjustment the property of the Khedive, as well as that of all pashas, beys, etc., was for the first time made liable to taxation.

Nubar Pasha was made Prime minister in 1878; the control of the finances was entrusted to Mr. Wilson, an Englishman; and later, the French controller, M. de Blignières, entered the Cabinet. Better order was thus restored to the finances.

Rothschild's new loan of eight and a half millions was issued at seventy-three, and therefore brought in from six to eight per cent. nett. The European liquidation commission, by the Law of Liquidation of July, 1881, also aided in restoring order.

But to be able to pay the creditors their full interest, economy had to be introduced into the national expenditure. To do this, clumsy arrangements were made, and the injustice shown in carrying them out embittered many classes of the population, and laid the foundations of a fanatical hatred of race against race, which has latterly shown itself in many quarters. Numbers of officers and soldiers were dismissed, officials were not paid the arrears due to them, and a land-tax was imposed. In itself this tax might be equitable enough, but in the present instance it could only cause discontent, and did nothing to lessen the burdens of the lower classes. In consequence of all this, the majority of the notables, many ulemas, officers, and higher officials among the Egyptians, formed themselves into a National party, with the object of resisting the oppressive government of the foreigner. They were joined by the great mass of the discharged soldiers and subordinate officials, not to mention many others. At the end of Feb-

ruary, 1879, a revolt broke out in Cairo. Nubar, hated by the National party, was dismissed by the Khedive Ismail, who installed his son Tewfik as Prime minister. In consequence of this, the coupons due in April were not paid till the beginning of May, and the western Powers demanded the reinstatement of Nubar. That Tewfik on this occasion retired and sided with the foreigners is the chief cause of his present unpopularity in Egypt.

Ismail, however, now dismissed Wilson and De Blignières, and a Cabinet was formed, consisting chiefly of native Egyptians, with Sherif Pasha as Prime minister. Sherif now raised for the first time the cry of which we have since heard so much, and which was inscribed by Arabi on his banners, "Egypt for the Egyptians." The western Powers retorted by a menacing naval demonstration, and demanded of the Sultan the deposition of the Khedive. In June, 1879, this demand was agreed to. Ismail went into exile, and his place was filled by Mahomed Tewfik. Tewfik had been brought up in all respects as an Oriental, although his brothers had enjoyed the benefit of an European education. One of them indeed, Prince Hassan, had served for some time in one of the regiments of the cavalry of the Guard in Berlin.

Tewfik is a man of mild temper, youthful appearance, and handsome but very oriental features. He has been fairly well educated, and takes a lively interest in schools and educational schemes. On the other hand, energy, the most essential quality in a man and a ruler, seems wholly wanting in him. He will probably remain for the rest of his life a puppet in the hands of the control soon doubtless to be reinstated in Cairo; that is, if he is not sooner or later replaced by another prince. This event is not improbable. The Oriental law of succession, by which the eldest prince of the reigning house succeeds to the throne, was broken through in his favour by a firman from the Sultan in the year 1873. Among those brothers of the Khedive Ismail affected by this arrangement, is Halim Pasha, who seems in no wise to have relinquished his claims.

The new Khedive, with apathetic weakness, yielded the reconstruction of his ministry and the organization of his finances to the western Powers. Mr. Baring and M. de Blignières, as commissioners of the control, aided by officials named by Rothschild to watch over his private interests, now ruled the land. They devoted forty-five millions (about sixteen shillings per head on the entire population)

to the payment of interest. The people were embittered by the distrust shown towards them, and the further reduction of the army from fifty to fifteen thousand men threw a large number out of employment. This ill-feeling showed itself in the unpopularity of the young Khedive, in whom the people only saw the willing tool of hated foreign influence. Many acts of military insubordination occurred, and at last, on the 8th of November, 1881, the great military revolt broke out in Cairo. This event may be regarded as the first act in the drama of the present war, and Ahmed Arabi, colonel of the 4th regiment, now first came into public notice. Several regiments, headed by their officers, openly rebelled against the orders of the Khedive, who was compelled to recall the nationalist, Sherif Pasha, and to refer the further demands of the rebels for the increase of the army, and for a constitution, to the Sultan.

Sherif Pasha, however, did not long enjoy the confidence of the National Egyptian party, at whose head Arabi now stood, winning every day more reputation and influence. The army, in which he permitted great laxity of discipline, was entirely devoted to him. He also won over the influential ulemas, by the art he showed in observing with

great regularity the practices of the Moslem religion. A pretended plot of Circassian officers against his life he dexterously used to increase his popularity, by exciting the belief that the foreign element in the army, consisting of Turks and Circassians, was taking part with the Khedive against the native Egyptians. Twenty-six officers were condemned to death by court-martial, but the Khedive, at the instance of the western Powers, commuted the sentence, and they were banished to Constantinople. This leniency was stigmatized by the National party as treachery to the country, and the Chamber of Notables retorted by naming Arabi commander-in-chief of the army and Prime minister without asking the consent of the Khedive. The Chamber soon afterwards came into conflict with the foreign comptrollers, who demanded the right of inspection over all branches of the public service, and more influence than had been yet accorded to them. This ended in De Blignières resigning his post, and in the May of the present year (1882) the consuls of the European Powers declared that a fleet of English and French ironclads would appear before Alexandria, to demand the disbanding of the army and the punishment of its leaders.

The threat was realized, and, in spite of protests

from the Sultan, a fleet of English and French ironclads entered the harbour of Alexandria. The Khedive, at the advice of his ministers and the chiefs of the National party, appealed to the Sultan, but, before an answer could come from Constantinople, issued orders in accordance with the consular demands. The ministry now resigned, alleging that the rights of the Sultan were being infringed. Tewfik vainly tried to form a new Cabinet, and on the 28th of May proposed to take the command of the Egyptian forces himself. But the officers refused obedience, except to direct orders from the Sultan, and the Khedive weakly abandoned his resolution with the characteristic words, "I yield to the will of my people." He now asked the Sultan to send a Turkish commissioner, a request in which he was joined by Arabi, now the acknowledged leader of the army and National party.

The popular hatred of foreigners now became more and more apparent, and began to assume threatening dimensions. Europeans from Cairo and the interior left for Alexandria in such numbers that the railway transport was quite insufficient to convey them. In the interior the agitation was paralyzing all authority. In Cairo the ulemas and notables put forth a petition to the Sultan praying for the

deposition of the Khedive. The police professed themselves unable to prevent this, as a counter petition had been circulated on behalf of Tewfik, in which his retention was prayed for. On the 30th of May, Arabi announced that a despatch from the Sultan had reached him, promising the deposition of Tewfik in favour of his uncle Halim Pasha.

It would be hard, if not impossible, to sketch in a few hasty sentences the position of political parties at that time. The ruling feature of the policy pursued seems to have been an endeavour to entrust to the Sultan, under the European control, the task of settling the difficulty in Egypt, and reducing that disturbed country to the *status quo ante*.

From the time of the Congress of Berlin—indeed, we may say, since the Congress of Paris—every Oriental complication has developed into a European question. It was perhaps for this reason that none of the Powers were disposed to interfere. Even England, although her paramount interests were acknowledged, and although in conjunction with France she had done everything to ruin the Khedive's power, did not now seem inclined to take any active measures.

A Conference arranged by France and England

was held on the 24th of June, at the house of the Italian minister, Count Corti, in Therapia. Turkey took no part in the Conference, but waited the result of her own mission of peace to Egypt. For on the 3rd of June, Dervish Pasha, a man of energy notwithstanding his years, had sailed from Constantinople on board the royal yacht *Izzedin*, accompanied by Selik Bey, the imperial secretary. His object was to pacify Egypt and to reconcile Tewfik and Arabi Pasha; in other words, to conciliate the most conflicting opinions and interests.

Dervish Pasha landed at Alexandria, and conferred with the English and French admirals on the 7th of June. On the 8th he was joyfully received at Cairo with cries of "Long live the Sultan!" He went at once to visit the Khedive, and received Arabi coldly.

It is impossible to follow the tortuous policy by which a crafty Oriental will seek his object. Dervish Pasha's whole position was an equivocal one. On the 10th of June the Khedive declared that an understanding with Arabi was impossible. Upon this Arabi was told that his safety was guaranteed, and that he was summoned to Constantinople. Arabi, however, may have feared that a cup of strong coffee or a silken bowstring awaited him, as

he replied that he was ready to obey the command of the Sultan, but that the army would not allow him to go. Notwithstanding this, he was decorated with the order of the Mejidie on the 25th of June, as a distinguished mark of the Sultan's favour. To enlarge upon these circumstances would not come within the space or scope of this work; we therefore confine ourselves to the actual events.

Since the publication of the despatch purporting to proclaim Halim Pasha as Khedive, Arabi had done nothing towards dethroning the actual ruler. But on the 2nd of June he began to strengthen the fortifications of Alexandria with earthworks. It will always remain doubtful whether this was intended as a challenge to the fleets of the western Powers, or whether the motive was to do something, at all costs, for the defence of the town. At any rate, the British admiral protested, and the Sultan, on the remonstrances of British diplomacy, forbad the continuation of the works. Arabi again expressed his willingness to obey, but declared that the works had only been undertaken to pacify the populace, exasperated to the utmost by the threatening attitude of the foreign fleets.

On the 8th of June it was reported from Cairo that Arabi, if opposed in his plans by Dervish

Pasha, would take some decisive measures. This was understood to imply a threat against the life of the Khedive. In fact, serious disturbances took place in Alexandria on the 11th. The native rabble invaded the European quarter, plundered the shops, and slew many foreigners. The police—Mustaphezin of ill repute—had in many cases taken part in the outrages, and it was five hours after the riot broke out before the soldiers were ordered to repress it. Though the disturbances were not renewed, a general emigration of foreigners was the result.

The Khedive hurried to Alexandria, and established himself in the Ras-el-Tin palace there, in order to appease the representatives of the foreign Powers. Arabi promised submission to the Khedive, and orders were given to stop preaching in the mosques against foreigners, and to put an end to public meetings and newspaper articles intended to excite popular feeling. These measures for the protection of Europeans were not sufficiently reassuring to prevent thirty-two thousand of them from leaving the city, where a more serious outbreak was expected.

After the disturbances of the 14th and 15th of June in Cairo, all the foreign consuls had betaken

themselves to Alexandria, where men-of-war of almost every nation had now assembled to protect the subjects of their respective governments.

On the 20th of June the Khedive formed a new Cabinet. Ragheb Pasha was President, and Arabi War minister. On the 22nd a commission, consisting of nine natives and nine Europeans, under the presidency of the minister of Finance, began to try the ringleaders of the riot, and the Khedive wrote to his Prime minister insisting that the trial should be promptly begun and carried on with due severity.

But events were hurrying on towards war. The works at Alexandria were recommenced, and the fortifications armed with heavy guns. The English admiral received information that the entrance to the harbour would be blocked by sunken storeships, and this, he declared, would be an act of open war. A complete scheme for the destruction of the Suez canal was also discovered. The plan was originally made by a Russian officer. Two ships were to be blown up with dynamite, one at El Kantara, and the other at a point between Suez and the Little Bitter Lake. At these places the banks of the canal consist of hard chalk, but there is an immense amount of mud at the bottom, which would

quickly settle around the wreck, and entail a labour of months to restore navigation. The English, on their side, now began to make hostile demonstrations; and Arabi, while repudiating warlike intentions, declared himself ready for resistance, demanded an explanation of the English attitude, and at the same time made a proposal to the Cabinet for a *levée en masse* of the population.

On the 26th of June preparations were begun in England for sending an expeditionary force to Egypt. On the 27th the English vice-consul advised his fellow-countrymen to leave Alexandria, and on the 3rd of July, according to the *Times*, the arrangements for war were complete.

On the 5th of July Arabi strengthened the garrison of Alexandria, where stores of all descriptions had already been accumulated. The Conference at Constantinople, in its session of the 7th of July, called on Turkey to interfere with armed force in Egypt, and on the 8th all the consuls urged the immediate departure of foreigners from Alexandria. As early as the 6th, Ragheb Pasha had received a despatch from the Sultan, pointing out that the bombardment of Alexandria was imminent, unless the working on the fortifications was suspended, and making the Khedive responsible for all conse-

quences. The English admiral sent in an ultimatum to the same effect. To the foreign consuls who begged for a postponement of the bombardment, he replied that he could no longer trust the assurances of the military leader. Finally, as a reconnaissance on the 9th showed that the forts were still being strengthened, he informed the governor of Alexandria, Zulficar Pasha, that unless the forts had been previously evacuated and surrendered to the English, he intended to commence the bombardment at four the next morning. At the same time the English consul notified the suspension of relations with the Egyptian government, and in another letter to Dervish Pasha made him responsible for the safety of the Khedive.

As the French government were unable to take part in any active measures (a grant for that purpose having been refused by the National Assembly), the greater part of their fleet, under Admiral Conrad, left Alexandria for Port Said. The ironclads of other nations, more than fifty in number, anchored outside the harbour of Alexandria.

THE BOMBARDMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

Before proceeding further in the history of events, it will not be undesirable to give some short account of Alexandria. This city, with its five hundred thousand inhabitants, was under the Roman empire the second capital of the world. It was the first in commercial importance, as well as a chief centre of later Greek learning. After the conquest of Egypt by Amr Ibn el-Asi, the Caliph Omar's general, Alexandria declined in importance, partly owing to the new and favoured capital at Cairo, and partly from the navigation of the South Sea Passage and the discovery of America. The shameful misgovernment of the Mamelukes after the Turkish conquest, and their neglect of the canals and of the harbour, contributed to reduce the once flourishing metropolis to a small town of some six thousand inhabitants. Since the beginning of the present century, however, the town has risen again in

importance. In 1877 the population numbered 165,752, and is said now to have risen to two hundred thousand, of whom fifty-five thousand are Europeans. The new rulers also did their best to atone for past negligence. Thus Mehemet Ali, in 1819, supplied the town with fresh water by constructing the Mahmoudieh canal, by which also the surrounding wilderness was converted into productive land. Commerce also flourished again, so that in 1877, out of 19,941 ships trading in various Egyptian ports, 6481, of 2,211,412 tons burden, belonged to Alexandria. Port Said had received into harbour in the same year 4651 ships with a gross tonnage of 4,212,238. The heavier tonnage passing into Port Said is explained by the facilities afforded to fully rigged steamers by the Suez canal, where they are able to take advantage of a favourable wind, without being hindered by an unfavourable one. Alexandria, on the other hand, is frequented by a larger proportion of sailing-vessels. Thus Alexandria harboured, in 1877, 1796 steamers and 4685 sailing-vessels, as compared with 3578 steamers and only 1074 sailing-vessels at Port Said. Alexandria exports cotton, grain, sugar, woven stuffs, furs, ostrich feathers, wood, and ivory. She communicates with Europe by

four regular services of steamers and two submarine cables, has an important inland telegraph station, and is the terminus of two railways. The pumping station of the canal is at Ramleh. The town is lighted with gas, and possesses nine Christian churches and four hospitals. It is divided into the European and the Egyptian quarter. In the centre of the former lies the square of Mehemet Ali, 576 yards long and ninety-five yards broad. The whole quarter looks like an European town. Further to the north, on the ancient island of Pharos, is where most of the Turks live; the streets are wider than in the native quarter, and the houses are good, and often surrounded by gardens. Pompey's Pillar stands in an enclosure on a hill to the south of the town, is of red granite from Assouan, and measures about one hundred feet, including its capital and base. This monument has no reference to the great Pompey, but, according to the inscription, was raised by the Roman prefect Pompey, A.D. 302, in honour of the Emperor Diocletian.

The second remarkable monument of Alexandria is Cleopatra's Needle, an obelisk of syenite about sixty-four feet high. It was brought from Heliopolis at the time of the Emperor Tiberias, and is now near Ramleh.

Alexandria stands on a tongue of land, almost cut off from the mainland by lakes Aboukir and Mariūt, which approach each other so nearly to the west of the town that only a narrow strip of land remains, where the railway to Cairo runs by the side of the Mahmoudieh canal. The town possesses two harbours, one on each side of this narrow strip of land. The New Harbour, to the east of the town, can only accommodate small ships, and is little used; but the Old Harbour, called Eunostos (from the Greek, "safe return") is a well-sheltered bay of 1730 acres, of which more than half is deep water. A mole, provided with a railway, and with a light at its end, projects from the mainland in a north-westerly direction towards Eunostos lighthouse, and divides the inner from the outer harbour. A breakwater, extending from Eunostos Point in a south-westerly direction, with a light at its end, encloses the whole harbour, and all ships entering or leaving the harbour must pass between the end of this breakwater and the mainland, a distance of 450 yards. This space has three channels: the northern (Corvette Pass) with a depth of seventeen feet, the central (Bogha Pass) of twenty-seven feet, and the southern (Marabout Pass) of about twenty-six feet.

The fortifications consist, in the first place, of a wall with towers, beginning at the east harbour, and enclosing the town to the north, east, and south. Four fortified gates break this enclosure, those of Ramleh, Rosetta, Moharrem Bey, and the gate near Pompey's Pillar. Besides this wall round the town, there are a number of outworks and closed forts. Towards the south and south-west these are merely small insignificant open bastions, but the actual harbour defences are of great importance.

Fort Marabout is built on an island to the extreme west, and was armed with two 12-inch 18-ton guns, two 9-inch 12-ton guns, twenty 32-pounders, and five mortars. Fort Meks, with the adjacent works and batteries, numbered fifty-six guns, of which seven were heavy rifled Armstrongs.

Among these adjacent works was a redoubt with seven guns; a tower with two; Fort Kamaria with five; Omuk Kubebe with eighteen cannons, and Fort Tsale.

Towards the inner harbour lies Fort Gabarrie, and Fort Napoléon still further north-east.

The Lighthouse battery, on the southern front of the Ras-el-Tin peninsula, was armed with six rifled muzzle-loaders, one rifled 40-pounder, and twenty-eight smooth-bores. Between this and the Hospital

battery were eight rifled breech-loaders and twenty seven smooth-bores, mounted on earthworks. Then comes Fort Ada with five rifled muzzle-loaders and twenty smooth-bores; and on the north-east, Fort Pharos, with eight rifled muzzle-loaders and thirty-seven smooth-bores, which took a prominent part in the fight.

The heaviest artillery in these forts consisted of 18-ton and 12-ton guns of the old Woolwich pattern, which were made by Sir William Armstrong, at Elswick, for the Egyptian government in 1868 and subsequent years. The guns of larger calibre fired 400-lb. Palliser shells, with a charge of 50 lbs. of powder. These shells are capable, with a favourable angle of impact, of piercing 12-inch armour-plates.

Some of the information given above is taken from an article by Vice-Admiral Von Henk, of the German navy, and his work will also be referred to further on. But as regards the number of guns and strength of the garrison, the statistics we have as yet been able to obtain are so conflicting as to be nearly worthless. It is certain, however, that the total number of Egyptian troops, even with all the reinforcements the garrison received, was quite insufficient to man and defend the fortifications.

The attacking English fleet consisted of the following ironclad ships :—

1. The *Inflexible*, armed with four 81-ton guns and 16 to 24 inch armour.

2. *Alexandra*, with two 25 and ten 18-ton guns, and 8 to 12 inch armour.

3. *Superb*, with four 25-ton guns, 10 to 12 inch plates.

4. *Téméraire*, with four 25 and four 18-ton guns, 8 to 10 inch armour.

5. *Sultan*, with eight 18-ton, four 12-ton, and one 6½-ton guns, 6 to 9 inch armour.

6. *Monarch*, with four 25-ton and two 6½-ton guns, and 8 to 10 inch armour.

7. *Invincible*, with ten 12-ton guns, and 8 to 10 inch armour.

8. *Penelope*, with ten 12-ton guns, and 5 to 6 inch armour.

Besides these were the unarmoured gunboats :

a. *Bittern*, of three guns.

b. *Condor*, three guns (two 64-pounders and one 7-inch Woolwich rifled gun, firing 112 lb. shot).

c. *Decoy*, of four guns.

d. *Cygnet*, four guns.

e. *Beacon*, four guns.

Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour had made his dispositions for action as follows:—

1. For the attack on Fort Meks and the adjoining batteries, the *Invincible* (used as the flagship during the action only), the *Monarch*, *Penelope*, and *Téméraire*, supported by the aftmost turret of the *Inflexible*.

2. To bombard Forts Ada and Pharos, the north-east forts on the Ras-el-Tin peninsula; the *Alexandra*, *Superb*, and *Sultan*, supported by the foremost turret of the *Inflexible*.

3. The gunboats were at first ordered to remain out of action, and to hold themselves at the disposal of the admiral.

On the evening of the 10th of July, the *Invincible*, *Monarch*, and *Penelope* were already anchored to the west of Fort Meks, and at daybreak on the 11th the other ironclads took up the positions assigned to them. There was a gentle breeze from the east, and the weather was clear.

At 6.30 a.m. all the ships were cleared for action. At seven the admiral signalled to the *Alexandra* to fire a shell into Fort Ada. At this time the *Alexandra*, *Sultan*, and *Superb* were steaming to the north-east at a distance of about 1500 to 1900 yards north-west of the lighthouse on Eunostos Point;

the *Inflexible* lay off the Corvette Pass, about 3700 yards north-west of Fort Meks, the *Téméraire* off the central channel, at 3500 yards, and the *Penelope*, *Invincible*, and *Monarch* at about 1000 to 1300 yards' distance from the same fort. The gunboats had got up steam, and were waiting for orders.

The first shot fired from the *Alexandra* was immediately replied to by the Egyptians; whereupon the ships of the whole fleet and the Egyptian forts and batteries opened fire, and the engagement became general. The isolated ships were rather unfavourably placed, as the sun shining from the east rendered it difficult for the gunners to make good practice, while the wind also favoured the Egyptians. A thick cloud of smoke followed the first round of firing, and hung about the ships, making it impossible to see the effect of the shots. The firing could only be directed from the tops.

In the mean time the *Cygnet* came up to take part in the fight, and the *Condor* opened fire at from eleven to twelve hundred yards' distance on Forts Marabout and Adjemi. This gunboat sustained the fire alone for nearly two hours, when the *Bittern* and *Beacon* were signalled to go to her assistance. At eight o'clock several shells had struck the lighthouse and destroyed the sea front of the fort

below. The *Alexandra*, *Sultan*, and *Superb* maintained a continuous fire on the forts and batteries from the lighthouse to Fort Pharos.

At 8.30 Fort Marsa-el-Kanat was blown up by shells from the *Invincible* and *Monarch*, and by nine o'clock the *Téméraire*, *Monarch*, and *Penelope* had silenced most of the guns in Fort Meks, although four defied every effort from their protected situation. By 11.45 Forts Marabout and Adjemi had ceased firing, and a landing party of seamen and marines was despatched, under cover of the *Bittern's* guns, to spike and blow up the guns in the forts. At 1.30 a shell from the *Superb* burst in the chief powder magazine of Fort Ada and blew it up. By four o'clock all the guns of Fort Pharos, and half an hour later those of Fort Meks, were disabled, and at 5.30 the admiral ordered the firing to cease.

The ships were repeatedly struck, and sustained some damage. The *Alexandra* (properly the flagship) suffered the most. She received fourteen shots in her hull (between wind and water); her launch was destroyed; one shell pierced the deck and burst in the admiral's cabin; another burst in the captain's cabin; another went through the funnel and did other damage. No projectiles

pierced the armour of any one of the ships. The *Sultan* and *Superb* were, however, a good deal knocked about by the enemy's fire. The *Superb* received twenty-three shots from Fort Ada, but for the most part the fire of the forts either fell short of the ships or passed over them.

The shells of the *Inflexible*, weighing 1700 lbs., are said to have had a very demoralizing effect on the Egyptian troops.

That the *Condor* and other gunboats received so little damage is partly due to the smallness of their dimensions, but chiefly to the bad practice of the Egyptian artillerymen. The English casualties were five killed and twenty-eight wounded, a comparatively small loss. The Egyptian loss is not known.* The resistance exhibited by the earthworks to the English shells is worthy of remark.

On the 12th the *Inflexible* and *Téméraire* again opened fire on Fort Moncrieff, which had repaired damages during the night, but was soon reduced to silence.

* I am informed by an officer present with the Egyptian forces that the garrison of Alexandria numbered eight thousand, and the Egyptian loss during the bombardment was about nine hundred killed and wounded, of whom one hundred and seventy were removed to Cairo.—TRANSLATOR.

This operation was carried out with a vigour and rapidity hardly expected by European critics, and brought Sir Beauchamp Seymour's name prominently forward. The continental papers, in which Sir Beauchamp had frequently been represented as a feeble old man, now designated him a determined and energetic commander, undeterred by any scruples from carrying out the orders of his Government.

Sir Frederic Beauchamp Seymour is of good family. His father was Sir Horace Beauchamp Seymour, M.P., and his love of the sea was perhaps inherited from his grandfather, vice-admiral Lord Hugh Seymour. He entered the navy on leaving Eton, became lieutenant in 1842, and had his first opportunity for serious experience in his profession ten years later. In the Burmese war of 1852–53 this zealous young naval officer accompanied the land forces, and distinguished himself so much by his courage and ability, that his name was favourably mentioned four times during the campaign. During the Crimean war, Sir Beauchamp, who had meanwhile attained the rank of captain, served with the Baltic fleet, and a few years later held a command in Australian waters. From 1868 to 1870 Sir Beauchamp was secretary to the First

Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Childers, and his rapid advancement dates from this time. In 1872 he became a junior Lord of the Admiralty, and soon afterwards took the command of the Channel Squadron. Three years later, the admiral was transferred to the Mediterranean squadron in the same capacity. Though the many important and responsible posts Sir Beauchamp had filled showed that he was considered as an officer of energy and ability in his own country, his name was little known abroad until the time of the naval demonstration at Dulcigno in 1880, when, as senior admiral present, he took the chief command of the men-of-war of different nations there assembled.

We shall not here inquire if the bombardment of Alexandria was justified as a political necessity, or if it can be reconciled with the rights of nations. But merely from a military point of view, it must be characterized as premature, and certainly it was not followed up with the necessary caution and energy. As things were, if even a small force had been landed immediately, it must have completely routed the Egyptian troops, for even the artillerymen, of whose courage the English reports said so much, had by no means shown themselves heroes. It was not known till afterwards on the

continent that Sir Beauchamp Seymour had overstated the military efficiency of his adversaries in order to add brilliancy to the results of the engagement, although he can hardly have been ignorant of the real state of things. Had the bombardment been postponed until a sufficient number of troops had arrived from Cyprus, Malta, and Gibraltar, the whole complication would probably at once have come to an end. Or even if the admiral had landed all the seamen and marines that could be spared immediately after the bombardment, a military success would have been not only possible, but probable. In any case, the unhappy town would have escaped the fate which now overtook it. As one can hardly assume that the admiral and the English government were not fully aware of these circumstances, it seems obvious that time was purposely afforded to the National party to organize a resistance which it would afterwards be necessary to crush. But whether or not this was the case can scarcely be positively known, as the English government would certainly not own to any such intention.

At 1 p.m. on the 12th of July, the white flag was hoisted by the Egyptians. Admiral Seymour demanded, as a preliminary measure, the surrender of the forts commanding the entrance to the

harbour, and the negotiations on this point were fruitlessly protracted for some hours. As night approached the city was seen to be on fire in many places, and the flames were spreading in all directions. The English now became aware that the white flag had merely been used as means to gain time for a hasty evacuation of Alexandria by Arabi and his army. Sailors and marines were now landed, and ships of other nations sent detachments on shore to protect their countrymen. But it was too late; Bedouins, convicts, and ill-disciplined soldiers had plundered and burnt the European quarter, killed many foreigners, and a Reuter's telegram of the 14th said, "Alexandria is completely destroyed."

Arabi had retreated along the railway towards Cairo, and had taken up at Kafr Dowar, sixteen miles from Alexandria, a skilfully chosen position, which he began to fortify. His troops were reported to be much demoralized and deserting in large numbers, but there were no English troops to profit by this favourable state of things.

The Khedive had remained behind, having betaken himself, during the bombardment, to his palace at Ramleh, where he was now protected from possible danger by English marines. Arabi

was now a rebel against his sovereign, and was declared to be so in the following proclamation, which throws a curious and interesting light on the situation, and leaves an opening to the Khedive for future reconciliation :—

"*To Arabi Pasha.*

"In consequence of your departure for Kafr Dowar, accompanied by the army, thus surrendering Alexandria without our commands; also in consequence of your obstructing the railway traffic, by which we are prevented from receiving certain telegrams; further, in consequence of your preventing our receipt of any communications whatever through the post, and opposing the return of refugees to their homes in Alexandria; lastly, in consequence of your obstinacy in continuing the preparations for war, and your refusal to come to us after you have received our commands;—for all these reasons we hereby deprive you of your office as Minister of War, and send you these our commands for your cognizance."

The first troops, with General Alison, arrived after some few days; and on the 25th of July the land forces amounted to four thousand men. General

Alison took the command and endeavoured to restore order in the town. The management of the police was entrusted to Lord Charles Beresford, with the same object.

Owing to the numerical weakness of the force, the military operations had to be confined to extending the line of defence further along the coast. The village of Ramleh, important as a pumping-station, was occupied in the direction of Aboukir, while the guns and stores of ammunition found in the abandoned forts were destroyed or rendered useless. Reconnaissances were also made towards the enemy's position, and in the skirmishing which ensued the Egyptians are stated to have justified anew their character for cowardice. Owing to the lack of cavalry, these reconnaissances could not be carried out in a very efficient manner, and no results of importance were obtained.

The want of cavalry was made up to a certain extent by mounted infantry, who rendered good service. An armoured train was soon afterwards constructed, which accompanied all future reconnaissances and engagements. It contributed very much to the security of the English lines, and procured much distinction for its constructor and commander, Captain Fisher. The plan of a similar

train was laid before the English War Office in 1871, by a M. Evelyn Liardet, who took out a patent, and still continues to assert his rights.

The locomotive, which is protected on all sides from the enemy's fire by iron rails and sand-bags, is placed in the middle of a train, composed of a number of open trucks protected by iron plates and sand-bags. The engine, which is intended only to go at moderate speed, can be stopped at once by brakes, and several empty trucks in front prevent danger from the explosion of the enemy's mines. A Nordenfeldt gun is mounted on the first armoured carriage, and a 40-pounder on the other, which by means of a crane can be so quickly dismounted and remounted, that it is said that one minute suffices from the halting of the train to dismount and fire the gun. A specially ingenious arrangement also enables a Gatling gun or a 40-pounder to be fired from the carriage without any injury from the recoil ensuing to the train. This train was constructed in Alexandria, and served by seamen and marines. Materials and tools were always carried, in order to repair any damages to the permanent way.

At first the duties at the advanced posts were very arduous and fatiguing. In the rear was a

fanatical native population, and night attacks were continually apprehended. Another source of anxiety was the short supply of water. The Egyptians had dammed the Mahmoudieh canal, on which Alexandria depends for fresh water, and the cisterns cleaned out and filled by the English only contained a water supply for ten days. Later accounts mentioned the depth of water in the canal as increasing, so that the supposed intention of Arabi to divert it into lake Aboukir would seem to have been frustrated. But for this, Alexandria would have been without fresh water, except what might have been obtained by the Rosetta-Aboukir railway.

The reports on the results of the bombardment drawn up on board the *Helicon* under the authority of Admiral Seymour appear interesting. The masonry of the forts had shown itself unable to withstand the fire of heavy ordnance and was pounded into small fragments. On the other hand, the fire took very little effect on the earthworks constructed of sand, and which were of strong profile. In Fort Ras-el-Tin the Egyptian guns were dismounted, but in Forts Ada and Pharos guns were still found in serviceable condition, and therefore must have been hurriedly abandoned by the gunners. The Gatling and Nordenfeldt guns on

board the ironclads seem to have done but little execution, and a considerable number of shells did not burst owing to the badness of the fuses. The direction of the English fire was excellent, but the elevation very inaccurate, which was owing, no doubt, to the rolling of the ships. An article in the *Standard*, referring to the bombardment of Alexandria, discusses the question whether coast defences could successfully engage an ironclad fleet, and comes to the conclusion that with equal armaments and earthworks, equally well served guns, and equal scientific conditions on both sides, the ironclads would have the worst of it. We applaud this decision, and we believe that the English authorities will hardly come to any other conclusion. Some apprehension has, however, been expressed in Germany, since the bombardment of Alexandria, as to whether similar results might not ensue in the case of other, possibly German, coast defences. We may therefore here point out that the bombardment was an event of no military significance whatever. The concentrated fire of breech-loaders of the largest calibre and greatest range and accuracy, such as arm our German coast defences, would become very serious for even the strongest ironclads, while at Alexandria they

were hardly reached by the enemy's fire. Modern forts also are so built as to be almost indestructible, and are rendered very difficult of approach by submarine mines and torpedoes.

If no useful lessons for maritime warfare can be derived from the bombardment of Alexandria, it may be remarked that two heavy guns again burst on board the *Alexandra*. We say "again," because reports of similar accidents on board English ships recur only too often. This confirms the arguments of those scientific Englishmen who have for years been advocating the use of breech-loaders instead of the old Woolwich muzzle-loaders still retained in the navy; but English pride seems to prevent the adoption of foreign constructions. English arsenals and armouries do not appear to be in very good condition. It has been remarked, for instance, that Gibraltar could not equip even one battalion for active service; that only a small minority of the shells fired at Alexandria burst; and English service papers themselves do not hesitate to condemn the way in which the affairs of the British army are regulated.

The reports of the English Admiralty on the cost of the bombardment are not without interest. Every shot from the 81-ton guns cost £25 10*s.*; of

the 25-ton guns, £7; of the 18-ton guns, £4 4*s.*; of the 12-ton guns, £3 12*s.* 6*d.* The cost of a single shot from the 9-ton guns was £2 15*s.*; from the 6½-ton guns, £1 15*s.* The 64-pounders and 40-pounders cost respectively 18*s.* and 12*s.* to fire. To this must be added the cost of the shots from the gunboats.

While the English troops are gradually arriving in Egypt, and Arabi is gaining time to organize a stubborn defence, we may briefly describe the military resources of Great Britain and the condition of the Nile territory.

EGYPT AND THE EGYPTIANS.

EGYPT proper, extending from the mouth of the Nile to beyond Assouan, contains fourteen provinces or *moudirieh*, with a total area of 325,251 square miles and 4,948,512 inhabitants. The towns of Cairo, Alexandria, Suez, and Port Said, with their harbours and environs comprise 67,970 square miles, and 569,115 inhabitants. Till 1878 scarcely a fiftieth part of the total area of Egypt was cultivated, or possessed canals or roads, while a fifth part of all the land that was under cultivation was the private property of the Khedive. Several dependencies on the Red Sea with important harbours; the whole of Nubia, with about a million inhabitants; and the provinces of Taka, Sennaar, and Kordofan, with an area of 41,687 square miles and 278,740 inhabitants, were added by Mehemet Ali to the dominions of the Khedive. Ismail Pasha also considerably extended the frontier

to the south and south-west by the conquest of Darfor (174,813 square miles and four million inhabitants) and by annexing the coasts of Abyssinia and part of the land of the Somali. He also took possession of the strip of land along the whole course of the White Nile and of the Gazelle river.

The Khedive therefore governs a country 1987 miles long and 1490 wide from east to west; it is equal in size to two-thirds of Russia in Europe. The inhabitants number about 17,317,627, which gives an average of about 2·3 to every square mile of the whole territory.

The fellahîn, powerful, muscular, and sparely built, form the majority of the population of Egypt. These hardy, industrious, and contented peasants have in all periods of history been enslaved and oppressed by their rulers, whether Pagan or Mussulman, and in modern times have been robbed and misgoverned by the sultans and their viceroys. Till quite recently the officials were accustomed to tax the fellahîn at pleasure, and to make a merciless use of the *kourbash*, or rhinoceros-hide whip, in enforcing their demands. The fellahîn were also liable to forced labour without payment; and even latterly, when payment was supposed to be made, very little of it ever reached the hands of the hard-

working peasant. Centuries of oppression, with no hope of relief from their misery, must have destroyed all courage and energy in the native character. The fellahîn are chiefly Mohammedans, with the exception of about three hundred thousand Coptic Christians, who live for the most part in Upper Egypt, as artisans, clerks, traders, etc., and have not a very good reputation.

The Bedouins in Upper and Lower Egypt are chiefly nomadic, but some tribes have settled down and intermarry with the natives. The Bedouins are reported to number about twenty-four thousand, of which two thousand are horsemen, in Lower Egypt; in Upper Egypt they number about twenty-five thousand, of which four thousand are horsemen. Many of the Bedouins are mounted on camels or dromedaries, and are armed with guns, pistols, knives, swords, and spears; but their firearms are old fashioned, and only those tribes who are near Alexandria and Cairo are armed with firearms of modern construction.

The population of the Egyptian towns has a large admixture of Arabs, Turks, Circassians, and Negroes. Hatred of the foreigner is very much felt, but is not openly shown as long as severity is feared. The Berberins, who have immigrated from

Nubia, make good servants and, as well as the negroes, who originally were slaves, profess the faith of Islam. The Turks are not very numerous; they are chiefly officers in the army, merchants, and officials. The Syrian and south European Christians, mostly Roman Catholics, immigrated some generations back, and are known as Levantines. Many of them prosper by their skill in business and their knowledge of languages. Many bankers and jewellers are Armenians. The Jews live chiefly in the towns, and number about thirty-thousand.

In 1878 there were 68,653 Europeans in Egypt. The Greeks numbered nearly thirty thousand; the French, nearly fifteen thousand; Italians, about as much; the English, less than three thousand; Austrians, about one thousand; Spanish, 879; German, 752; and of other nationalities the numbers are still less important. Latterly the proportion has varied somewhat, the French and English having diminished, and the Greeks increased to about one-half of the total number of Europeans in Egypt. The Greeks engage in every sort of trade, and penetrate up the river as far as the Khartoum. The French are chiefly artisans of the better class. The English monopolize the

manufacture of machinery, railways, and harbours; while the Austrians and Germans are merchants, doctors, and schoolmasters in the upper class, innkeepers and musicians in the middle class, and in the lower artisans and mechanics.

The operations of war in Egypt have been confined to Lower Egypt.

The Nile is Egypt, says an old proverb, and the meaning of this is quite plain. The fellah divides the year into three—the Rising, from June to October; the Falling, from October to February; and the Harvest, from February to June. This alludes to the fertilization of the land by the inundation of the Nile, which enriches the country wherever it reaches. The other branches of the great river are equally beneficent to the country they traverse. To the west of the delta lies the Lybian desert; to the east the Arabian, through which flows the brackish water of the Suez canal. That portion of the delta which lies to the north, between Rosetta and Damietta, has a sandy and sometimes hilly sea-coast, with very few places of anchorage for large ships. Between this coast of sandy hillocks and the fertile tracts of the interior, lie extensive marshes, which were once cultivated, but have now become useless. To the east, between Port

Said and Damietta, lies lake Menzaleh, whose shallow waters cover an area of nine hundred square miles. Three ancient branches of the Nile lose themselves in lake Menzaleh—the Pelusine, the Tanetic, and the Mendisian. To the west, towards Rosetta, lies lake Barlus; between Rosetta and Aboukir, lake Edku; and further westward, lakes Aboukir and Mariût.

The Nile not only fertilizes the land but supplies the inhabitants with water, for although wells of some depth will reach water, it is usually so bitter as to be undrinkable. From the earliest times the Egyptians have constructed canals from the Nile to irrigate the lands that the water would not naturally reach. The most important of these was the great canal that turned to the east from Zagazig, and, passing through the Wady Tumilat, was the highway of Egyptian commerce to the Red Sea. In process of time this closed up, but M. de Lesseps utilized what remained of it in constructing the present Sweetwater canal to Ismailia and thence to Suez. This canal not only served to supply the labourers on the Suez canal with drinking water, but also has an extensive boat traffic at the present time. It is about seventeen yards wide at the top and about nine at the bottom, and averages

about two yards in depth. The ancient canal is said to have been a hundred ells across.

The Ismailia canal from Cairo joins the Sweet-water canal about five miles west of Tel-el-Kebir. Port Said is supplied with fresh water from Ismailia by a double conduit pipe laid in the sand.

The Mahmoudieh canal is second in importance. It branches off from the western arm of the Nile opposite Fuah, passes round to the south of lake Edku and along the strip of land on which Alexandria lies. Mehemet Ali began this great work in 1819, and it was completed in a few years by the labour of 250,000 fellahîn, 20,000 of whom are said to have perished from the barbarous treatment they received. The canal contributed to restore prosperity to Alexandria.

The Khatabe canal is about seventy-three miles long. It leaves the western arm of the Nile to the north of Cairo, runs parallel to the river, and enters it again fifteen miles north of where the Mahmoudieh canal begins. Both canals belong to the eight great works of Mehemet Ali, known as the Sesi canals, which convey Nile water even in the dry season. The extensive system of Nile canals controls the water by means of subterranean channels, ducts, and sluices, and supplies it as need

arises. Every fellah is a ready-made sapper from his familiarity with the work of making and repairing dams and trenches.

It is evident that by means of these canals the whole country could be put under water, and that the water supply of Alexandria and the towns on the Suez canal could be cut off. The water would not rise high enough, if an inundation of the country was determined on, to prevent locomotion in the fields, but the soil would be rendered so soft and tenacious that military operations would be impeded and reduced, and could only be carried on on very narrow roads. As, therefore, an invasion could at best only be hindered, and not prevented, by cutting the dams and flooding the country, it would be a step of doubtful wisdom; as certain destruction of crops and misery to the whole population from famine would follow.

A glance at the map will show that the delta is well served with railways. In 1880 Egypt possessed nearly one thousand miles of railways with a passenger traffic of three millions. The direction of the lines may be traced on the map. It will be observed that all the lines meet at Cairo, the capital, and indicate that this town is the great centre and heart of the country, and therefore as

the point naturally to be chosen for strategic attack.

The most important railway lines for an invading campaign (as it could not be contemplated to land near Damietta) are as follows :—

The two lines of railway, starting from Alexandria and Rosetta, meeting at Damanhour, and following the left bank of the western arm of the Nile to Cairo.

About twenty miles south of Damanhour a railway branches off to the east, crosses the western Nile, and, after passing through Tantah and Benha, also arrives at Cairo.

Tantah is the junction of many other railways—among others, that from Damietta—and from its position is of considerable strategic importance.

To the east a line from Ismailia passes through Zagazig to Cairo, and a branch railway runs from Zagazig to Salahyeh. Suez is connected by rail with Ismailia, and there are also two old roads from Suez direct to Cairo—the old road of the Anglo-Indian overland route, and the old desert road.

Zagazig is another important strategic point, as, besides being a junction for several lines of railway, it is here that the Sweetwater canal branches off from the great canal called Bahr Moezze, and goes to Ismailia and Suez.

The Egyptian army, in its present form, was organized at the beginning of the present century, upon an European model, and with European instructors. The method of recruiting, however, differed both from the English voluntary service and from the conscription of the Continent. It was simply carried on by mounted cavalry, who rode into the villages and collected by force the required number of able-bodied men, who were then taken in chains to the nearest depôt. Although the oppression of centuries made the fellahîn apathetic enough to submit to this barbarous way of exacting the blood-tax, troops thus enrolled could not be trusted, nor have the fellahîn ever been credited with any of the essential qualities of good soldiers. Nothing very favourable can be said of the behaviour of the Egyptian troops, either during this last war or the struggle with Abyssinia. The best regiments are those formed of liberated negro slaves. All agree in speaking unfavourably of the Egyptian soldier, and in accusing him of cowardice and indolence. Latterly indiscipline and mutinous feeling have shown themselves, and have been encouraged by Arabi and his associates for their own purposes.

As to the numerical strength of the Egyptian army, we may assume that the contingent of eighteen thousand men, including two thousand cavalry and twenty-four pieces of artillery, which Egypt was bound by Turkey to maintain, was really in existence. The population of Cairo and Alexandria are exempt from military service, and substitutes can also be bought by rich people, but the forced service described above is still in vogue. The regular army is composed as follows: eighteen regiments of infantry of two battalions each (two of these regiments are composed entirely of negroes), eight regiments of cavalry of five squadrons each; four regiments of field artillery of six batteries, each with six guns, three regiments of garrison artillery, and one battalion of pioneers. There are also ten irregular regiments of Bedouins. This army was scattered all over the country. The artillery are armed with breech-loading Krupp guns of seven centimètre calibre, the infantry with Remington rifles. The uniform for the infantry is a white tunic, wide trousers of drill, linen gaiters, and a fez with blue tassel. The cavalry wear tunics and wide trousers of blue cloth, with high boots, and are armed with swords, carbines, and lances. The non-commissioned officers rise from the ranks, but

the officers have been principally educated in the Staff School and Military Academy in Cairo. They were before the war a motley crew of different nationalities, Turks, Circassians, Albanians, Negroes, and former members of European armies, and therefore without any military vigour, or that solid *esprit de corps* which exists in the armies of civilized nations.

It does not appear, however, that the forces mentioned above exhaust the defensive power of Egypt. It is certain that with energetic organization at least forty thousand men could be placed in the field, forming, with about a hundred pieces of artillery, the first line. This, in fact, was the defensive force already supposed to exist under an incompetent Government. For the second line at least an equal number of fighting men could be counted on, of which the independent Bedouin tribes would form a considerable contingent. The Turkish governor of Syria had, soon after the disorder in Egypt, forbidden the Bedouins that lived within his jurisdiction to take any part in the expected war, under pain of death. This severe prohibition showed the importance attached to the neutrality of these tribes, and also it clearly proved that the agitation and fanatical hatred of foreigners was apparent beyond the confines of Egypt.

Among the advantages of the Egyptian national army must be reckoned its familiarity with the ground, its indifference to the climate, and that its armament was fully up to the modern standard. Numerous well-mounted Bedouin tribes could unceasingly harass the enemy's rear, cut off his supplies, and compel him to detach a relatively large force from his fighting line in order to keep his communications open.

Arabi Pasha held the undisputed leadership of the national army. The natives trusted and obeyed him implicitly, partly, perhaps, because he was one of themselves, a fellah. It remained, however, now to be seen whether he would prove to be a man of sufficient ability and energy to lead his party to victory. At any rate, he seems to have made the most of the time that was allowed him between the bombardment and the beginning of the military operations. He began by inflaming the fanaticism of the lower classes by lying proclamations, and by the news that the Khedive had joined the English, and was conspiring with them against the country. The populace rallied in numbers to his standard to defend their country from the foreign invader.

If the insurgent army under Arabi were not

speedily crushed by a vigorous effort on the part of the English, it is evident that the prestige of the English army, already weakened by other unsuccessful military incidents, would suffer considerably. With the excitement of success, if we can suppose such a thing, the national army would also gain credit and confidence, and fanaticism would not only steadily increase in Egypt, but would probably spread over the whole Mohammedan world. Everything, therefore, depended upon having a sufficient force at hand. Although the British have been successful, we do not think we are overestimating the matter, nor do we stand alone in the professional world in thinking that the expeditionary force should have mustered at least thirty thousand men. This is the strength of a German army corps, and is no more than is required to occupy and effectually pacify Egypt. We are strengthened in this view by the opinion of a retired officer staying in Cairo, who considers twenty-five thousand men necessary for the garrison of Alexandria, Cairo, and Damanhour, the important bridges at Kafr ez Zayat, and the points of Tantah and Zagazig. He thinks, for this reason, that an English expeditionary force should be at least forty thousand strong, besides ten thousand men to guard the Suez canal. We will discuss

hereafter whether Great Britain is able to place a force of this strength in the field. It is a question of great interest, not only in reference to the events we are considering, but also as estimating the British capacity for prompt military action, as it is certain that many failures of the British arms have occurred through the impossibility of placing a sufficient force in the field at the right moment.

It seems desirable now to give a short account of the Suez canal, but before we close this chapter we will give our readers an opinion on the Egyptian army as it is represented by Mr. Gabriel Charmes, in an account published in the *United Service Gazette* towards the end of last May. This account is highly coloured, and seems hardly credible, but it throws a light on the circumstances, and is also interesting from its positive condemnation of Arabi. The Egyptian army, according to this journal, was in a state of complete anarchy. No authority was acknowledged. A hope had been entertained that Arabi would show some ascendency of character, but this was not the case. He had been brought to the front by circumstances, partly no doubt by his facility in speaking, but principally because his comrades preferred to let him compromise himself,

and not to run any risks themselves. Arabi is a man of no ability and no energy, a regular fellah, who has shown himself unable to profit by any opportunity offered him. "At this moment (May, 1882) the army is without a leader: the soldiers command their sergeants, these the lieutenants; the captains are commanded by the lieutenants, and so on on a rising scale. Arabi is commanded by the generals, and Arabi commands the Khedive. But all initiative rests with the private soldier. In order to rouse ill-feeling against Riaz Pasha's government it was necessary to sow the seeds of revolt in the army, and the officers, in order to attain their ends, made unlimited promises to the privates, and treated them like brothers in the Oriental style of embracing and kissing of hands, etc. This brotherhood is taken in earnest by the troops, into whose hands the revolution has played, so that they are now more powerful even than the ministers, who humble themselves before them and seek their favour. If the Government have to be influenced, the common soldier is bribed, and the affair is brought to a favourable conclusion. Truly it may be said that this army requires reorganization." Such is the opinion expressed in the English journal.

We learn from the *Almanac de Gotha* that the Egyptian fleet consists in all of ten steamships, of which two are yachts, one is a frigate, one a training corvette, four are despatch boats, and two transport vessels. The fleet did not go into action.

THE SUEZ CANAL.

THE idea of this magnificent work was first entertained in the year 1854 by M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, at that time consul-general for France in Alexandria. The scheme met with the approval and support of the Egyptian government from the outset. Said Pasha, the Viceroy, gave the requisite concessions for the formation of a company to carry it out, with possession of the works to be undertaken during a period of ninety-nine years from the date of the opening of the canal. He further offered the services of twenty thousand fellahîn in monthly relays to carry on the work, who were, however, contrary to the general practice in Egypt, to be regularly paid. The "Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez" was thus founded under the presidency of its active, energetic, and meritorious originator, M. de Lesseps, who has retained that office to the present time.

The original capital of the company amounted to eight millions sterling, in £20 shares. Of these four hundred thousand shares, more than half were taken up in France. The Khedive himself took a fourth, and the remainder were taken up in about equal quantities in Austria and Russia. Germany, and curiously enough, England also, held aloof from application for these original shares. After a time an extension of the works was required and it became necessary to raise additional capital. The Egyptian government were constrained, at the instance of that of Great Britain, and on the score of humanity, to discontinue the supply of forced labour, though it was alleged that the men were in good health and well paid. They had also to purchase the fresh-water canal made for the use of the company, and the greater part of the land originally assigned to the company. These payments produced about £3,360,000. A further sum of £4,000,000 was raised by means of a lottery. A later repurchase of lands not required by the company yielded about £1,250,000, and, lastly, after the canal had been formally opened, the company issued bonds at eight per cent. to the value of £320,000.

The splendour of the project and the cost of its execution may be estimated when we call to mind

the fact that the cost of original outlay, buildings, improvements, and repairs down to the end of the year 1878 amounted to more than £19,167,000. The cost of plant and buildings in 1874 was estimated at £871,821 16*s*.

The length of the canal is about ninety-eight miles. The depth, twenty-six feet, was intended to insure the uninterrupted passage of vessels of the deepest draught. The breadth at the bottom is about seventy-three feet, and it varies from 188 feet to 390 feet at the surface.

From Port Said the canal is carried for twenty-five miles through the muddy lake Menzaleh, a work of extreme labour, as the banks made from the mud of the Nile are continually subsiding under their own weight. For the next four miles it passes through the land that surrounds the small town of Kantara. Thence it follows the old bed of the lake of Ballah.

El-Kantara is derived from an Arabic word signifying "bridge," as the caravan road to Syria formerly passed over a bridge at that place. The traffic still passes on this road, but is conveyed across the canal by a ferry.

After passing the lake the canal is cut through the hill of El-Giar, from three to four thousand

yards in width and rising to a height of about fifty feet above the sea. On this hill a large reservoir has been constructed, which is supplied with fresh water from the canal already mentioned. On the shore of lake Timsah lies Ismailia, a small town owing its origin to the construction of the canal, and containing some two thousand inhabitants. It has a parched and deserted look, though rows of trees and streets of handsome houses owned by the officials of the canal are not without an imposing effect. The part of the canal that lies between Tusun and Serapeum is the only portion which is in danger of silting up with sand, and it is here that the necessary operations of dredging are carried on. The Bitter Lakes, which are followed for about two and a half miles, are of great importance both in breaking the force of the waves and in promoting vegetation on the surrounding flats, which were formerly covered by a crust of yellowish salt. About seven miles further, at Shalouf, the canal passes through a plateau thirty feet above the level of the sea, composed chiefly of chalk and gypsum. From this part onwards to the sea, upwards of six miles, the canal passes through the lagoon of Suez, the soil of which is composed of the deposit of the canal.

In immediate connection with the canal two harbours have been constructed, not without great difficulty—those of Port Said and Suez. The latter place contained, in 1877, 11,327 inhabitants. The harbour had been formerly used only for small flat-bottomed vessels. Large sea-going ships had to anchor in the roads outside, and their cargoes to be transhipped into small steamers. A harbour had, therefore, to be formed, which has a depth of about thirty feet, and two moles projecting 6600 feet into the sea. A tongue of land, once covered at high tide, has been raised by depositing on it the soil dredged for the formation of the canal. This spit, with a railway along it and a lighthouse at one end, together with the mole, encloses the whole of the lagoon, forming two harbours, of which the outer belongs to the Egyptian government.

At Port Said there are two moles, enclosing a safe harbour, 568 acres in extent, with deep soundings, where formerly only a narrow sandy flat divided lake Menzaleh from the sea. It has been already said that Port Said takes the second place among the harbours of Egypt, counting by the number of ships, but the first place in respect of tonnage; and it must again be pointed out that, although the

great mass of this tonnage is mainly confined to the transit traffic, yet the population of the town is increasing fast, and that it has risen from less than four thousand in 1879 to over thirteen thousand during the past year.

In choosing an opening from the Mediterranean for the Suez canal, two towns had to be taken into consideration—Port Said and the ancient Pelusium, about eighteen miles further to the east. The canal, from this point to Kantara, would have been four miles shorter. But at the latter place it would have been necessary to carry a mole some 25,000 feet into the sea, in order to insure a depth of twenty-seven feet in the harbour.

The canal was begun in 1859. In 1869 the water of both seas had flowed into the Bitter Lakes. On the 18th of March in that year, Ismail Pasha telegraphed to Nubar Pasha, his ambassador in Paris: "I have inspected the whole course of the canal, and was present at the influx of the waters of the Mediterranean into the Bitter Lakes. I return to Cairo full of wonder at this great work, and trusting to its speedy termination." On the 20th of August, 1869, the canal was declared navigable, and the ceremony of declaring it open took place on November 16th of that year.

Important as the opening of the new route undoubtedly was for the interest of commerce, yet the payment of interest on the capital remained doubtful till the year 1872 first brought in a net profit of upwards of £80,000. These profits have been increasing yearly, and in 1875 amounted to over £900,000, but this amount has not been maintained continuously. In 1880 the gross receipts were £1,671,000, but the net profits did not reach half a million sterling (*Gothaische Hofkalender*). In 1880 the number of vessels that passed through the canal was 2017, of which the total tonnage was 4,378,064.

They may be divided as follows:—

Nationality.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
English	1579	3,460,977
French	103	274,990
Dutch	69	173,131
Austrian	60	116,041
Italian	52	105,279
Spanish	35	85,612
German	38	54,127
Russian	22	46,639
Turkish	11	11,030
Danish	10	13,650
Norwegian and Swedish	8	11,379
Portuguese	6	5,339
Various	24	19,870

It is obvious that the lion's share—say some three-quarters of this tonnage—belongs to Great

Britain; and as, owing to her trade and commerce, the shareholders obtained their dividends, the indifference shown by the speculative islanders towards this great French undertaking gradually ceased to exist. Lord Beaconsfield with universal assent bought a large number of founders' shares, and England became the most important of the shareholders of the new route to India.* Great Britain has a supreme interest in keeping this passage free under all circumstances. To say nothing of the greater safety to navigation, it shortens the way to India, formerly made round the Cape of Good Hope, by 1710 geographical miles. None but Platonic theorists could impute it as a fault to Great Britain that she should look upon this important canal with watchful eyes. We have seen, during the late short campaign, that the occupation of it was of the utmost importance for military operations. It is hardly to be expected she will ever give up the military advantages obtained by the occupation of the canal. These are not difficult to secure as any obstruction or cutting of the canal would affect only the short lengths at El-Kantara, Gisr,

* It was generally considered, at the time of the purchase made by Lord Beaconsfield, that the measure was rather one of national policy than a commercial speculation.—TRANSLATOR.

Ismailia, Serapeum, and Shalouf, the only places where the canal can be approached by land. These places, as well as the harbours at the entrance and exit of the canal, are of special importance for the occupation and safety of the passage. El-Kantara is of great historical interest, as most of the conquerors of old have chosen this road to penetrate into the heart of the country.

THE BRITISH ARMY.

The British army differs from the armies of most civilized states in its organization. There is no general obligation on the part of the population to military service, but the ranks are filled by voluntary enlistment. Without considering the enormous cost (to which we shall return hereafter), it is to be observed that an army brought together by voluntary enlistment is liable to fail in readiness for immediate action owing to desertions; while the numbers in the ranks cannot be kept complete if a sufficient supply of volunteers is not forthcoming. Formerly, the actual rank and file of the British regiments failed to come up to the number given in official returns. The deficiency in 1870 was 9280. Latterly, however, this state of things has improved, so that on January 1, 1881, according to official report, the actual numbers in

the army were in excess of the full complement. On the other hand, instances of desertion from the ranks seem to have been on the increase, reaching in 1880 to the number of 8109. But the greatest and most serious disadvantage of the British army, as compared with those continental armies which, by means of conscription, furnish a number approaching that of the able-bodied men of the country, is the impossibility of rapid increase in the event of war. English statesmen and general officers have recognized this fact. As they have had to encounter a resolute opposition to the idea of introducing a general conscription into the country, they have been at pains to find other methods of increasing the forces in case of emergency. An arrangement made with this view in 1870 has been finally adopted during the last year, not, however, without much opposition on the part of distinguished military men, amongst whom we will only mention general Roberts, who gained great reputation in the late Afghan campaign. According to this arrangement, the period of service with the colours has been reduced from the former period of twelve years (long service) to seven (short service). During the remaining five years the soldier returns to his civil status, but continues in the

army reserve (first class), and is liable to be called back to the ranks in time of war.

In England great results are expected from this system, and it is hoped that by this means an army reserve will be formed of from seventy to eighty thousand men. As yet the army reserve of the first and second class (of which more presently), in spite of twelve years' experience, has only reached thirty thousand, or, according to other authorities, forty thousand men—numbers which would hardly suffice to fill up gaps in the ranks caused by casualties and sickness during a protracted campaign. In no case would materials remain for forming new battalions.

It is not quite clear whether or not the reserve is under regular control; whether it is regularly drilled, even though regular drill may be provided for on paper; or what compulsory measures are practicable to insure actual service when the men are summoned. At the commencement of the Egyptian troubles, the English papers announced that at least eighteen thousand men of the reserve could be counted on. But the fact is that the State, on a former occasion, failed to make suitable provision for the families left behind by the men, or for the widows and orphans of those of the reserve

who had died on the campaign, in consequence of which there does not seem to be any great eagerness to re-enter the ranks.

The second class of the reserve is composed of men who, on completing twelve years of service, volunteer, on payment of ninepence per day, to return to the ranks in case of war. They are not liable to leave the country, and their number is limited to ten thousand.

By the side of the regular army has been developed that of the militia, anciently called *Fyrd*. The yearly strength of the militia, as well as that of the regular army, is determined by an Act of Parliament, called the Mutiny Act. In 1877 it was 134,500 men strong. The complement of militia regiments is levied, according to settled regulations, by enlistment. Militia men receive a military training of six months' duration, and are called out every year for twenty-one to twenty-eight days. The militia is called out by the Queen with the consent of Parliament; but it can only be sent on foreign service on special occasions, or when battalions or individuals volunteer for such service. The militia reserve consists of men who engage, for the yearly pay of £1, to join the regular army in time of war.

By the scheme of army reorganization—which

was limited to the infantry, and which came into operation last year—the regular forces and the militia were brought into close connection. Up to that time most of the British infantry regiments consisted of one battalion only. The numbers and titles of the older regiments, which served to keep up traditions of past services, have now disappeared, not without a storm of indignation. The infantry at the present time consists of seventy-one regiments of two battalions each, to which are linked two or three regiments of militia, so as to form so-called territorial regiments bearing the names of royal personages or of the counties in which they are raised. To these must be added three regiments of Guards, the Grenadiers having three battalions, and the Coldstream and Scots Fusiliers two each.

The following regiments form an exception to the general arrangement, viz. the Cameronian Highlanders, consisting of one battalion of regulars and one of militia; and the King's Royal Rifle Corps (Rifle Brigade), with four battalions of regulars and five of militia.

The two West India regiments, stationed in Sierra Leone and Jamaica, also consist of one battalion each, and are not linked to militia battalions.

Including the seven battalions of Guards, the English infantry numbers 152 battalions of the line and 154 of militia; twenty-three of the latter, however, have not yet received their full organization. It is provided that one battalion of every regiment, made up to its full complement by drafts from the other, shall serve in regular rotation on foreign stations; excepting the Guards and West India regiments, which remain, according to regulation, on stations of their own.

The West India regiments, as well as all battalions serving in India (fifty-six) and in the colonies (twenty), are always kept on a war footing, having a strength of thirty officers and 1016 rank and file. Of the battalions in garrison at home, twelve are intended to number 950 men, so as to be able to embark as early as possible, in case of a war. The strength of the remainder varies from 450 to 850.

The battalion is divided into eight companies. The uniform is a scarlet tunic with collar and facings of different colours, and a light cork helmet and spike. They are armed with the Martini-Henry rifle and triangular bayonet.

The cavalry consists of thirty-one regiments, viz. three regiments of Household Cavalry—two

of Life Guards and one of Royal Horse Guards—seven regiments called Dragoon Guards, according to their respective numbers; twenty-one other regiments numbered 1 to 21, of which 1, 2, 6, are dragoons; 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, are hussars; and 5, 9, 12, 16, 17, lancers.

For interior duties and administration the regiment is split up into eight troops, which form four squadrons for tactical purposes.

Regiments going on foreign service are formed into six troops, or three squadrons; of which one remains at home as a depôt. There are ten of these regiments now in India and the colonies. It is intended that the cavalry regiments shall be linked two and two in the same way as the two battalions of infantry. These arrangements have not yet been completely carried out.

The war establishment of a cavalry regiment amounts to 524 horses; but this number is hardly ever reached. The six regiments of the first line, intended to move at once in case of need, have four hundred horses; the remaining regiments, three hundred; and the Household Cavalry, 275. The regiments wear either red or blue tunics. The hussars wear dark blue. The head-dress is a

helmet of metal or busby of fur. Their weapons are sabres and the Martini-Henry carbine; the lancers carry lances and revolvers.

The whole of the artillery, true to ancient tradition, forms one single regiment of Royal Artillery. In this regiment the horse artillery is divided into two brigades, A and B, each comprising thirteen batteries, distinguished by letters A to N.

Of the brigades of foot artillery, two consist of nineteen batteries each, and the other two of eighteen batteries; in all seventy-four batteries, distinguished by consecutive letters. The British artillery are not yet armed with the more serviceable breech-loader, but have muzzle-loading 16-pounders and 9-pounders, in batteries of six guns each. Each brigade has a depôt for training recruits and remounts. In India and the colonies there are fourteen horse and forty-one field batteries. The war strength amounts to 191 men for a 16-pounder; 172 for a horse battery; and 165 for a 9-pounder battery.

The eleven divisions of garrison artillery, which correspond to the German foot artillery, consist of ninety-six batteries, all armed with muzzle-loaders, 25-pounders, 40-pounders, and 64-pounders, and with smooth-bore mortars. Thirty-three gar-

rison batteries are stationed in India, and twenty-nine in the colonies.

The small corps of Royal Malta Fencible Artillery belongs to the artillery, as does the Coast Brigade, composed of ten divisions, whose duty it is to guard and keep in working order the forts on the coast, which they occupy in small detachments.

The corps of Royal Engineers is very strong in officers (792 to 4802 men). It is divided into forty-three companies. Four companies are intended for the survey; two for postal and telegraph service; thirteen to be stationed in the colonies. There is also one field telegraph troop and one pontoon troop.

The Army Service Corps consists of eleven supply and twelve transport companies; twenty-three in all. Of these, four companies form the special Ordnance Store Department for the management of the extensive artillery material at Woolwich. In order to be able to double the number in time of of war, they are very strong in non-commissioned officers of companies.

The militia has been placed in organized connection with the line. There is no militia cavalry; and the artillery, the third component part of this auxiliary force, is formed into thirty-two corps, but

has no field batteries. Guns of position are handed over to them for regular drill. In addition the militia has three corps of engineers with a strength of thirteen hundred men.

Besides the regular and auxiliary forces, great numbers of Englishmen and Scotchmen unite of their own free will to form a volunteer force. The English set a high value on the volunteers, who enrol themselves to defend their country. Although the principle that has given birth to this movement is certainly a noble one, we can only see a sort of play in the spirit in which the exercises and parades are carried out.* We doubt whether the volunteers and yeomanry (a body of volunteer light cavalry of fifty-nine different corps, numbering nearly fifteen thousand men) would do the country material service even in case of invasion.

There is no recognized organization for higher combinations in peace time in the British army. There are a great number of generals: six field-marshals, ten generals, thirty-five lieutenant-generals, and ninety-five major-generals. When these officers are not required to hold commands

* This force now numbers about two hundred thousand efficients approved by military inspectors, and the officers are only appointed after undergoing an examination by the military authorities.

in time of war, their services are available to command the troops in the standing camps at Aldershot or the Curragh, and it is customary, in either case, to give them a numerous staff.

The officers of the staff, both head-quarters staff and auxiliary, are taken from the officers of the army generally, but it has lately been obligatory to pass the Staff College as a qualification for these appointments. The work of the German Grosser Generalstab, as far as it relates to taking cognizance of the affairs of foreign armies, is in England entrusted to a department in the War Office. This is the highest military department, and numbers in its four divisions 612 officers and officials. The Secretary of State for War is a civilian, and would be replaced with every change of ministry. The commander-in-chief is appointed by the Queen; the Duke of Cambridge, who at present holds that office, has been for many years a field-marshal. Although directly subordinate to the minister, it is a great advantage to the army, that practically the commander-in-chief's authority is uncontrolled in all military matters where financial questions are not concerned.

The entire personality of the officers of the army is elaborated at the office of the commander-in-

chief. It is obvious, therefore, that the appointment of adjutant-general at the Horse Guards is a very important and responsible one. The term Horse Guards is derived from the building where a portion of the commander-in-chief's duties are carried on.

For military purposes the country is divided into districts, ten in England and Scotland, four in Ireland, and two for the Channel Islands. At the head of each district is a lieutenant-general or major-general, who commands all detachments of the line, auxiliary, and volunteer forces stationed in his district. For artillery and cavalry a special arrangement is made. The country is again subdivided into 102 regimental districts, which are maintained each as a recruiting centre for a separate regiment. The Guards and Rifles, as well as the Artillery and the Engineers, have no special recruiting districts.

We may now briefly describe the Indian army, which, in conjunction with English troops stationed there, is divided into the three armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. The commander-in-chief of the Bengal army is also the commander-in-chief of all the forces in India, and receives his orders from the Viceroy. Details of the European troops in

India are given above. The native army of Bengal numbers seventy-three battalions of seven to nine hundred men; ninety-five squadrons of from 128 to 160 men; eight field batteries of four guns each; one garrison battery; and ten sapper companies of one hundred men. The Madras army, forty battalions of 712; twelve squadrons of one hundred men; ten sapper companies of one hundred men. The Bombay army, thirty battalions, twenty-one and a half squadrons, two mountain batteries, and five sapper companies of native troops.

The total strength of the British military forces, according to the Army Estimates of 1881, is as follows:—

	Officers.	Men.	Total.
Regular army and army reserves . . .	11,302	227,752	239,054, with 24,581 horses.
Yeomanry and militia . . .	4,383	149,570	153,953
Volunteers . .	8,161	237,270	245,431
Total . .	23,846	614,592	638,438
Indian army . .	3,280	123,870	127,150, with 24,190 horses.
Total . .	27,126	738,462	765,588 with 48,771 horses.

It may be remarked that the number of officers given with the Indian army refers to Europeans; the native officers are included in the rank and file. In the number of horses with the Indian

army are also included all transport animals and beasts of burden, elephants, camels, mules, etc.

There were actually present on the 1st of January, 1881, 7817 officers and 222,965 of the regular army, including 41,796 army reserve, 137,971 militia, and 206,537 volunteers, which made a total of 575,290 men.

A sum of £15,558,601 is put down for the army in the budget for 1880–81, and £1,000,000 as expenses for the army on account of India, while the army department in India cost, according to the accounts for 1879–80, £16,896,239 in that year. This last sum is one million less than the year before, and though a portion of it is spent on the maintenance of English troops stationed in India, it still seems extraordinarily large, seeing that the entire revenue of the Indian empire is about sixty-eight millions.

To return to the English budget: we think that the cost of an army, of which barely two hundred thousand men are absolutely at the disposal of the government, at least for foreign service, appears enormous when compared with that incurred for the German army. With an estimate of about £17,100,000, 18,128 officers and 427,274 men, all

trained soldiers, were maintained in the latter country. The English army, without taking into account its inferiority in ordnance, does not appear to be in any way on such a footing, in regard to training, tactics, and mobility, as would enable it to oppose a continental army with success. The headlong courage of the Anglo-Saxon is by no means to be denied in the individual soldier, and the discipline and drill may be sufficient. But the army has no body of officers practically as well as theoretically educated, nor is the infantry sufficiently trained either in individual firing or in fighting in loose formations.

The cavalry are excellently mounted. Although in some future death-ride as that of Balaclava they would, no doubt, retain and renew their ancient name for courage, they have not the training required to render useful service on outpost duty, as the eye and ear of an army. They, as well as the artillery, appear, on the whole, to be slow and wanting in mobility.

On the other hand, the result of the military operations undertaken by the English is quite surprising when we reflect how many, or rather how few, troops are left at the disposal of the British government when required on an emer-

gency, after deducting the home and colonial garrisons, deficiencies in the complement of regiments, and untrained recruits—for which about twenty-five thousand men must be reckoned.

Regarding the numbers of the British army, many different calculations have been put forward by Germans. We wish to direct the reader's attention to an English account, which cannot be challenged on the ground of unfair prejudice, and in which the numbers agree with those we have given. We allude to an article in the *People*, entitled "England as a Military Power," published at the beginning of the Egyptian complications; reproduced in the *United Service Gazette*, where it is said to have come from the pen of a well-known military authority. The total military strength of Great Britain is there calculated at 563,831, of which 189,123 belong to the regular army, 121,134 to the militia, 10,617 to the yeomanry, 208,308 to the volunteers, and 34,649 to the army reserve and enrolled pensioners. Deducting from the total strength of the regular army the troops on foreign service in India and the colonies—93,370 men—there remain in the United Kingdom only 95,753 of regular troops, reckoning the regiments as up to their full com-

plement, which is never the case. In this number are included some ten thousand five hundred untrained recruits, twelve thousand men in brigade and regimental depots, eight thousand of the different military departments, and four thousand garrison artillery to occupy fortresses and coast defences.

The force retained in Ireland, was increased three years ago by ten thousand men, and certainly cannot be weakened. If twenty thousand men are indispensable for the English garrisons, there remain 16,560—about a German division—at the disposal of the War Office to send to Egypt, or, in the words of an English correspondent, to "emphasize an ultimatum."

The militia and volunteers are only available in case of invasion, and the government can only reinforce these sixteen thousand men from the army reserve, and that by only eighteen thousand men at most. Calling out the reserves is an extreme measure, as the men are mostly fathers of families, and no provision is made for their families, nor any sufficient indemnity for their own loss of civil employment. The Indian army could contribute only a numerically small force, having been reduced for financial reasons. Such troops, too,

might not prove the most reliable in case of a universal Mohammedan outbreak.

In England this serious state of things was at last appreciated, and portions of the Household Cavalry, who have not seen an enemy since Waterloo, and of the foot Guards, who were last sent out of the country during the Crimean War, formed part of the expedition.

But if Great Britain can dispose only of very unimportant military forces for offensive purposes, yet she must always command the sea with her powerful fleet. It would take us too long to attempt a detailed account of the British ships of war, which amount to 550. The following data may suffice:—Out of 75 ironclads and 360 other steamships, 28 and 144 respectively are always in commission, as well as 77 sailing-vessels. Of these the greater number are sent out in squadrons, or singly, to nine different stations. The seamen number 45,109. The Marine Artillery forms one division of 2697 men. The Marine Light Infantry are in all 10,296 men strong. The naval estimates for 1880–81 amounted to £10,702,935.

The Mediterranean fleet has been considerably augmented of late. In October last it included

six ironclads of over six thousand tons, twelve steam, and three sailing vessels. In the beginning of August of the present year there were forty-four ships on that station, amongst which were twenty-two of the largest ironclads in the British navy. They are manned by 14,500 seamen and marines, and carry 345 heavy guns. Each ironclad is provided with apparatus for discharging torpedoes, and a certain number of Gatling and Nordenfeldt guns. This force was under the command of Sir B. Seymour, and was divided into four squadrons. The first, or "Mediterranean squadron," was stationed along the Egyptian coast, and consisted of nine ironclads and eighteen smaller ships. In the month of June it was joined by the "Channel squadron," of five iron clads and one despatch boat. The "reserve squadron," composed of ships in English harbours or cruising in northern European waters, has eight ironclads and one despatch boat, under the command of Rear Admiral the Duke of Edinburgh, who is at present stationed at Malta. The "detached squadron" consisted of three ships, either at Malta or Cyprus. About one-fifth of the entire British fleet was employed in the expedition to Egypt.

This fleet could be strengthened by twenty-

five vessels—twelve unarmoured from the Indian squadron, three from the east coast of Africa and ten from the west coast and the Cape. Of the eighteen ironclads in the harbours of Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Chatham, seven of the first class are in commission and ready for sea. They have a strength of about forty guns of the largest calibre.

The troops of the expedition were disposed as follows:—

Commander-in-chief : Lieutenant-general Sir Garnet Wolseley.

Chief of the staff: Lieutenant-general Sir John Miller Adye.

Adjutant-general: Colonel Dormer.

First Division.

First Brigade, commanded by Major-general the Duke of Connaught.—One battalion Grenadier Guards, Coldstream Guards, Scots Fusilier Guards; in all three battalions.

Second Brigade, commanded by Major-general Sir Evelyn Wood.—One battalion Royal Irish, West Kent, York and Lancaster, and Royal Irish; in all four battalions.

To this division was added one battalion Duke of

Cornwall's Light Infantry, two squadrons 19th Hussars, and one company of Royal Engineers.

SECOND DIVISION.

Commanded by Lieutenant-general Sir Edward Hamley.

Third Brigade, commanded by Major-general Graham. — One battalion each of Scots Rifles, Highland Light Infantry, Gordon Highlanders, Cameronian Highlanders; in all four battalions.

Fourth Brigade, commanded by Major-general Sir Archibald Alison.—One battalion each of Royal Sussex, Berkshire, South Staffordshire, and Shropshire; in all four battalions.

To the second division was further added one battalion Rifle Brigade, one squadron 19th Hussars, two batteries horse artillery, one company Royal Engineers.

A cavalry brigade, under the command of Major-general Drury Lowe, was composed of one regiment of Household Cavalry (made up of one squadron each from the two regiments of Life Guards and that of the Horse Guards) and the 4th and 7th Dragoon Guards; in all nine squadrons, with one battery of horse artillery.

The artillery corps, under the command of

Major-general William Goodenough, consisted of four batteries of field and four of garrison artillery.

The Royal Engineers, under the command of Major-general Nugent, contained two companies of Engineers, with pioneers, field telegraph, and detachments for railway purposes.

The entire corps was completed by the necessary field hospital, ambulance, field post, commissariat, and transport corps.

Reckoning the battalion at seven hundred and the squadron at 150, we get an approximate total of eighteen thousand men. We purposely do not enter closely into calculations, as we have not sufficient data, but we may point out that soon after the commencement of a campaign, a considerable percentage must be subtracted for sick and wounded and for detachments for various purposes.

The division sent from India, under General Macpherson, was composed of two English and three native infantry regiments; one 9-pounder and one mountain battery; three regiments of cavalry, and four companies of sappers and miners. In round numbers the Indian contingent may be taken at ten thousand men; so that the whole expeditionary force had a paper strength of twenty-

eight thousand men*—less than a German army corps on a war footing. Orders were given at Woolwich to prepare for embarkation a light and a heavy siege train, each of thirty-six guns of different calibres. The former was accompanied by eighty-three carriages, the latter by ninety-six. Five hundred rounds of ammunition went with each gun.

Sir Garnet Wolseley is one of the most distinguished and experienced generals in the higher ranks of the English army. He was the son of a staff officer in the army, descended from a good Irish family, and was born in 1833. He entered the army in 1852, and took part in several colonial campaigns. He was everywhere noticed for his reckless daring; was wounded in the Indian Mutiny, and again at Sebastopol. He early attained the rank of colonel, and in 1870 commanded the Red River Expedition. For the success and ability shown on this occasion he was knighted. His name first became generally known when, as major-general, he took command of the British troops in

* The actual number of troops despatched at the beginning of the war was: From England, 22,210; from India, 7370; total, 29,580 men. The reinforcements prepared during the war brought the whole strength up to 45,500 men. The Indian troops were, in addition, accompanied by 3500 followers.—TRANSLATOR.

the Ashantee War, which ended in the taking of Coomassie. Since this time Sir Garnet Wolseley has been appointed to various important undertakings, which were carried out with skill and energy. In 1875 he was sent as administrator to Natal. In 1878, when a war with Russia seemed probable, he was named chief of the staff, and was made Governor of Cyprus in the same year. Towards the close of the Zulu War, he went to take command in the Transvaal, pursued and captured Cetewayo and Secocoeni, and when order had been restored, returned to England.

Although continually in active employment, Sir Garnet has found time for literary pursuits. He wrote some valuable and instructive professional books, and a history of the Chinese War in 1860. He has lately taken a prominent part in the discussion as to the Channel tunnel between England and France, and is at the head of the party which, for military reasons, opposes the enterprise.

No doubt the rapid and brilliant career of this general has made him many envious opponents, who ascribe his successes wholly to chance, and who wish to refer to his Irish descent, rather than to moral causes, the daring assurance of his character.

In the first month of the present year, the Queen

appointed Sir Garnet Wolseley to the important post of adjutant-general to the Duke of Cambridge, and entrusted him later with the chief command of the army in Egypt. His chief of the staff, Sir John Miller Adye, enjoys the reputation of being an officer of high attainments and ability. He is in seniority only one year below the general in command.

BEFORE THE 18TH OF AUGUST.

We have seen that the English expeditionary force was not very numerous, and that its weakness lay chiefly in the impossibility of sending sufficient reinforcements to repair unavoidable casualties. It was expected at first that France would take part in the expedition, and send a force equal to the English one, but this was put an end to by the refusal of the Chamber to vote supplies. We may remark, however, that a French force, as it would have been partly taken from the Algerian army, familiar with African warfare, would probably have been of service. The French military law, which is intended solely to further a *guerre de revanche*, forbids the use of reservists out of Europe, and we saw last year the difficulties of every kind that attended the feeble expedition to Tunis.

Negotiations were also carried on between England and Turkey as to the sending of Turkish troops

to assist in restoring order to Egypt. Two reasons seemed at first to make it impossible to take this step. One was such a want of money in Turkey, that the navy, for instance, was actually without proper supplies of ammunition. The other reason was the lack of men, which was still more felt, as, on account of the troubled state of the interior, very few recruits could be obtained even from the most thickly populated provinces of the Turkish Empire. The Porte, however, would probably have overcome these obstacles, especially as an advance of £300,000 had been made by the Ottoman bank. But, owing to the hesitation of the Porte, England now declared that she would take the whole regulation of the affairs of Egypt in hand, and that the landing of Turkish troops would only be permitted under certain specified conditions. At first England would have been ready to confer with Turkey as to these conditions, but the notorious untrustworthiness of Turkish statesmen made it imperative for England to obtain positive proof that the Sultan intended to restore the authority of the Khedive, before Turkish troops could be allowed to land on Egyptian soil, now occupied by English troops. It was demanded that the Sultan should declare Arabi a rebel, as unless this were done before

Turkish troops landed in Egypt, Arabi might have surrendered, with his army, to the Turks, and the Porte might declare the matter at an end; or, on the other hand, the Turkish and Egyptian troops might possibly unite for common action against the hated foreigner. England also, necessarily, demanded the supreme control of the Turkish force.

Turkey resisted these conditions for some time, especially the placing of her troops under English command, and proposed that, in accordance with the course pursued at the time of the Crimean war—certainly a most unfortunate precedent—the commanders, while acting in concert for the attainment of the same object, should still be independent. As the Turkish force, however, was not to exceed 6200 men, the numerical superiority of the English reduced the Turkish pretensions of independence to an absurdity. We think notwithstanding that all difficulties might have been surmounted; and if, as was reported, England had unfurled the banner of the Khedive in the campaign about to commence, Turkey would have had no choice but to co-operate as harmoniously as possible with the unbelievers, or run the risk of losing all her authority in Egypt. By appointing an English officer to Turkish headquarters, the question of supreme authority might

have been satisfied, while preserving the apparent independence of the Turkish general. As time passed the position of the diplomatic disputants with regard to the military convention became altered. The Turkish government became more anxious to come to some agreement, in order not to be left entirely out in the cold at the final settlement of Egyptian affairs, but the English ambassador, on the contrary, became more indifferent. The proclamation against Arabi was at length drawn up, and thirty thousand copies of it were published, but delays still prevented the signing of the convention. At last the following solution was arrived at:—

"The army of Egypt having revolted against the authority of the Khedive, as established under the firmans of his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, and treaties between the Sublime Porte and other Powers, and her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and Empress of India, having resolved to co-operate with his Majesty in the suppression of the rebellion and the re-establishment of order, their said Majesties have seen fit to conclude a Convention for the purpose, and have named as their plenipotentiaries—for his Majesty the Sultan, Mehemet Said Pasha and Amin Pasha; for her Majesty Queen Victoria, Frederick Temple

Blackwood, Earl of Dufferin, English ambassador, who have agreed upon and concluded the following articles:—I. His Imperial Majesty the Sultan intends to send an army to Egypt, the first division to consist of five to six thousand men. Any increase to this force will be the subject of further agreement between the Powers. II. The Sultan's troops will go to Port Said and disembark at such points as shall be agreed upon by the two commanders-in-chief. III. The two commanders-in-chief will agree beforehand about all movements of the imperial Ottoman troops. IV. As soon as the occasion for which the troops of her Majesty and of the Sultan have been sent to Egypt has passed, both armies shall leave the country. V. To facilitate communications between the armies, it is agreed that an officer of high and equal rank shall be attached to the head-quarters of each army. VI. The above convention shall be ratified in Constantinople, if possible, within fifteen days."

But it was too late, and the crafty Oriental was caught for once in his own toils. Lord Dufferin was in no hurry to present himself at the palace. It might well be supposed that he was waiting for news from Cairo; and when this news arrived he terminated the proceedings, which had been all

along mixed up, like a tangled skein, according to the varying intelligence from the seat of war. He declared that a convention would be of no further utility, and that the landing of Turkish troops was no longer to be thought of. Lord Dufferin, while conveying this opinion, was courteous enough to express a hope that the friendship of the two Powers might in no way be impaired by these circumstances.

We have now followed this phase of the events to its close, and give our readers, for the sake of completeness, the proclamation against Arabi. This document, from its involved and ambiguous wording, failed either to satisfy the English, or to approve itself to Mohammedan opinion, and it was probably intended that it should be possible to interpret it in a sense exactly contrary to its supposed meaning. It was as follows :—

"You know that his Imperial Majesty the Sultan has been pleased to confer the viceroyalty of Egypt upon Mehemet Tewfik Pasha, in accordance with the privileges granted by imperial firmans. You know that, his Highness being the direct representative of the imperial authority in the administration of Egyptian affairs, his orders must be obeyed, and that every act against them entails

responsibility. Now Arabi Pasha, contrary to explicit provisions of sacred and civil law, has criminally attacked the prerogatives and attributes of the administration, has provoked foreign intervention, has shaken the confidence of the country, and has made military preparations in the presence of the ships of war of the government of her Britannic Majesty, who is an old friend of the empire; has presumed to disobey our sovereign order forbidding those preparations; has besieged a second time the residence of his Highness the Khedive; and has persisted in these acts without heeding the wise admonitions, in harmony with the sacred law and the necessities of the situation, liberally given to him by the Imperial Commission sent to the spot by our Sovereign Court, and composed of their Excellencies Dervish Pasha, Lebib Effendi, Eszad Effendi, and Kadri Effendi. At the same time, Arabi, in constituting by his own authority an administration in Egypt, has declared himself the enemy of the local authorities legally constituted, and has violated the principle of the country with regard to foreigners—a principle which lies within the attributes of the Imperial Ottoman government. He has presumed to interfere with those high attributes, and thereby has deceived the

Egyptian population, as well as some persons who are ignorant of this condition of things. Seeing that his Highness the Khedive is one of the highest dignitaries of the empire, possessing the confidence of his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, it is indispensable to maintain his rank and prestige intact, and to defend the authority and privileges with which he is invested by the stipulations of imperial firmans; consequently the acts which Arabi has dared to commit against his Highness constitute a flagrant violation of the supreme will of his Imperial Majesty the Sultan. So soon as Arabi Pasha, notwithstanding the crimes above enumerated, which are of a kind to bring upon him the severest punishment, appealed to the Khedive and implored through the channel of his Highness the pardon and clemency of his Imperial Majesty, at the same time showing repentance and apparent loyalty, he was the object of many favours; but soon afterwards he forgot those favours by persisting in his reprehensible and illegal conduct and raising the banner of revolt. Arabi Pasha is, therefore, considered a rebel in the eyes of the Imperial government. On this occasion it should be known to all that the Ottoman government is resolved, and has it at heart, to maintain the influences and privilege of

his Highness the Khedive. The present proclamation has, therefore, been made in order that all may submit to this supreme decree."

While the negotiations for the convention were going on, the number of Turkish troops it was proposed to send varied from three to six thousand men. Dervish Pasha was named commander-in-chief, with two English officers to assist him, and Baker Pasha chief of the staff—no doubt to further British interests. The troops for Egypt assembled at Suda bay, in Crete, and numbered 4100 men (equal to about four German battalions on a war footing); but there seemed to be no immediate expectation of their embarking, as both officers and men of this force were constantly on leave at Constantinople.

It was thus really still uncertain, up to the latter half of July, what nations would send troops, and in what numbers they would meet each other on Egyptian soil; and equally difficult was it to foresee what sort of relations would be established between these different forces when they met. In any case, the task before the English was arduous enough, and it depended on their rapid action whether the flame of rebellion should be extinguished at once, or allowed time to spread into a vast conflagration.

English troops were meanwhile continually being sent out, and arrivals in Alexandria were daily reported; so that by the 9th of August the great bulk of the transports had left the English ports. It was also said that an additional force of three thousand men was to be sent to Malta to remain there at the disposition of General Wolseley, but this was not known for certain. The Indian government, with due foresight, established a depôt of two thousand men at Aden.

The Khedive had given leave for the occupation of the ends and other important points on the Suez canal by the English. For the present, however, they only stationed men-of-war at Port Said and Suez. In all probability the canal would have been used, as far as might be necessary, for military purposes, even without the permission of the Khedive, although he was recognized and upheld as ruler of the country by the English. From a military point of view every soldier must admit that they would have been right. We cannot therefore understand the behaviour of M. de Lesseps, who had hastened to Egypt to protect his works, and to make protests, which were ridiculous because they were useless, against the seizure of the canal by the English. He also betook him

self to Arabi, and obtained a document from him guaranteeing the neutrality of the canal on the part of the Egyptian troops. Some of the English papers now proposed that M. de Lesseps should be arrested and sent back to Europe, for holding communication with the rebels. And later, when the canal had been seized and he had entered into relations with the English, he was branded by Arabi's followers as a traitor who had sold the all-important water-way to the foreigner. So M. de Lesseps got no thanks from either side, and it is a pity that a man of his age (seventy-seven), who had deserved well of his contemporaries, should not only have interfered in a matter in which no private individual could have any voice, but also should have shown such a want of moderation and decorum.

At this time little was heard of any movement on the part of the English. There was no change in the aimless and injudicious manner in which they frittered away the strength of the whole force and caused useless bloodshed by engaging in petty fights and fruitless reconnaissances. A German military paper at this time expressed an opinion that (apart from the bombardment of Alexandria, which was characterized from the beginning as a

gross strategical blunder) those in command had hitherto only given proofs of incompetency, and had shown themselves mere military amateurs. In saying this, the newspaper, in our estimation, hit the right nail on the head.

The English commander had placed newspaper correspondents under very severe restrictions, such as would be bitterly complained of by English reporters with a foreign army; so that the intelligence afforded necessarily appeared to be of a one-sided character. Yet there was no sign of activity; if on the one hand the fear of an Egyptian attack on Alexandria had died away, on the other no line of action seemed to be determined on by the British troops. The papers reported every little *rencontre*, as, for instance, when, on the morning of the 3rd of August, an English outpost allowed itself to be attacked by Egyptian troops, and by no means covered itself with glory in the affair. One could read between the lines, in all the accounts of these affairs, that the English leaders were well aware that something should be done, but did not know how to set about it. This explains the *Superb* being sent to fire on the Egyptian outposts opposite Ramleh, showing that these outposts must have been in the immediate vicinity of the English troops,

and this also explains the various reconnaissances in force. These reconnaissances always terminated in front of Kafr Dowar, and therefore not only failed to procure any intelligence worth having, but appeared well suited to accustom the Egyptian troops to the fire of the enemy.

On the 5th of August a reconnaissance was made by General Alison in person, and led to an engagement concerning which he sent a detailed telegraphic despatch to the Secretary of War, which is so characteristic, and throws so much light on the English mode of warfare, that we feel constrained to give it *verbatim*.

"Persistent native reports existing for the last two days that Arabi was retiring from Kafr Dowar upon Damanhour, I determined to make a reconnaissance which would ascertain clearly whether Arabi still held his original position strongly. For this purpose I directed half a battalion of the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, and a half-battalion of the South Staffordshire Regiment, with one 9-pounder gun and the whole of the Mounted Infantry, to advance along the east bank of the Mahmoudieh canal. The 60th Rifles, with one 9-pounder gun, were to advance along the west bank. These constituted my left attack. They

were to follow the line of the canal till they reached a house in a grove of trees towards the point where the railway coming from Cairo approaches nearest the canal. Along the line of rail, a strong battalion of marines was to come up in a train to Millaha junction, preceded by the naval armoured train carrying one 40-pounder gun and two 9-pounder guns, a Nordenfeldt, and two Gatlings. The train was to stop at Millaha junction; the marines were to detrain there and advance by the railway line, accompanied by the two 9-pounder guns, and covered by the fire of the 40-pounder from the train.

"The left column commenced the attack at 4.45 p.m. from an out-picquet station of the Ramleh lines, moving by both banks of the canal. It soon came into action with the enemy, who were strongly posted in a group of palm trees on the east side and a strong defensible house and garden on the other. These positions were carried. At this time Lieutenant Howard Vyse, of the Rifles, attached to the mounted infantry, and a soldier of the corps were killed. The enemy then took a second position half a mile in the rear of the first, upon the east bank of the canal, among high crops and houses, and behind the irregular banks of the canal. From

this position the enemy were driven with great loss. I accompanied the right column myself, which followed what was a cord of the arc upon which the left column was moving. I placed the marines and the two 9-pounder guns, which were dragged up by the seamen, to the west of and under cover of the railway embankment, and moved them forward as rapidly as possible, and out of sight of the enemy engaged with Colonel Thackwell, with the intention of cutting off their retreat. After a time our movement was perceived; the enemy opened upon us with artillery, and I pushed on as rapidly as possible till I came to the point where the railway approaches nearest to the Mahmoudieh canal. The two 9-pounders were dragged up the embankment and came into action with the enemy's guns, the 40-pounder firing over our heads against the point where the enemy's force was now beginning to appear. Fixing my right upon both sides of the embankment, I now threw forward two companies to carry a house near the canal, and followed up the movement by throwing some four companies still more to my left upon the banks of and across the canal. I had now obtained the position I wished, and formed a diagonal line across both canal and railway. The enemy fell

back slowly before us. The fire of the 7-pounder and 9-centimètre guns, shortly after brought into action, was speedily got under by the fire of my artillery. The object of the reconnaissance on my part was attained. Desirous of inducing the enemy to develop his full power before withdrawing, I held my position for about three-quarters of an hour, until dusk was rapidly drawing on. I determined now to withdraw. This movement was carried out with most perfect regularity and precision by the marine battalion under Colonel Tuson."

The general then goes on to explain, though not very intelligibly, that every attempt of the enemy to disturb the retrograde movement was energetically put a stop to by artillery fire; that no following up was attempted; that the enemy was disheartened by heavy losses; and that the result of the engagement, as a reconnaissance, left nothing to be desired. The English loss on this occasion was one officer and two men killed, and twenty-three wounded. The general estimated the enemy's losses at two to three hundred men. The prisoners declared that the forces at Kafr-Dowar consisted of four regiments of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, one regiment of artillery, and four to five thousand Bedouins; in all about sixteen thousand men.

According to other statements, confirmed by English officers, the Egyptian force engaged on the 5th of August was composed as follows:—one battalion of the 2nd Infantry Regiment, twelve hundred strong; one battalion Mustaphezin, nine hundred strong; one 7-pounder mountain gun and one rocket gun.

If it is true, as reported, that the Egyptian prisoners on this occasion declined the offer made to them to rejoin their own flag, it shows how little real enthusiasm was felt, whether patriotic or fanatical, in the cause of the national movement. However, it is difficult to form an accurate judgment on this matter. The English press at this time seemed somewhat offended by the unfavourable remarks of the German papers on military matters in Egypt, and even suggested that the Germans were jealous of the laurels the English army had won, and were about to win in Egypt. This appears absurd; but still, in giving two other accounts of the action of the 5th of August, which by Germans would be called a slight engagement of outposts, we wish solely to enable our readers to form a correct idea of the facts, and not in any way to detract from the courage of the English.

This action, for which the English troops re-

ceived the thanks of the Queen, was described as follows in a telegram to the *Temps* on August 8th:—"I have to-day been over the batteries at Ramleh, on the canal, and the English lines generally, by means of a pass from the military authorities. The batteries fired a few shots to clear the palm trees and undulating ground facing the English position. The Egyptian outposts are about three kilomètres from this position. To-day the Egyptians did not answer the fire of the English." * This does not bear out the account of the reconnaissance of which the English papers made so much.

The official telegram about the same event, sent from Cairo to Constantinople, ran as follows:—"Two English battalions and two squadrons of cavalry appeared near Ramleh, and endeavoured to place two guns in position on a hill situated fifteen hundred yards from the camp of Arabi Pasha. The latter despatched two battalions of infantry and two squadrons of cavalry to defend the position. Rushid Pasha, the commandant of Aboukir, having been informed of the occurrence, proceeded to the scene of the engagement

* This is evidently an error. The telegram in the *Temps* cannot refer to the 5th of August.—TRANSLATOR.

with three squadrons of cavalry; but, owing to the broken and sandy nature of the ground, he was unable to attack the English infantry. Arabi Pasha then ordered the cavalry to attack the English, who were obliged to retreat behind the hill. The Arabs had one horse killed, the engagement having lasted three hours and a half. The English loss is unknown, the killed and wounded having been immediately carried off the field. Another engagement took place at Fiekdoah, the English force advancing in three columns; the left wing consisting of three battalions of infantry and three squadrons of cavalry, together with four guns, and the right, which was stationed near Ramleh at the side of the Mahmoudieh canal; of three battalions of infantry and one battery of artillery; while the centre was composed of a regiment of cavalry. Advancing towards the railway, the English attacked the Egyptian troops near the bridge over the Mahmoudieh canal. Arabi Pasha sent a battalion of infantry to oppose the English left wing, and two battalions against the right wing and centre. After a sanguinary struggle of five hours' duration, the English were compelled to retire, and were pursued by the Arabs till nightfall. The loss on the side of the Arabs was nine officers and twelve men wounded.

The English loss was very considerable, but the exact number is not known."

The real facts, as taken from the account given by a German military paper, may be stated as follows:—The English outposts extended from the sea-coast at the eastern entrance to Ramleh, in a south-westerly direction towards lake Mariût. On their left flank was the strip of hilly coast with the railway from Alexandria to Aboukir, and lake Aboukir itself, which was partly dry. Opposite the English centre was the railway from Alexandria to Cairo, and the Mahmoudieh canal flowing towards their right flank. The railway to Meks runs close to the banks of lake Mariût. In the early morning of August 5th, about two or three hundred Bedouin horsemen advanced from the direction of Aboukir towards the left of the English outposts, while at the same time a still larger number made a demonstration against the extreme right. The English picquets, under Major Forster, fired on the Bedouins, but hardly maintained their name as riflemen or sharpshooters, as the official reports tell us that they hit nothing; and give as the amusing reason for this, that the horsemen moving to and fro gave too shifting a target. More energetic measures were considered necessary, and the armoured train with

its heavy gun, which stood ready on the branch line to Meks, was ordered forward. Captain Fisher, however, did not think it advisable to advance too far, and fired therefore at a range of five thousand mètres (a German field-gun carries seven thousand mètres, but the usual range for artillery is from fifteen hundred to two thousand mètres). While both wings were thus engaged with an enemy who was not very formidable, an extraordinary incident took place in front of the centre. A flag of truce from Arabi, accompanied by a large number of men, appeared on the railway embankment moving towards the Sidi Gaber station, and demanded to speak with General Alison. On being refused, the party went back, after having sufficiently observed the situation—a method of reconnoitring as new as it was safe and practical. This must have been the object of the crafty Egyptian commander, as soon afterwards a battalion of foot soldiers debouched from their lines, and endeavoured to advance under cover of the banks of the Mahmoudieh canal.

Behind the Bedouins on the left there now appeared some Egyptian cavalry and two battalions of infantry, which had probably left Aboukir in the morning and had occupied Mandra, a small place on the sea-shore half-way between Ramleh and

Aboukir. Although attacked on both sides, the English now moved out to take the offensive. A battalion of the South Staffordshire regiment, the 38th, with the few horsemen at General Alison's disposal, advanced from Ramleh, *i.e.* the left wing, while a battalion of the 60th Rifles advanced from the extreme right; that is, along the south bank of the canal, and between it and lake Mariût. Neither of the columns appears to have gained much ground, but we are told by a French correspondent that the armoured train was moved out towards the enemy's position until it was behind Arabi's outposts, when the marines in the train opened fire on the flank of two thousand of Arabi's infantry, who were marching between the canal and the railway. The firing continued until the first line of skirmishers came up from the English column on the right and left, and supported the marines in their very dangerous position. The correspondent goes on to say that the enemy upon this retired the main body of his troops on Kafr-Dowar, leaving his former advanced guard in the dry portion of Lake Aboukir. If this had been the case, and the English had attempted to follow them, the rifled breech-loading guns of the Egyptian main position would have caused great loss to the English. The best proof

that there was but little meaning or result in the affair was that the English regiments were still in their old position on the morning of the 6th of August. On the whole we conclude, even from English accounts, that, with about equal strength in infantry, the English had a considerable preponderance in artillery during this fight. In spite of this, the Egyptians seemed to have stood pretty well, and it can hardly have been a very brilliant and undoubted success if the English general expected to be followed up during his retreat. The phenomenal effect of the electric light had been tried on the superstitious fellahîn, but the English did not at first consider the disadvantage of also throwing a strong light on the front of their own position. Precautions were taken, though rather late, that the English troops should remain under cover while the ground in front of them was lighted up as if it were day.

The general position of the English troops up to the middle of August was as follows:—Alexandria was occupied, as well as the line of coast extending from Meks on the right to Ramleh on the left. From the land side this position was blockaded, as the English remained on the defensive and did not attempt to break through. Opposite Aboukir

lay a man-of-war, which, however, did not take the offensive.

Unlike the aimless and halting action of the English, Arabi seemed to be making the best use of time so valuable to him. The position of Kafr-Dowar, skilfully chosen by Arabi, lies close to the station of the same name, about a mile and three quarters from the commencement of the isthmus between lakes Aboukir and Mariût. It commands both railway and canal, and completely blocks all approach to Alexandria. Kafr-Dowar, as the name indicates, was a large farm surrounded with mud huts in cotton fields. These buildings were connected by earthworks, and the defences, which consisted of a treble line of trenches, were being continually strengthened. More than eight thousand fellahîn were kept to this work under the severest constraint. In Kafr-Dowar they were making an immense dam, which was to be separated from another rampart by a ditch thirteen feet deep and about nineteen feet wide, and to have blindages of beams, stones, tiles, etc. The first line of defence commenced near El Bida and extended about eleven hundred yards. Besides these lines the *koms* (or hillocks of earth and sand) up to Kafr-Dowar were fortified.

There were about a thousand of these *koms*, but only half this number were of any importance. The largest *kom* was fortified with especial care. It lies between Abu Homr and Damanhour, and was intended to defend the retreat to Damanhour in case the first line was driven back. Damanhour itself, lying thirteen yards above the sea-level, was also strongly fortified and furnished with cannon. From Damanhour outposts were posted up to El-Atf, on the road to Rosetta.

The third line of defence was at the Egyptian camp of Tel-el-Barud, formerly intended to hold the Bedouin tribes in check. Tel-el-Barud is sixteen and a half miles from Damanhour towards Cairo, and has a certain strategical importance, as it is the junction of the railways running south on each bank of the Nile. Arabi had the old fortifications repaired, and also constructed four new bastions.

It was reported at this time that Arabi's troops only lived by requisitioning the inhabitants, and that these last, reduced to beggary, had no alternative but to enter the ranks of the army.

The example of Plevna may have been before Arabi when he boasted that his troops would be invincible behind ramparts and trenches; and it is possible that if the superiority of the Egyptian

Krupp breech-loaders over the English artillery had been properly taken advantage of, many a brave English soldier might fall before these defences, now armed with two hundred guns from Cairo. All this, however, depended upon whether the English would do their enemy the favour of seizing the bull by the horns. The accounts from the interior were still so conflicting that reports of Arabi's strength varied from fifty thousand to a hundred and fifty thousand men. It was not even known what personages composed the provisional government at Cairo. The capital was being fortified, and earthworks were thrown up at Shubra and Kubba.

As to the feeling of the natives great ignorance prevailed. Some of the notables were said to be of opinion that if the Sultan declared Arabi a rebel, the people must submit; while, on the other hand, the lower classes were reported as being more and more excited, and fanaticism on the increase; especially since a green flag had been sent from the Sheikh of Mecca.

A correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, on board the gunboat *Decoy*, thus describes the sea defences of Aboukir:—

"From Fort Aboukir to Fort Rosetta there

is a long line of forts, ramparts, towers, and telegraph stations. The fortifications are of remarkable strength, and occupy important positions. England will require her heaviest guns to bombard them, and her utmost activity and science to take them. Some of them are certainly as strong as the forts at Portsmouth. It is believed that the enemy has two 25-ton guns and several others of large calibre at Aboukir. For months he has been occupied in adding new earthworks up to the inner lines, which are defended by the forts and towers. Fort Aboukir is armed with twenty-one guns; Fort Bourg, which is half a mile off, with fifty. The next fort is about a mile and a quarter from Fort Bourg; then come three towers, with seven to ten guns each; then three others, distant about only one and three quarters and three miles from one another. At the entrance of lake Edku there is also a small fort. Fort Rosetta is very strong. Opposite Fort Bourg lies Nelson's Island, about two miles and three quarters from the shore. The passage between this island and the shore is only navigable for gunboats. The water varies in depth, but is mostly shallow, and irregularly studded with rocks. About one mile from the shore it is from five to ten fathoms deep. Armoured

vessels must therefore station themselves far off to obtain the thirty feet of water their draught requires. Yet with their heavy guns they could easily reach the forts. The whole coast is sandy, and its monotony is only here and there broken by some long cliffs and small sand-hills. The fortifications, especially the important forts, Aboukir and Rosetta, are well placed."

Arabi replied to the landing of English marines at Suez, by collecting a large force at Tel-el-Kebir, to close the approach to Zagazig. An outpost was to hold Nefiche, where the branch line to Ismailia leaves the junction of the Suez-Zagazig Railway.

Owing to the ever-increasing numbers of British troops, Alexandria had assumed more and more the appearance of an English town. And although a rising of natives was expected on August 5th, the police under British command had so far restored order that the British commissary could guarantee the safety of the town. The guard of German marines from the *Habicht*, which had landed to protect the German hospital, were recalled, and the inhabitants began to return to the town, although they were warned not to do so in great numbers, as the water in the Mahmoudieh canal was very low and becoming bad as well as scarce. If the number of troops

was about to be augmented difficulties might arise as to a sufficient supply for the soldiers. So far the health of the troops and of the town had been excellent, but Dr. Mackie, at the English consulate, mentioned his fear that the epidemic from which the French suffered in 1799 might attack the troops. The disease is common among the fellahîn, and is caused by drinking the water of the Sweet-water canal without filtering, as the water is full of poisonous molluscs and causes injurious and fatal disease. The troops were only, therefore, to drink boiled or filtered water, but were not, apparently, furnished with filters.

About this time, as the European colony in Alexandria wished to co-operate in restoring order, a *comité de vigilance* was formed at the instigation of Dr. Schweinfurth. It was not looked upon very favourably by the English authorities, and some Englishmen declined to join it. Sir Garnet Wolseley appears to have been so far favourable that he did not entirely and at once ignore and discourage civilian support of this kind. A German general would most probably have refused to commit himself to the smallest notice of any proposition of the sort. At any rate this laudable idea seems to have come to nothing. The English newspapers

dwelt much on the very good impression made by the martial forms of the Guards on the natives, but nothing of military importance occurred except that one battalion was marched on shore to stretch their legs after their long stay on board ship.

The daily skirmishes at Ramleh, Meks, and Mandra, a little place between Aboukir and Ramleh, were always, it is true, reported in favour of the English, but at the same time a considerable amount of initiative was shown by the Egyptians.

At last all the British troops were assembled on Egyptian soil. General Wolseley landed on August 15th, and on the following day he issued this proclamation to the natives:—"The general commanding the British forces wishes to make known that the object of her Majesty's government in sending troops to this country is to re-establish the authority of the Khedive. The army is, therefore, only fighting against those in arms against his Highness. All peaceable inhabitants will be treated with kindness, and no violence will be offered to them, their religion, their mosques, or their families. Their property will be respected. Any supplies that may be required will be paid for, and the inhabitants are invited to bring them. The general in command will be glad to receive visits

from the chiefs who are willing to assist in repressing the rebellion against the Khedive, the lawful ruler of Egypt appointed by the Sultan."

The landing of Indian troops was now expected at Suez, and rumours from England estimated the number of this force to be twelve thousand men. The seizure of the Suez canal was much discussed, but from a military point of view we must unconditionally admit that the English were perfectly right, as it was indispensable to them to be able to unite without disturbance the two forces that were to act together in Egypt. From a commercial point of view also, it was necessary to preserve this important sea passage from destruction. Telegrams arrived at last to say that Admiral Hewitt had taken possession of the waterworks at Suez, and, soon after, that the disembarkation of troops and stores had taken place. There was a newly laid cable between Port Said and Alexandria, and at Alexandria the Bedouins willing to serve had been put under the command of Captain Ewart.

The arrival of the general commanding-in-chief was looked for as likely to bring more unity into the British plans, and speculation was rife as to what would be his plan of operations. Even if the

first rule of war is to subdue the enemy, the first object is to gain possession of the capital. This is always of the greatest importance, and the more centralized the regulations of the State are, the more the population is affected by the capital. The saying that Paris is France can be applied to Cairo and Egypt. Of course it was necessary to capture Arabi, but the operations of General Wolseley had to be directed towards Cairo, and Arabi had to endeavour to protect that town. This he might do while throwing himself before the invader, or checking his march forward by attacks on his flanks. It might be taken for granted that the English would follow the line of railway in their advance, in order to utilize the rails for conveying troops, stores, and ammunition. Should Arabi try to destroy the railway he could only do so effectively at the large bridges.

In considering the matter, there seemed at this time to be three courses open to the British general. The two antagonists were close to each other at Alexandria, and it would have been considered quite natural, and a matter of course, if the English had seized the stronghold of Kafr-Dowar. Putting aside considerations of the tactical difficulties of attacking from a narrow defile

exposed to the whole fire of the enemy, this operation would have staked the whole issue the campaign on a single card; any repulse suffered by the English would have caused them great loss of prestige; the campaign would have increased in difficulty and loss of life; and their camp at Alexandria would have been endangered. The situation would not have been much altered even if a landing at Aboukir had been combined with a flank attack on Kafr-Dowar.

A landing at Rosetta, and the subsequent march along the railway, offered no advantages, inasmuch as the troops would have to traverse several considerable watercourses, and still have to attack Damanhour. To land at Damietta and advance from thence would also be attended with great difficulty.

Two plans still remained after garrisoning Alexandria with sufficient troops. One was to start from Meks, and after taking a few weak places to pass through the Lybian desert to Cairo. This was the one chosen by Napoleon, and by this means the positions of Kafr-Dowar, Damanhour, and Tel-el-Barud would be passed on the left flank. But in this case Arabi could, by means of the railway, reach Kafr-ez-Zayat, Barrage, Cairo, and Ghize — that

is to say, all the bridges over the Nile—before the invader, and at any one of these positions that he chose to select he could make a final appeal to arms. As, however, the ancient conquerors of Egypt entered the country by Pelusium, now the Bay of Tine, so it was now proposed to choose the same landing-place and proceed to El-Kantara, or to use the whole length of the Suez canal as a basis for war operations. The seizure of the canal would be attended by great difficulties, but once occupied and completely held, not only would communication be opened between troops at Suez and those at Alexandria, but the base of operations would be removed much nearer to Cairo. The railway from Alexandria to Cairo being twenty-four miles, or two good days' march longer than that by Ismailia and Zagazig, is a difference not to be underrated.

It was all-important for the defender of the country to know what the chief line of attack would be, in order thoroughly to fortify the places likely to be attacked, and to choose these places correctly and with a good strategical eye. To fortify them would be easy with the help of railways, only the difficulty was to guard against being unable to disengage troops, and to effect the purpose of fighting a decisive battle in the place determined on, while

the enemy was advancing with precaution towards another spot.

If an opinion had been given at this time as to the future, it would certainly have been said that the English would remain the conquerors. The time and place were alone doubtful. A parallel might be drawn between this campaign and that of Napoleon in 1798. The great commander had then about forty thousand men under him, the Egyptian army being about as strong as it is now. And if the tried soldiers of the Republic only conquered after considerable difficulty, a doubt might be allowed as to whether Sir Garnet Wolseley would be able to carry out his expressed intention of ending the campaign by the middle of September, always supposing that the Egyptians would offer some kind of resistance.

THE 19TH OF AUGUST TO THE 12TH OF SEPTEMBER.

No sooner had Sir Garnet Wolseley landed than a great excitement arose among the newspaper correspondents, all eager for news; and numerous telegrams were sent about. As up to that time no council of war had been held by the general in command, no reliable intelligence of any sort had been telegraphed to Europe. Most of it pointed to a projected landing at Aboukir, and an attack on the position at Kafr-Dowar in front and flank. It is known that Sir G. Wolseley was by no means disposed to look favourably on newspaper correspondents. He is said to have stated in his "Soldier's Pocket-Book," and not without reason, that correspondents are the curse of modern warfare. He has only so far modified his opinion as to allow that they may be of service in disseminating false intelligence. Double caution, therefore, was re-

quired in accepting such telegrams as professed to contain intelligence of the plans of commanding officers. Colonel Methuen, an officer who served for many years as military attaché to the British Embassy at Berlin, where he was known and respected by German officers, was appointed to supervise the despatch of telegrams; perhaps also to give out any intelligence it might be convenient to make public.

On the afternoon of August 18th, six weeks after the bombardment of Alexandria, a fleet of eight men-of-war, with six thousand men on board from the troops then in or around Alexandria, started eastward, and military operations seemed at last about to begin. The whole of the first division embarked under the command of General Willis, and Sir Garnet Wolseley accompanied the expedition with his chief of the staff. Each man took one and a half day's rations and two hundred cartridges. Besides this there were on board rations for two more days. Each battalion had two hundred spades for throwing up earthworks and entrenchments. The fleet steamed out about noon, and the general belief was that it was going to bombard Aboukir and land there. It did in fact arrive at Aboukir, where it anchored till the even-

ing. Then, leaving a few men-of-war behind, it proceeded further to the east. In fact, Sir G. Wolseley had purposely allowed the opinion about the bombardment of Aboukir to be spread so as to prevent his actual plans from being known. So well was his secret kept that not even the brigadier-generals on board knew their real destination. General Hamley, left at Alexandria in command of the second division, had received orders to proceed to Aboukir on the 20th, and to seize the town. He only knew after opening his sealed orders what Sir Garnet's actual plans were.

Strangely enough, the bombardment of Aboukir was distinctly heard by certain zealous war correspondents, all eager to be the first to report any event of importance. In spite of their acute hearing no event of consequence had taken place at or near Aboukir; and this was a fresh instance of the caution to be observed in trusting these telegrams.

The plans of the commander-in-chief, well matured and kept secret, were followed up without mishap to a successful issue. On the 19th an English gunboat, in spite of a more than energetic protest from M. de Lesseps, had been stationed at the Suez entrance of the canal to block the passage. Early on the 20th Commodore Edwards and six

hundred seamen and marines landed and took possession of Port Said without resistance. Ismail Pasha Hamdi, the governor, who, in terror of the rebels, had taken refuge on board an English ship of war, was reinstated in his office. One officer and 130 men loyal to Arabi escaped; the remainder of the garrison declared for the Khedive.

The fleet then proceeded down the canal, which was blocked to all foreign merchant vessels, and disembarked the troops at El-Kantara and Ismailia. At the same time a detachment from Suez proceeded northwards, and, after a short engagement with a weak Egyptian battalion, took possession of Shalouf. Shalouf is a station on the railway from Ismailia to Suez, about half-way between that town and the Bitter Lakes. This operation was just timed to save the destruction of the Freshwater canal, already begun by the Egyptians.

General Wolseley had also sent a detachment from Ismailia to Nefiche, which fell into his hands after a few shots. He then took the command of a reconnaissance as far as Tel-el-Kebir in person. Later on, Tusun on lake Timsah, and Serapeum, half-way between it and the Bitter Lakes, were taken possession of without resistance.

Thus during the 20th, through a happy combina-

tion, the whole course of the canal had been occupied without difficulty, by the English. The movement of an important part of the force from Alexandria to join the Indian contingent (from the south) had shifted the centre of the war eastwards. General Wolseley was leading along the canal two divisions which he could reinforce at pleasure from the troops at his disposition, while the works thrown up at Alexandria needed only to be manned by a proportionately small garrison. On the 21st General Macpherson landed at Suez, and it was hoped that the Indian contingent would be collected together in a short space of time.

As regards the canal no general could, or would, allow himself to be deterred from his appointed task by any protests from private individuals. England can come to no other conclusion, than that she ought to keep possession of this important maritime passage; important not only for herself but for the whole world, as well for commercial as for military purposes.

The Egyptians, who had perceived the embarkation of the troops, made several weak attacks on the British posts at Alexandria, but were easily repulsed.

The forces of Arabi Pasha stationed at Tel-el-

Kebir were supposed to amount to twenty-five thousand men, of whom eleven thousand were regular troops. Reports varied greatly as to the divisions said to exist in the national army. According to one account Arabi was not a political dictator, but only the general in command of the troops. It was not certain where he was. It was rumoured that he had remained for several weeks encamped at Kafr-Dowar; and again, that he was organizing the defence of Tel-el-Kebir. Other accounts said that, discouraged by the seizure of the canal, he was only waiting for the arrival of Turkish troops to surrender to the Turkish general in command. Others, again, made out that the insubordination of which he was himself an example had become irrepressible among his troops. Their conduct at Port Said, if truly reported, threw a more than doubtful light on their discipline and their enthusiasm for their leader. Even at Nefiche they do not seem to have shown much courage; and we must accept with caution reports of their losses, which were put down at one hundred killed and larger numbers wounded in every small engagement.

The difficulties that confronted the English general were appreciated at home. The daily papers asserted, during these few days, that several

regiments, designated by him, were held in readiness for embarkation. It was obvious that, by shifting his base to the Suez canal, Sir G. Wolseley would require reinforcements, as a percentage of his troops had to be withdrawn for the occupation of the canal.

After the swift and successful move we have described, an energetic continuance of operations might have been expected. But "nothing new in Egypt" was all that one gathered as day by day one looked for news. It did not seem clear to military men why Sir Garnet Wolseley, after the seizure of the whole length of the Suez canal had been so well planned and carried out, did not surprise the Egyptians at Tel-el-Kebir by a vigorous advance. The English general had surely had time to mature his plans since the 11th of July, and as the beginning of the campaign was conducted with all the prudence and energy for which Sir Garnet had already been praised in other wars, it seems the more strange that he hesitated to take immediate advantage of the first success. There could be no difficulty as to numbers, as sufficient troops could easily and quickly be put on shore from the canal; and, as it was possible to take the position of Tel-el-Kebir by assault, the provisioning of so relatively

small a force could have been easily managed. But however this may be, it is certain that Sir Garnet lost much valuable time—full four days—and as the proposed point of attack must have been well known, opportunity would have been given to an opponent of any ability to bring up large reinforcements by railway to Tel-el-Kebir.

On the 21st of August the British advanced guard penetrated a few miles beyond Nefiche along the railway and Sweetwater canal, and took Magfar after a skirmish described in the usual way as costing the Egyptians a loss of hundreds of dead and wounded, while the prescribed two men perished on the English side.

At last, on the 24th of August, Sir Garnet Wolseley himself advanced at the head of some cavalry and a thousand infantry (equal to one German battalion at its war strength), and occupied a dam made of fascines which had been made by Arabi's troops between Magfar and Mahuta.

On the 25th of August the English general intended to attack the enemy's head-quarters at Halenka (not found on the maps), and advanced for this purpose with the first division, the cavalry brigade under General Drury Lowe, and sixteen guns. According to English accounts, a movement

of cavalry on the flank and in the rear decided the day. The Egyptians fled in disorder, and a large camp at the Mahsamah railway station, five Krupp guns with ammunition, a number of rifles, and seventy-five railway trucks with provisions, fell into the hands of the English. The casualties on the 24th, when the small English force was opposed, it is said, to ten thousand men, amounted to six dead and twelve wounded, and on the 25th the losses, not ascertained on the first telegraphic communication, were then described as inconsiderable. The Egyptians had sustained great loss.

General Wolseley added, in his telegraphic despatch to London on the evening of the 25th, that he was encouraged by the events of the day to continue the next day on the offensive, and to take the important position of the lock at Kassassin. He held the enemy to be so demoralized that he hoped to meet no opposition before arriving at Zagazig.

If we only consider actual results, the taking of Mahsamah was of the utmost importance. Here the Egyptians had dammed the Sweetwater canal, and even if the depth of water was sufficient, the circumstance that Ismailia was entirely dependent for its drinking water on this canal made it dangerous to leave it in the enemy's hands. The

reports of the English commanding officers gave the actual results of these operations, but were not precisely accurate either as to the proportions of the forces engaged on both sides, or as to the loss in killed and wounded. It seems absolutely impossible that in fighting against an enemy of ten times its strength the English force should only lose six killed and twelve wounded; and as it is now stated that the courage of the Egyptian artilleryman was highly spoken of by Sir Beauchamp Seymour only in order to give the bombardment of Alexandria military *éclat*, it seems all the more necessary to consider dispassionately these later statistics. Either the strength of the Egyptians was overrated, and then the military success would be of less account, or the English losses were greater and prevented the vigorous prosecution of the attack. At the same time, very little belief was likely to be felt in Sir Garnet's statement that he hoped to meet no opposition till he reached Zagazig, as all reports had hitherto mentioned the strongly fortified position of Tel-el-Kebir as having been reinforced by twenty-five thousand men and sixty guns, under the command of Raschid Pasha Husin, one of Arabi's best generals. No position at Mahuta or Mahsamah, on the other hand, had been heard of until now.

Hitherto the Indian troops had taken no part in the operations. It was not yet known whether they were being assembled at Ismailia or Suez, or whether General Wolseley meditated an attack in force with all available troops towards Zagazig. He might also intend to advance on two different lines at the same time, the English to proceed to Cairo *viâ* Zagazig, while the Indian troops took the desert route to the capital. The first of these plans seemed the most probable, for, as the whole British force amounted to little over the strength of a German division, it would have been a risk, even before a contemptible enemy, to separate so small a force, especially as a day's march through an impassable desert would divide them. A single despatch intercepted or a slight failure might cause a catastrophe. The report that Indian troops were to be landed at Kossir to reach Cairo by Keneh hardly deserves consideration, as, even if no resistance was met with, such a force could not hope to reach Cairo in time to take part in the campaign.

The Indian division was now landed, and was under the orders of General Macpherson. It was composed of two brigades of infantry; the first consisted of one English and two Indian regiments, the second of one English and four Indian regiments

(each regiment from seven to eight hundred men strong), with four batteries, and two regiments of Indian cavalry. In all, the division numbered about nine thousand men.

The military possession of the canal was well secured by the English, and gunboats acted as patrols, while supplies of provisions and ammunition were furnished by means of a service of boats on the Sweet-water canal. A number of railway and other vehicles had been taken on the 20th of August, but although the railways from Suez, Port Said, Ismailia, and Mahsamah had been restored to working order, locomotives were still wanting.

The Suez canal, after the first few days, was again opened for traffic, the only difference being that merchant vessels might be delayed and inconvenienced by the great number of transports and men-of-war. M. de Lesseps, after an interview with the English commanding authority, had wisely accommodated himself to circumstances. The Canal Company had then sent their pilots on board some of the stranded steamships, the English had promised in future to pay the regular toll for all their war vessels, and M. de Lesseps was willing, as soon as this *modus vivendi* had been arranged, to return to Europe with his son. This was perhaps the best

thing he could do, for Arabi seemed to have the idea—not an unnatural one for an Oriental—that the Frenchman had deceived him, and had sold the canal to the English; and Arabi is said to have put a price on his head.

Before Alexandria during this interval very little had occurred. In making one of their so-called reconnaissances, the English suffered an unpleasant reverse; from their own accounts the armoured train had to move off, for it was nearly blown up, and Sir Evelyn Wood, with his "young troops who had not yet been under fire," also retreated. Even if such a defeat did not really affect the result of the war, it explained the increase of initiative on the part of the Egyptians. Numbers of Bedouins advanced from Meks, as well as from Ramleh, to attack the English lines, and continual movement was going on in the camp at Kafr-Dowar. Tents were struck and pitched again nearer the English camp, the earthworks were strengthened, and heavy guns posted in range of the English fire with a sort of ostentation. It is not improbable that this increased appearance of activity was intended to mask the transportation of troops to other places within the seat of war. This would have been a justifiable *ruse de guerre*, and was

mentioned as likely by English reports. It was therefore very extraordinary that General Hamley let so much valuable time pass without at least making an attempt to ascertain whether he was still holding a considerable number of Egyptians at bay before Alexandria. Arabi was reported to have left Kafr-Dowar, and Toulba to be in command there; but complete uncertainty prevailed about what was going on either in the interior or with Arabi's troops, as only the most contradictory reports reached Alexandria. The number of troops before Alexandria was not known, but on the other hand Aboukir, Rosetta, and Damietta seemed continually to be reinforced. Fort Ghemileh, which is on the Tamitic Nile mouth, on a narrow strip of land, was said to be occupied by Arabs who had fled from Port Said, and there was some talk of bombarding this point. According to Sir Garnet Wolseley's last despatch, an assemblage of troops at Tel-el-Kebir was not expected, while other reports told of earthworks thrown up near Heliopolis and Matarijeh, besides those before mentioned at Shubra and Kubbah. These works were made by a great number of fellahs (thirty-six thousand?), and were armed with the heaviest guns from the citadel of Cairo. Arabi's forces

in Cairo were also reinforced by twenty thousand fresh troops, mostly negroes, and the railway bridge over the Nile at Barrage, below Cairo, was to be provided with a *tête-de-pont*. In Zagazig and Mansura the holy war was preached and all disposable troops assembled. Mansura is on the same branch of the Nile as Damietta, about eighty miles from Zagazig and seventy from Damietta, and might be of importance if Zagazig were attacked. Arabi levied taxes and requisitions, and the provisional Government had voted a forced loan of eighty million piastres. The false prophet was advancing from the Soudan.

On the other hand all these reports were contradicted, and the English newspapers asserted that Mehemet Naadi Pasha, the governor of the Soudan, had sent an officer to the English general, who was to transmit to the Khedive the assurance that the governor and officers and troops under his command were quite loyal and would never acknowledge Arabi; that the inhabitants of Upper Egypt were hostile to Arabi; and that the destruction of the railway at Bulak Dakrur was the work of Bedouins, who wished to cut off his retreat. Rudschi Pasha and Zulficar Pasha were prisoners in the hands of the English, and seven officers of high rank—among whom was

Izzy Bey, Arabi's chief of the staff — with a detachment of soldiers, had arrived in the English lines, and expressed their loyalty to the Khedive. The common soldiers were reported to be in rags and in a wretched plight, and to have declared that they were compelled by threats to serve Arabi, and that there were many more in the same predicament. The governor of the citadel at Cairo is also said to have expressed his readiness to surrender to the English. A schoolmaster who had left Cairo on the 14th of August said that torchlight processions took place every night, in which Allah was besought to send death to every one of the Christian dogs.

In the opinion of those who knew Egypt and its people best, the way to Cairo would be open, if the resistance at Tel-el-Kebir and Zagazig were overcome.

It was very difficult, without a better foundation than these contradictory reports, to picture to one's self in any way the real position of affairs in Egypt; but in any case it seems certain that there really was a religious movement taking place in the Mohammedan world, and attention was called, perhaps designedly, to the prediction that the year 1883—according to Mohammedan style, 1300—was to witness the general victory of Islam.

The Nile, which was still continually rising, might possibly play a considerable part in the defence of Egypt, although the flooding of the country by cutting the artificial dams would have done more damage in the end to the inhabitants and the country than to the invading army, which would have been able to overcome the obstacles placed in its way, when the time came to encounter them.

The appointment of commissary-general to the British forces at the seat of war is one demanding great ability and activity. General Morris, the officer selected for this post on the present expedition, is well known on the Continent as having been military *attaché* at Vienna for some time, and from his former experience he was perfectly at home in Oriental matters.

The English troops, as enlisted troops always do, bring with them a large following, and therefore the question of transport is always a difficult one. The government had determined to make extensive purchases of mules; fifteen hundred were to come from the south of France, and English agents in Turkey and Asia Minor were buying up beasts of burden and cattle. It is a curious illustration of the real state of feeling between

two Powers who were actually negotiating a military convention for joint action in Egypt, that at Smyrna seven hundred mules were detained, and at Constantinople drivers were deprived of their liberty on the pretext that they were being enlisted to serve in the English army. The incident was settled in favour of the English, only after energetic remonstrances from the ambassador, who insisted on the right of his government to hire Arabs for drivers, etc.; but later on the Turkish government again attempted to make difficulties.

Another incident that might have caused serious difficulties was this: an Austrian man-of-war, the *Nautilus*, thinking that Aboukir was in the hands of the English, sent a boat on shore, which, with its crew of twelve men, was detained by the Egyptians. The Austrian ambassador ordered the *Nautilus* to lie off Aboukir, and made remonstrances, but the boat was only released after a delay of some days.

As no decided step was yet determined on by the English, *canards* of every sort filled the air. A report from a French source went the round of the papers, that the English were actually at Cairo, although the nearest British posts were still seventy-three miles away, at Suez. It was

also said that Tel-el-Kebir was taken, while it was still so far from the British lines that they hardly knew whether it was occupied by the enemy or not. Among all these reports there might be a general, though unacknowledged, feeling that the whole military action was wanting in energy and initiative.

The day after the engagement of the 25th of August, which put Sir Garnet Wolseley in possession of Mahsamah, the cavalry pushed forward to Kassassin Lock. The general march forward announced in the despatch of the evening of the 25th did not therefore take place. Some difficulties as to the English military position may now have been cleared away by the fact that the Indian division was assembled and ready to advance.

It appeared that the first division was now intended to move on Zagazig, but nothing definite was known. Although Sir Garnet had said that he expected no serious opposition before arriving at Zagazig, other reports mentioned Tel-el-Kebir as strongly fortified, and likely to be the scene of the next serious fighting. As to preparations for the offensive, an armoured carriage, armed with a 40-pounder, was being brought forward, dragged by twenty horses; and an engine and nine car-

riages had been brought from Alexandria, ready to accompany the above-mentioned armoured carriage to the front.

The Egyptians seem to have taken the offensive at Mahuta, a fresh proof that they were not without initiative. The English appeared to have gained the day on the 24th only by great exertions, and Sir Garnet was blamed in some of the English papers for having quoted the traditions of England as a reason for not retiring. These critics thought that a general ought to know the proper moment for retreat, which sounds true enough, but the gallant officer was undoubtedly in the right. These same papers would not have failed to blame him if by retreating he had cast a slur on the British arms and allowed an enemy to suppose that the British lion was not unconquerable.

The horses of the heavy cavalry were said to be out of condition, owing to their recent sea voyage; it seemed doubtful whether they would bear the work now required of them under unusual conditions, or whether the numbers of unserviceable animals would go on increasing.

The general commanding must also have considered the probability that the ranks of his troops would be thinned by sickness as well as by losses

in the field. Great losses at Mahsamah were spoken of, and dysentery and sunstroke were prevalent. It seemed, therefore, more likely that operations would be delayed than hastened, and no wonder considering the smallness of the force. In illustration we may refer to Napoleon's campaign, which was by no means a mere *promenade militaire*, but involved many difficulties and took up considerable time.

Sir Garnet Wolseley might be congratulated if, under these circumstances, he asked for reinforcements from home. But if so, it seemed incomprehensible that the *Pall Mall Gazette* should have declared itself authorized to contradict the report that such a demand had been made. One could not tell whether British pride was wounded by the notion of making additions to the forces before so contemptible an adversary, or whether the nation was ashamed of its inability to add to the number of its troops.

Sultan Pasha and Ferid Pasha came to Ismailia with a large following. They were to be attached to Sir Garnet Wolseley's head-quarters during the campaign, as delegates of the Khedive, and Sultan Pasha was to undertake the government of Cairo. This last arrangement seemed a little premature;

but he commanded the respect of the country, and as the country was reconquered, he would have had ability to reorganize it according to the intentions of the Khedive.

The following Egyptian officers were on General Wolseley's staff:—Colonels Zohrab and Morice Bey, Lieutenant-colonels Thurneisen and Abdallah Bey, Dulier Bey, and Captain Hussein Bey Ramzy.

English accounts reported much disaffection and insubordination among Arabi's troops, and many officers and men continued to desert to the English camp. This was all the news of the Egyptians that could be obtained. A great want of discipline was evident, and the troops were not likely to be trustworthy in any important struggle. On the other hand, they made frequent attacks, and these showed no little determination and initiative. Very little was known by either side of the real state of affairs on the other. When the British had cut the telegraph wires between Constantinople and Cairo, Arabi had to rely on the scanty and uncertain reports of his spies.

Though the news of the conclusion of a military convention between the British and the Turks was expected, or considered to be sooner or later un-

avoidable, this did not prevent the former from treating their future allies with great coldness. On August 27th, when the *Calypso* steamship, with one hundred and fifty Turkish soldiers on board, arrived in the inner harbour of Port Said, one of the British ironclads at once sent out two armed boats to meet her. The Turkish commander declared that these troops were only intended to garrison certain places on the Red Sea, but the armed boats kept watch on her the whole night, not allowing a single Turk to land, and a steam sloop was ordered to accompany her through the canal.

The valley up which the route of the British to Zagazig lay (Wadi Jumilat) is a depression in the desert, accepted by Egyptologists as having been in prehistoric times a branch of the Nile, traversing the Timsah and Bitter Lakes to the Red Sea. Under the Pharoahs a canal, by which the river recovered communication with the Red Sea, had been made in the ancient bed. The valley itself partakes of the nature of the desert. At Ismailia the soil is of loose sand; further west it becomes firmer, and here and there stony. On the shores of the canal there are traces of an ancient town, and of cultivation, which have long since ceased to exist. At Mahuta there is a vast block of granite bearing

on one side a representation of King Rameses II. enthroned between the divinities Ra and Thum. Ramseh, the railway station, is the site of the Biblical town of that name in the land of Goshen. To the west of Tel-el-Kebir are the ruins of the ancient Pithom, where the Israelites burnt brick. Zagazig is the ancient Bubastis (Pibast in the Egytian dialect), the site of a magnificent temple of Venus, who was represented under the form of a cat. In this town the great feasts of Lower Egypt were anciently held. The whole welfare of this strip of land is dependent on the Sweetwater canal, which the Turks allowed to fill with sand. Since it has been reopened, great tracts of land have come under cultivation. The sluices which regulate the supply of water in the canal are obviously of the first importance from a military point of view.

We return, after this digression, to Sir G. Wolseley and his troops. It appears that the military operations, planned with such exact calculation and begun so auspiciously, had come to a standstill, and for what cause? The difficulty of procuring supplies might account in a great measure for the cessation of operations; but a more important reason perhaps was, that an adversary

despised heretofore by the pride of the British had shown himself in quite another light.

On the 28th of August the British advanced guard at Kassassin, under General Graham, was attacked by a superior force—some say eight battalions. The British defended themselves bravely, as was to be expected, and the arrangements of the commander were "made" (according to official reports) "with that *sang froid* for which General Graham is renowned." It was, however, only after an engagement of several hours and the arrival of the heavy cavalry under General Drury Lowe that the enemy was repulsed. According to report, eleven out of the twelve guns of the Egyptians were taken by the cavalry, but, owing to the darkness, they could not be discovered later on, and remained in the hands of the Egyptians. The English suffered severely in this engagement. Their loss amounted to two hundred killed and wounded. We see how little English official reports could be relied on by the fact that the Egyptians, notwithstanding a hasty flight, found time to recover their guns and to mutilate the bodies of several of the British dead. The military importance of this fresh "great victory" must have dwindled greatly in the eyes of critics.

It is probable that Sir G. Wolseley had underrated his enemy. We have already pointed to indications of determination and initiative on the part of the Egyptians. This renewed attack, said to have been carried out under the superintendence of Arabi, though not under his personal command, seems to have opened the eyes of the British. The press at home, as might be expected, made violent attacks upon the general. He in the mean time had taken the necessary measures to strengthen himself as much as possible on his principal line of operations.

The Indian division, under General Macpherson, about nine thousand strong, was collected in and around Ismailia. All reports agreed as to the warlike qualities of their cavalry, which had given proofs of its trustworthiness at Mahsamah and Kassassin.

The 3rd Brigade (Scotch regiments), under General Hamley, was moved by sea from Alexandria to Ismailia on the 28th. Sir G. Wolseley was thus enabled to muster for attack a collective force of twenty battalions, twenty squadrons, and some fourteen batteries—say sixteen thousand rifles, two thousand five hundred sabres, and eighty-four guns. From this paper return deductions must be

made for detached parties on various services, casualties, and sickness.

The very extended position at Alexandria was thus garrisoned with a minimum of troops, which could hardly count on being reinforced. Troops sent from Malta, Gibraltar, or England would take some time to arrive, and any men that came would necessarily be required in the field of battle before Cairo.

The chief command in Alexandria was held by Sir Evelyn Wood. The original dispositions of the brigades now underwent a change.

We have already pointed out that the whole object in disposing the troops for the defence of Alexandria was to render a very small force as efficient as possible. At the worst the Europeans in the town would also have to arm themselves, and it had already been apparent that this might be necessary, although nothing more had been heard of the *comité de vigilance*.

A direct assault on the town walls, as one may call the chain of fortifications surrounding Alexandria, was hardly to be feared, even supposing that there were twenty-five thousand troops at Kafr-Dowar and Damanhour. But a revolt in the town, if it occurred simultaneously with an attack on the

walls from Meks, Kafr-Dowar, and Aboukir, might prove a serious danger. Such a revolt was not unlikely to occur if a repulse of the English at Tel-el-Kebir should encourage and renew Moslem fanaticism.

In the mean time daily skirmishes took place both before Alexandria and Kassassin. The Bedouins were so far from being totally demoralized that they were bold enough to advance on the Suez canal, both on the flank and in the rear of the enemy. They plundered a boat on the Suez canal on the 27th of August, although a regular patrol was maintained by means of gunboats on the canal and trains on the Suez-Ismailia railway. A similar attempt on boats on the Sweetwater canal was discovered and prevented.

The climate and nature of the ground threw great difficulties in the way of the English general when it became desirable to hold his troops well together and to extend his flanks.

The one line of advance on which he in our opinion rightly determined, would narrow itself in the sandy ground of the desert literally to a single line. Troops could not be detached or moved to the right or left from this line, or if such movements were attempted, they could only be on a very small scale.

Therefore the manner in which the troops were écheloned from Ismailia to Kassassin, a distance of about twenty-seven miles, or two days' march, rendered it impossible for General Wolseley to make a vigorous attack. The several bodies of troops ran the risk of partial reverses, and had double the fatigue to bear. This was clearly shown in the fight at Kassassin, where the cavalry were ordered backwards and forwards several times. At last, late in the evening, when greatly fatigued, they were called on to advance again, and insured the success of the British flag by a brilliant attack.

Strange to say, the head-quarters was still at Ismailia, at the extreme end of this very extended line, so that all orders and reports had to traverse this distance, although in the mean time circumstances might have totally changed at the front.

Everything now seemed to depend on the steadfastness of the outposts, or, more properly speaking, of the whole line immediately facing the enemy. It was essential that the troops forming this line should hold their own against all attacks, as any real success at this moment gained by the Egyptians would have placed the invading army in a difficult and dangerous position.

It can hardly be supposed that the experienced

and accomplished General Wolseley was ignorant that his position was totally unwarranted from a military point of view, and we therefore conclude that he underrated the strength of his enemy.

The disposition of the troops on the line from Kassassin to Ismailia was as follows:—At Kassassin the marines and field artillery, with two guns; in Mahsamah, the Household Cavalry, the 4th and 7th Dragoon Guards, the 3rd and 30th Bengal Cavalry, and the mounted infantry; in Mahuta, the Scots Guards, the Grenadiers, Coldstreams, naval brigade, 60th Rifles, and 24th company Royal Engineers; in Nefiche, the West Kent Regiment; in Ismailia, the 7th, 8th, and 18th company Royal Engineers.

On the 29th of August Sir Garnet issued the following general order, praising the troops for the fight on the preceding day:—"The commander-in-chief congratulates the troops on the successes of Thursday and Friday, which effectually secured the Mahsamah railway station, sixteen miles from Ismailia. The cavalry and artillery led by General Lowe in the brilliant engagement at Mahsamah deserve particular mention, as they took the enemy's camp, seven guns, arms, ammunition, and stores of all kinds. The commander-

in-chief also praises the courageous and successful manner in which Lieutenant Hickman and the gunners of the field artillery fought their two guns during the whole of Thursday under a heavy cross fire of twelve guns. He also mentions the support afforded by the marine artillery when the field artillery was exhausted. The commander-in-chief thanks Admiral Seymour and the naval brigade for their services." The general himself was thanked by the Queen for his success.

In a despatch of September 1 Sir Garnet expressed his determination to continue on the offensive as soon as the transport service was organized. He had been deceived in his expectations of being able immediately to use the Sweetwater canal and the railway line from Ismailia to Zazagig, and carts made very slow progress in the desert sand at Ismailia. The restoration of the railway and the removal of dams across the canal was proceeded with. Particular care was also given to the organization of transport on baggage animals, and an officer was especially entrusted with this work. Many hundred mules had arrived from Malta, and locomotives were ready for use and could proceed to Kassassin.

Great results were expected from the establish-

ment of an intelligence department under Colonel Tulloch. This department was to accompany the most advanced troops, with provisions loaded on camels, and to keep touch with the enemy, in order to give the general direct, full, and accurate accounts of every incident. Colonel Tulloch is a very smart officer. It was he who swam to shore at Alexandria to spike the guns in Fort Meks.

In consequence of the difficulties which seemed to bar further advance, and also because of the moral effect of heavy guns on undisciplined troops, the arsenal at Woolwich received orders to send at once thirty-six siege guns and 1136 artillerymen to serve them. These formed a light siege park, and comprised ten 40-pounders, ten 25-pounders, six 7-pounders, and eight mortars. Besides the regular ammunition, one hundred magnesium shells were sent. These shells are fitted with time fuses, and explode in the air, giving a bright light, which serves, like the electric light, for night operations.

As we have so far described the external conditions of the expeditionary force, we may now remark on the sanitary condition of the troops. This is described as excellent in the official reports, but at the same time sources of difficulty

were showing themselves—the gaps made by sickness in the ranks of the combatants, and the necessary care of the sick and wounded. Ramleh was considered very healthy, and the summer of 1882 was comparatively cool; but many cases of dysentery were caused by eating fruit, which was very plentiful. The *Tamar*, hospital ship for invalids, was at Ramleh, and the sick on board rapidly recovered. The seamen also, who were under strict discipline on board the ships of the fleet, enjoyed good health.

At Ismailia the soldiers suffered much from the heat of the sun and the unaccustomed work they had to perform in the burning sand of the desert, as, besides the marching and fighting and temporary field works, they had to repair railways, canals, etc. The water of the Sweetwater canal was not only scanty, but had been purposely contaminated by the Egyptians, who threw in dead bodies of men and horses, which soon decomposed in the great heat. The filters used were not very efficacious, and, besides, were not supplied in sufficient numbers. At Ismailia a steamer was constantly at work condensing water for drinking purposes, but it was insufficient both as to quality and quantity. The ration of water was about one

pint per head per diem for several days, and in the great heat that prevailed it was impossible to expect the men to obey the order not to fill their flasks from the water of the canal. Cases of dysentery and sunstroke were numerous, although, fortunately, there was no fear of an epidemic. The sick were tended in a barrack arranged as a hospital; but the want of voluntary nurses was felt, and was likely to become imperative, as the unhealthy month of September was at hand.

The horses of the English cavalry were almost decimated by fatigue and the losses at Mahsamah and Kassassin. Remounts were expected from Cyprus. The horses of the Indian force suffered much less, as they were more used to such a climate.

On the 31st of August a report was circulated that Arabi had asked for a truce of eight days to begin negotiations for peace, but that only twenty-four hours had been granted by Sir Garnet Wolseley. This report was contradicted next day, and it was not likely that the "Egyptian Napoleon," as some of the English papers called Arabi, should take such a step at such a moment. On the contrary, the fortifications at Tel-el-Kebir were strengthened daily, and it was reported that

earthworks were being thrown up at Kassassin. Salahyeh was now mentioned as a chief point of resistance. This place lies seventeen miles directly north of Kassassin, and communicates with this last-named place by a straight road, but to garrison it would have weakened more important positions.

According to M. Lesseps, the British despatches were not to be relied on. The desertions of Egyptians were denied; on the contrary, they were reported to be full of heart and activity, and even to have constructed an armoured train in imitation of their enemies. Fort Ghemileh, opposite Port Said, was said to be strongly fortified, and only assailable by heavy guns. From the interior came the news that on the 29th of August an assembly of notables had met in Cairo and unanimously declared Arabi regent of the country.

The incident of the capture of Mahmoud Fehmi Pasha, one of Arabi's principal advisers, is remarkable. It appears that he left Tel-el-Kebir on the 29th to make a reconnaissance by railway towards Kassassin, without knowing that this place was in the hands of the enemy. When he became aware of his mistake the engine-driver had taken flight. His attempted incognito was

betrayed to the English by a captive officer who addressed him by name, and it was seen that he was a prisoner of importance.

Mahmoud Fehmi, after leaving the Military College at Cairo, was Inspector-general of Fortifications and minister of Public Works in Arabi's ministry. He reported that both Kafr-Dowar and Tel-el-Kebir were strongly fortified. He appeared to be in command at this last place, although nominally attached to Ragheb Bey.

Mahmoud Fehmi is supposed to be the author of the false accounts of victory circulated among the natives to arouse their fanaticism. He estimated the Egyptian losses at Kassassin at two artillerymen and twelve Bedouins, but he was not very communicative. The story of his capture seems so wonderful as to be almost incredible, but for the alleged fact that English gold played a considerable part in the transaction, as well as in the subsequent events at Tel-el-Kebir and Cairo. This view is strengthened by the fact that Mahmoud Fehmi was given up to the Khedive, after he had guaranteed the rebel general's life. Valuable and explicit information as to the National party and army is said then to have been given by the prisoner.

General Wolseley announced on the 1st of Sep-

tember his intention of continuing his advance as soon as his transport service was organized. By transport are to be understood all those arrangements by which an advanced line of troops is supplied with the necessaries of life, ammunition, and the means of moving forward. Without naming a date for the conclusion of these preparations, Sir Garnet added the following characteristic remark:—"In a wilderness, such as this portion of Egypt, it takes time to organize the line of communication."

We should like, here, to supplement this official declaration by some remarks for the use of our readers, in illustration of the nature and extent of the difficulties which now confronted the British generals.

It is an invariable rule of warfare that the physical and moral requirements which a campaign, to be successful, must make on every single man of an army, can be met only when the men are sufficiently and regularly provided for. The British soldier, accustomed to abundant provisions at home, will naturally suffer from the want of them. The Indian troops are not affected to the same extent. Sir G. Wolseley had, therefore, to consider the wants of the British soldier in his calculations,

and he was quite right in giving particular attention to the question. Regular requisitioning, as practised by the German army on French soil, was at his command.

As, however, notwithstanding the wealth and dense population of France at the time in question, it was found necessary to fall back on the magazines whenever a large number of troops remained stationary for any considerable time; so now, in a thinly peopled and barren soil, the British general was obliged to arrange for the supplies of his troops by means of magazines. It is open to doubt whether, after the cultivated and fruitful part of the Delta had fallen into his hands, a system of requisitions would have sufficed, even partially, for the requirements of his troops. When a large supply of necessaries had been accumulated (as they were in this instance) in magazines at the starting-point of the campaign, the next question would be how to keep the magazines supplied. In the present case this involved no difficulty; but a complicated and extensive apparatus was required in order to supply the troops. If we estimate the force at fifteen thousand, and suppose them to be one day's march in advance of the magazines, this would necessitate the conveyance of supplies for that

number from day to day for the distance of a day's march.

So long as there was a railway in working order that was easy enough. We learn from official reports that the line from Ismailia to Kassassin was in some measure clear, but the traffic was so difficult to manage that the distance from Ismailia to Kassassin (about thirty-eight miles) took an entire day to traverse. General Wolseley and his staff on one occasion, while making this journey, had to leave the train and continue on foot. The Sweetwater canal contained so little water that flat-bottomed boats of the smallest draught ran aground. Other means of communication from the rear had therefore to be arranged.

A European army of fifty thousand men would require 150 conveyances for three days' supply of bread alone. It would be no exaggeration to say that a British force of fifteen hundred would require the same amount of carriage for its entire supplies of all kinds. If in place of each cart we reckon three pack animals, such as mules or camels (invaluable in a sandy desert), the number of animals required would amount to 450. This estimate would be within the actual number required, as so many animals break down. So long as such an army is

only three days' march from its supplies, this number would suffice. On the first day the provisions are brought to the front; on the second the column with the supplies returns, and goes again to the front on the third. It returns again on the fourth day, and, after resting during the fifth, starts forward again on the sixth. Meanwhile the force advances, and when it is three days ahead of its magazines supplies do not reach it till the third day. A second and a third column have to be arranged to keep up the supply so as to reach the troops in front in a regular daily succession. As many, therefore, as 450 pack animals were required merely to convey food to the troops, who were only three days' march from their tents, ammunition and other necessaries not being taken into consideration. The difficulty of transport then increased in proportion to the advance. No relief would ensue from pushing the magazines forward, as pack-carriage would still be required to keep the magazines full until trains or boats could be brought into service.

It must not be supposed that this difficulty was as great to Sir G. Wolseley as it sounds on paper. So practical an Englishman was sure to find a speedy remedy. The success of this branch of the

service depended on the skill and activity of General Morris, the commissary-general.

Sir G. Wolseley had repeatedly expressed hopes of being able to hire camels from the Bedouins, but only a few of these valuable beasts had been obtained. There had arrived a large consignment of mules from Cyprus, but another consignment from Smyrna was detained by the jealousy of the Turkish officials. The Indian troops had brought with them as many, it is said, as 2500 mules. But Indian troops are accustomed to carry a great amount of baggage on the march, the want of which would interfere with their readiness for immediate action.

The English newspapers commented on these deficiencies with their usual freedom. It will sound incredible to German officers, accustomed to the careful provision of all such matters in their own armies, that doctors' instruments and bandages only reached Ismailia on September 1st. It is said that some English wounded died miserably in consequence. In view of such worse than negligence, a serious paper, the *Statist*, advised the government to give up their costly but inadequate organization, and carry on the war "by contract," as at least a hundred City firms are capable of providing for

the whole expedition without serious strain. The *Times* remarked that no war had yet found England prepared.

The campaign appeared to have entailed a large measure of personal discomfort. Old and skilled newspaper reporters declared, in their private correspondence, that in no other war in Africa or Asia had the fatigues and privations been greater. In the last engagement many rifles are said to have got out of order. The soldiers in consequence were forbidden to oil their firearms, as the fine sand of the desert sticks to the grease.

The correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* at Ismailia gives us so graphic a description of the British camp that we may insert an extract from it. It presents a great contrast to the strict regulations of the German army: "Tents are not needed in this climate and under this sky. The troops only pitch tents when they remain some considerable time in the same place. Otherwise, the men make themselves comfortable on the bare ground, where the never-failing ants give plenty of trouble. The private soldiers vary much more than ours. There are among them old and young, weak and strong. In general the strong predominate. Many of them are splendid men, with muscles like those of the

'dying gladiator.' The uniform is the red tunic and Indian mud-coloured helmet. The Household Cavalry, Rifles, marines (artillery), etc., do not wear red tunics. All, however, except the sailors, wear the sun helmet, which is of a beautiful shape but an ugly colour. They also wear a flannel shirt and needlessly warm woollen trousers. The little wooden water-bottle that each soldier carries at his belt appears very practical, as the water keeps cooler than in flasks of tin. The saddlery of the cavalry seemed rather shabby; the stirrups were rusty, and the unpolished leather looked rough. The Life Guards wear red, the Horse Guards blue. They have left their cuirasses at home, and they are armed with swords and revolvers, carried in a leather holster. It seems to me that instead of boots they should wear high shoes and cloth gaiters. The hussars and dragoons are only to be distinguished by their leggings, as they also wear red tunics and helmets. The Indian cavalry regiments look well in their uniforms, which resemble those of Cossacks. They carry lances. Their pointed shoes are in the style of the fifteenth century. All these men have gipsy faces, with beautiful fiery eyes. They move with the catlike softness peculiar to all southern Asiatics. These Indians

know better than any one else how to forage and steal.

"Among the English officers, especially the Guards, there are crowds of lords with £10,000 a year and more (!); but without knowing it beforehand one would not find it out. Lieutenants wear a star on the collar; captains two; majors a crown; lieutenant-colonels a crown and star; colonels two crowns; generals two swords crossed. Staff officers wear a pink scarf instead of a white one on their helmets. They have almost unlimited liberty as regards uniform when not on duty. If it is difficult for the continental European to distinguish between German regiments, it is more so when English officers not on duty wear the half-military, half-civilian costume. They then appear in yellow leather lace boots and gaiters, comfortable trousers, fancy coats, broad belts, gigantic revolver pockets, scarves, etc. Everything that can be seen in London outfitting shops can be noticed here. Then consider the military tourists, such as members of Parliament and relatives of distinguished officers. These gentlemen, as well as most of the officers, are pretty men, with white complexion and carefully tended nails. They parade on their arrival with their travel-stained clothes, as though

they had already gone through a long campaign. The officers were fond of dressing in an eccentric manner, but they could not compare with the military appearance of many of the civilians.

"As far as I was able to judge, the officers did not trouble themselves much about their men. When they inspect horses, saddlery, etc., they do so in the manner of a merchant inspecting his wares. However, every one does his duty according to his own fashion. One effect of the strictness of our continental discipline is that it is considered sufficient only occasionally to go minutely through these prescribed forms, and without accomplishing anything very thorough. This is not so much the case with the English. Accomplishments of a high order are more rare than with ourselves, but, on the other hand, the total absence of them is more rare also.

"There is a regular mania among English officers for talking French, though they speak that language in the most abominable manner. Even when an English officer speaks German fluently, and the person to whom he is speaking talks English, he cannot resist the temptation to air his fragments of French."

After the capture of Alexandria, the British spiked the largest of the Egyptian guns, and so rendered them useless, and sunk a quantity of good powder in the sea—a proceeding condemned by several English newspapers, and also in military circles. Even if it was necessary to guard against a recapture of the forts, spiking the guns might have been prepared for, but postponed, to the last moment.

A balloon would have been a desideratum at Alexandria, in order to make the much-needed reconnaissance of the Egyptian lines. If, as we may suppose, it was difficult for the weak garrison under Sir E. Wood to undertake a reconnaissance in force in order to find out the exact state of things, it was hardly consistent to speak, as they did, with contempt of a foe who simply forbad the English general to make any observation of his position.

Great excitement was caused in Alexandria by the reported discovery of a conspiracy on the part of the natives to murder such Europeans as remained in the place, while simultaneously an attack was to be made from the outside. Such reports were, perhaps, exaggerated; but no doubt there existed a secret understanding between the

enemies outside and those within, and the small number of Europeans, civil and military, were in imminent danger of attack. The Egyptians kept pushing their works in the direction of Aboukir, nearer to the British lines. The latter had already planned the means of flooding the lake Mariût, in the direction of Meks, so as to be safe against any attack from that quarter. It was at the time dry and passable for troops. The consent of the Khedive had been obtained, but the operation was postponed from the consideration of the length of time that would be required for re-draining the lake. On the 3rd of September the water of the Mahmoudieh canal failed. The failure was attributed to accident, and it was reported that the conduits would shortly be in good order. Still there remained the dread of a water famine in Alexandria, for the cisterns of the town contained only a supply sufficient for a few days.

At Kassassin, which was occupied by four thousand infantry, eight hundred cavalry, and twelve guns, the reconnaissances continued without interruption. Perhaps General Drury Lowe had given them a more military character, or this might have been effected by the Indian cavalry. Anyhow, during the first days of September, two reports

brought in by the reconnoitring forces came to our knowledge. One was to the effect that Tel-el-Kebir was surrounded by formidable works; the other, that a camp was formed ten miles across the desert—whether north or south of the railway, on the left or on the right flank of the British, was not known. It was not improbable that this referred to the occupation of Salahyeh, already reported. This operation had already taken place, and Sir G. Wolseley had no doubt taken his measures accordingly. Would he attack at once, or wait for his advance till he had collected a force? The first plan would weaken his army, the second would entail delay as well; both would occasion much bloodshed. In the double position of the Egyptians at Tel-el-Kebir and at Salahyeh lay an immense tactical strength.

The Bedouins continued to disturb the canal. To them, too, the mutilation and plundering of the dead was attributed. The natives brought no produce to market, in spite of repeated invitations to do so. The British had wisely transported their wounded from Ismailia to Port Said, where a large Dutch factory had been purchased and made into an hospital.

The English government had decided, although

it was specially denied in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, to send three battalions and reserve men to fill up the loss by casualties in Egypt. This force, numbering five thousand men, was to be sent to occupy Alexandria, so as to leave Sir Evelyn Wood and his brigade free to take part in the campaign at Ismailia. It may be questioned whether it would not have been wiser to leave the troops that already knew the difficulties of the place at Alexandria, where they were commanded by a general experienced in war, instead of sending young and untried troops to occupy such extended lines. Valuable time would also have been consumed in carrying out the contemplated changes. We cannot, however, but approve the determination of the English to end the campaign as speedily as possible by sending all the troops they could muster. What further reinforcements could be made available, it was impossible to know.

Arabi had now plenty of time before him to organize an effectual resistance. M. de Lesseps was better able than any one to obtain information on this subject, and if his account was to be relied on, the Egyptian general was well able to oppose successfally the invading army. The fellahîn and the Bedouins—that is to say, the entire population—were

on the side of Arabi, and M. de Lesseps, who professed great friendship for him, declared that there was no possibility of a truce, but that it would be war to the knife against the foreigner. All accounts agreed that Arabi's forces were concentrated in and around Tel-el-Kebir, and that he also occupied Salahyeh. He was well placed in a first-rate position; but whether he was able to turn these advantages to good account the future would show. Cairo was reported to be in a ferment, though in what way disturbances might break out no one could tell. A general religious war also seemed imminent. The Mohammedans in Tripoli were sending a body of horse some thousands strong to the assistance of their co-religionists in Egypt, and the numerous Mohammedan sectaries of the Snussi, a powerful and wide-spreading organization, were preaching a religious war. The principal college of this sect, where the chief resides, is in the oasis of Jupiter Ammon, from whence the fanatical movement originated. The German author Rohlfs treats fully of the Snussi, in his book of travels, "Bis Kufra" (a journey to Kufra). Even if these signs were no more than the threatening of a storm of fanaticism, they fully justified the English in suppressing the outbreak in Egypt as promptly and decisively as possible.

On the 5th of September the *Times* announced that the English government were in possession of correspondence between the Sultan and Arabi Pasha, which proved the existence of a secret understanding between them. No amount of intrigue among Orientals need cause surprise, and, even if this announcement was not fully corroborated, still there was ample reason for the distrust shown by England of her new allies. Although, therefore, the details of the Turkish military convention were known, and it was apparently about to be concluded, reports of the actual landing of Turkish troops could not be implicitly believed. It would be hard to imagine an alliance free from mistrust and reserve between England and Turkey; military and political complications would certainly arise, the number and extent of which it would be impossible to foresee. If it now seemed probable that the hesitation of England to conclude the military convention was at an end, still it was difficult to explain why the arrival of Turkish troops should annoy the English authorities, who at an earlier period had wished and asked for them. The English would ultimately, no doubt, bring the war to a victorious conclusion; but, in the mean time, the military position was not a brilliant

one, and a reinforcement of from two to three thousand Turks, who were hardy and abstemious men, and accustomed to the climate, might certainly have been of service to the English army. It seemed that on the one hand no real reliance could be placed on these allies, while on the other it was politically impossible to show mistrust, or openly to doubt the loyal intentions of the Sultan. If such doubts were avowed, it would seem more dignified in a great power like England to break off all negotiations for the military convention. No doubt diplomatic manœuvres would have ensured, wherever necessary, the supremacy of the English general, and assuming that the Turkish troops would have proved themselves loyal allies, we think that our opinion of their value will be confirmed by a rapid glance at the military situation.

Arabi's forces—or as we must call them, since the Sultan's proclamation, the insurgent forces—were estimated at about forty-four thousand regular, and thirty thousand irregular troops, besides eighteen hundred horsemen and one hundred and fifty guns. A correspondent of the *Daily News* gives, professedly from authentic sources, the following details as to the position of the Egyptian troops at the beginning

of September. Toulba Pasha was commanding in Kafr-Dowar with two regiments of infantry, a total of five thousand men; two squadrons of cavalry, about four hundred and fifty men; twenty-four Krupp 9-pounders, twelve rocket tubes, twelve mountain guns, one 15-centimètre gun, and ten thousand Bedouins. In Mariût, under Ali Roubi, there were four regiments of infantry, 3200 men; eighteen French guns, and six thousand Bedouins. In Rosetta were three regiments with 2400 men. At Aboukir, 4800 men, one squadron of regular cavalry, twelve Krupp guns, and fifteen thousand Bedouins. Abdellal Pasha commanded at Damietta, with five thousand negro troops and twelve Krupp guns. At or near Tel-el-Kebir were nineteen thousand regular troops, nine hundred cavalry, forty-four Krupp guns, twelve mountain guns, six rocket tubes, and eight thousand Bedouins. This division was commanded by Ragheb Pasha. Finally at Salahyeh, a strong position on the British flank, were posted two regiments with a total of five thousand men, two Krupp guns, and eight thousand Bedouins. Fortified places in other quarters were also spoken of, among others the old fort on the chain of Mokattem hills east of Cairo. And Osman Bey, the governor of the Soudan, was said to have

renounced his allegiance to the Khedive, and to intend supporting the insurgents with a force of twenty-two thousand veteran soldiers and thirty thousand Bedouins from the equatorial provinces. This would seem to corroborate M. de Lesseps' assertion that the whole population of Egypt was with Arabi, who had been deprived of his title of Pasha.

The value of Bedouins as disciplined troops was not very great, and their fidelity was not to be counted on. If the English successes were decisive, large numbers of these freebooters would no doubt join them; but the English had as yet no successes to show, and in consequence the Bedouins would sell them neither camels nor provisions, but incessantly harassed their outposts, and continued to attack vessels on the canal. The Bedouins also cut the telegraph wires between Suez and Ismailia, and the constant alarms as to their attacks caused the ordering out and temporary waste of valuable forces. They also were bold enough to attack outposts, and caused the English great inconvenience, not only by actual loss of life, but also by impairing the moral and physical energy of the soldiers, who were unused to such continual and harassing fatigues.

This little war, as it must be called when it is compared with the wars of history, was now in full swing, and increased in importance every day. The incidents we have just recounted were like the annoyance of repeated pin-pricks, and yet they were real sources of injury to the English army; indeed, the whole military situation was somewhat precarious.

In both his positions, before Alexandria and Kassassin, Arabi was numerically superior to the English, and although the *morale* of his troops would prevent his making a second Plevna, the command of railways gave him the great advantage of being able to transport troops with rapidity to any desirable point. It was not quite beyond the bounds of possibility that while keeping the English occupied with large numbers of Bedouins from Tel-el-Kebir and Salahyeh, and organizing a simultaneous native rising in Alexandria, Arabi might strike a successful blow.

Whether Arabi and his advisers had entertained this idea, and whether, if so, they had troops to carry it out, was not known; but the English seemed to fear some such plan—at least, the continual assertions and hints in despatches of the generals, as well as in the reports of the news-

paper correspondents, pointed in this direction. An attack on Tel-el-Kebir was also announced from day to day, and increased restrictions and severe censorship were exercised over all intelligence sent to European newspapers, although, since the cutting of the telegraph wires between Cairo and Constantinople, Arabi could hardly receive intelligence of the condition of the enemy from a foreign quarter.

The general commanding-in-chief now issued orders to concentrate the troops more to the front, a measure sufficiently explained by the necessity that would otherwise have arisen of bringing reinforcements from a distance in the event of an attack by the Egyptians. Four days' rations were sent with the troops for this advance—a very necessary precaution, considering that the transport was still defective, although it was officially announced that the railway was in working order. This provisioning of the troops may also have given rise to the report that the army was about to take the offensive, although it was impossible seriously to expect such an event, considering that reconnaissances daily brought to light fresh obstacles. Tel-el-Kebir, which had been reconnoitred to within a mile, was reported very strong, and it was ascertained that a numerous force was stationed at Salahyeh.

Reconnaissances from Ismailia eastwards, which were also made by order of General Wolseley, found no enemy, and it might be concluded that the four thousand Bedouins supposed to inhabit the Sinaitic peninsula would give no more trouble now than they did to Napoleon on his march from Egypt to Palestine.

Before the contemplated concentration of troops at the front could be carried out, the English were again attacked by Arabi on the 9th of September, a few skirmishes having taken place on the preceding days.

The attack on the English front from Tel-el-Kebir was made, according to English accounts, by a force of twenty thousand infantry, two thousand cavalry, sixty-two guns, and three thousand Bedouins, and was commanded by Arabi in person. A well-planned flank attack was ordered to be made from Salahyeh at the same time.

The English forces were so little prepared for the attack that General Willis refused to credit the first reports of the event, and was only convinced of the gravity of the situation when the shells of the enemy fell into the camp. The Egyptians appear to have been fully aware of the smallness of the force in the camp at Kassassin, and they very nearly overthrew

the English; but the bravery of the cavalry under General Drury Lowe decided the day in favour of the English. On this occasion there was no mention in the official reports of the irregular flight of the Egyptians; on the contrary, it was said that they retreated in good order, and the official telegrams, while trying to disparage the Egyptians by saying that the fire of Arabi's guns was ineffectual at five thousand yards, only prove that the English did not venture to pursue them to closer quarters. The English claimed to have taken four guns, and reckoned their loss at one hundred dead and wounded, while they estimated the loss of their enemy at two hundred and fifty. This affair could hardly be called an absolute and undoubted victory.

Sir Garnet Wolseley had repeatedly mentioned the health of the troops as favourable, but we learn from his despatches that the palace of the Khedive at Ismailia had been converted into a hospital, and that sick and wounded were also being taken on board the ships. The increased provision for the sick showed the need there was of more hospital accommodation, and there is no doubt that cases of dysentery, sunstroke, sun-fever, and ophthalmia were very numerous. By the 9th of September, the enormous number of eight hundred sick and two

hundred wounded had been received in the hospitals, and about thirty cases were daily added to this number. Many superior officers suffered from sunstroke, and Sir Garnet himself lay ill of dysentery for some days at Ismailia. The gaps in the ranks from illness were therefore sufficient to cause an urgent need of reinforcements. The ambulances, even if they were ready, were not to be sent to the front, so that the provision of first help to the sick and wounded left much to be desired. The nursing seemed well and sufficiently done, but the deprivation of green food could not be wholesome, and the difficulty about drinking water still continued. The Egyptians had again dammed the Sweetwater canal, and had flooded the country lying to the south of it in order to place another obstacle in the way of the English advance.

The European horses had now recovered from the sea-journey and were acclimatized, and although the long inaction in the British camp might have somewhat impaired the discipline of the troops, they now appeared quite ready to commence operations. In fact, the delays appeared to have been caused quite as much by the imperfect preparations as by the insufficient number of troops. Many things were wanting, although no expense was spared. For

example, ten thousand mules were ordered to be purchased wherever they could be obtained (ten thousand seems an enormous number of transport animals for about twenty thousand men), and the wages paid at Ismailia for working on the railway, etc., was seven shillings a day. The cost of this expedition will at some future time be very interesting to outsiders. It was probable that after the arrival of the siege train and the detachment of five thousand men from England (which the English newspapers endeavoured to avoid characterizing as necessary reinforcements), Sir Garnet Wolseley would take the offensive, unless in the mean time circumstances should have altered. This reinforcement was to be composed of three battalions: one from each of the Kent, Dorsetshire, and Royal Dublin Fusileer regiments, with a thousand reserve men, a balloon corps of Royal Engineers, with appliances for photography and signalling.

The state of feeling in Alexandria was not to be mistaken. On the 7th of August the populace had attacked the police, and had cut down the body of Attia Hassan, the murderer of two Englishmen, from the gallows, in order, it was said, to embalm the body and honour the criminal as a saint. The execution had passed off quietly enough, with only a

few muttered threats of vengeance from the crowd. The Greek consular agent, Antonopulos, who was suspected of having taken part in a plot against the English, was sent to Greece, and other European suspects were warned to leave the country. The European *comité de vigilance* had very judiciously dissolved. If England had seen fit to associate resident Europeans in the work of keeping order, no doubt all would have worked well together for the protection of life and property. Perhaps some such arrangement might still be made. Dr. Mackie, physician to the consulate, endeavoured to establish, by voluntary subscriptions, an ambulance system for Egyptian soldiers. This appeal was quite independent of politics, and was dictated by humanity alone. We do not know if any success attended these benevolent efforts, and the events of the war were now so engrossing as to absorb all public interest.

FROM THE 13TH TO THE 15TH OF SEPTEMBER.

Sir Garnet Wolseley might, in our opinion, have found additional motives for prudence in the events of the 9th of September. Nevertheless, the report that the English were to advance in force was now really about to be verified. On the 12th of September Sir Garnet communicated to the other generals on the spot his dispositions for the attack, and gave his orders for it; and on the following day the telegraph carried the news of a really decisive victory. General Wolseley had staked everything on one stroke, and the fortune of war had favoured him.

The earthworks of Tel-el-Kebir, on which numbers of fellahîn had worked for weeks, extended across the railway and canal, before the English advance, and were about 6600 yards in length, extending into the desert as far as El Karim. The

inundation south of the position does not, however, seem to have been carried out.

Sir Garnet reported his victory in a telegram to London, dated the 13th of September. It is worded as follows :—

"Struck camp at Kassassin Lock yesterday evening. Afterwards bivouacked on the high ridge above camp till 1.30 this morning. Then advanced upon the very extensive and very strongly fortified position held by Arabi with twenty thousand regulars, of which two thousand five hundred were cavalry, with seventy guns, and six thousand Bedouins and irregulars. My force was about eleven thousand bayonets, two thousand sabres, and sixty guns.

"To have attacked so strong a position by daylight, with the troops I could place in line, would have entailed very great loss. I resolved, therefore, to attack before daybreak, doing the six miles that intervened between my camp and the enemy's position in the dark.

"The cavalry and two batteries horse artillery on my right had orders to sweep round enemy's line at daylight; on the left, cavalry, first division, second brigade, under General Graham, leading, supported by Guards, under Duke of Connaught.

"On their left seven batteries of artillery, forty-two guns in line, with supporting brigade. Then the second division Highland brigade leading; Indian contingent south of canal, with naval brigade on railway in intervals.

"Great emulation evinced by regiments to be first in the enemy's works. All went at them straight. The Royal Irish Regiment particularly distinguished itself by its dash and the manner in which it closed with the enemy.

"All his works and camp now in our possession.

"I do not yet know how many guns have been captured, but it is a considerable number. Several trains captured. Immense quantities of supplies and stores.

"Enemy ran away in thousands, throwing away their arms when overtaken by our cavalry. Their loss is very great. General Willis is very slightly wounded.

"Cavalry now on the march to Belbeis; Indian contingent on its way to Zagazig, and will be followed this evening by Highland brigade.

"Arabi escaped on horseback in direction of Zagazig. Rashed Pasha wounded in foot and Ali Pasha Fehmi in arm in attack last Saturday.

"Canal has been cut in some places. Railway intact."

The correspondent of the *Standard*, Captain Cameron, gives the following account of the achievements of his fellow-countrymen :—

"The most complete success has attended our attack upon the enemy's position, and not only has Tel-el-Kebir fallen into our hands, but the Egyptian army has ceased to exist.

"When I despatched my telegram yesterday evening the troops were all at work striking and rolling up tents, packing baggage, and carrying everything to the side of the railway. That duty finished, they fell in.

"The first move was a short one, being only to the sand hills above the camp. There arms were piled, and the men lay down on the sand, or sat and chatted quietly over the coming fight. At one o'clock the word was passed round, and they again fell in.

"Never did a body of fourteen thousand men get under arms more quietly; the very orders appeared to be given in lowered tones, and almost noiselessly the dark columns moved off, their footfalls being deadened by the sand.

"The silence, broken only by the occasional clash

of steel, the certainty that the great struggle would commence with the dawn, and the expectation that at any moment we might be challenged by the Bedouin horsemen far out in the plain in front of the enemy, all combined to make it an impressive march, and one which none who shared in it will ever forget.

"There were frequent halts to enable the regiments to maintain touch, and to allow the transport waggons, whose wheels crunched over the sandy plains with a noise which to our ears seemed strangely loud, to keep up with us.

"On our right was Graham's brigade, which has already done good service by twice repelling the assaults of the enemy upon this camp. Next to them came the Guards' brigade, which was, when the action began, to act in support of that of Graham. Between these and the canal moved the forty-two guns of the Royal artillery, under General Goodenough. On the railway itself the naval brigade advanced with the 40-pounder on a truck.

"South of the canal the Highland brigade led the advance, followed by the Indian troops in support. The cavalry and horse artillery had started due north to make a long detour, and to come down upon the enemy's line of retreat.

"By early dawn the troops had arrived within a thousand yards of the enemy's lines, and halted there for a short time to enable the fighting line to be formed, and other preparations to be made.

"A perfect silence still reigned over the plain, and it was difficult to credit the fact that some fourteen thousand men lay in a semicircle round the enemy's lines, ready to dash forward at a signal at the low sand heaps in front, behind which twice as many men slumbered, unsuspicious of their presence.

"As is usual in a movement carried out in the darkness, many detached parties altogether lost their way. I was with the mounted police, and for a while we completely lost the rest of the force, and moved hither and thither all night, until just at daybreak we nearly stumbled into the enemy's lines.

"The attack began on our left, and nothing could be imagined finer than the advance of the Highland brigade. The 74th were next to the canal; next to them were the Cameronians; the Gordon Highlanders continued the line, with the Black Watch upon their flank. The 46th and the 60th formed the second line.

"Swiftly and silently the Highlanders moved

forward to the attack. No word was spoken, no shot fired until within three hundred yards of the enemy's earthworks, nor up to that time did a sound in the Egyptian lines betoken that they were aware of the presence of their assailants.

"Then suddenly a terrific fire flashed along the line of sand heaps, and a storm of bullets whizzed over the heads of the advancing troops.

"A wild cheer broke from the Highlanders in response, the pipes struck shrilly up, bayonets were fixed, and at the double this splendid body of men dashed forward.

"The first line of entrenchments was carried, the enemy offering scarce any resistance; but from another line of entrenchments behind, which in the still dim light could be scarcely seen, a burst of musketry broke out.

"For a few minutes the Highlanders poured in a heavy fire in exchange; but it was probably as innocuous as that of the unseen enemy, whose bullets whistled harmlessly overhead. The delay in the advance was but a short one. Soon the order was given, and the brigade again went rapidly forward. Soon a portion of the force had passed between the enemy's redoubts and opened a flanking fire upon him.

"This was too much for the Egyptians, who at once took to their heels and fairly ran, suffering, as the crowded masses rushed across the open, very heavily from our fire, being literally mown down by hundreds.

"Meanwhile, the fighting had begun upon the other flank. The horse artillery shelled the enemy's extreme left. Here the Egyptians seemed more prepared than they had been on their right, and for a time kept up a steady fire. The 18th Royal Irish were sent to turn the enemy's left, under the guidance of Major Hart, who accompanied them as staff officer, and, at the word, dashed at the trenches, and carried them at the bayonet's point, so turning the flank of the defenders of the position.

"Next to the 18th came the 87th, and next to them the 84th, the Guards being close up behind in support. These regiments advanced by regular rushes. For a short time the enemy clung to his line of entrenchments; but his fire was singularly ineffective, and our troops got fairly into the trenches in front of them. Then the enemy fought stoutly for a few moments, and the combat was hand to hand. Major Hart shot one man as he was trying to wrest his revolver from his hand, and

this even after the trench had been turned by our advance on their flank. Then, as our troops poured in, the Egyptians fled as rapidly as those upon the other side of the canal had done before the Highlanders.

"The fight was now practically over, the only further danger arising from the bullets of our own troops, who were firing in all directions upon the flying enemy, as with loud cheers our whole line advanced in pursuit.

"The Egyptians did not preserve the slightest semblance of order, but fled in a confused rabble at the top of their speed.

"As we descended the hill leading down to Tel-el-Kebir station we captured the standing camp, with immense stores of forage and provisions.

"At the station were two trains, which were filled with fugitives, and these managed to get away before our troops came up. Another engine, however, on the point of starting, was blown up by one of our shells.

"The victorious line of troops advanced cheering across the enemy's camp, and halted at the station, where Sir Garnet Wolseley soon after arrived.

"Immediately afterwards General Drury Lowe, with his staff rode up, having cut across the line of

retreat of the flying enemy. A good many of them had been killed by our rifle and artillery fire, but immense numbers, throwing their arms away, delivered themselves up as prisoners.

"How many of these have been taken I cannot at present say, but certainly far more than we shall be able to dispose of.

"On the bridge of the canal the general dictated his orders to General Macpherson and General Lowe.

"The former was ordered to move at once with the Indian brigade on Zagazig, the latter to continue the work of the total dispersion of the enemy.

"As I write, the troops are cheering their brigadiers, Alison and Graham, who rode into the trenches at their head.

"The Highlanders and Guards are making themselves comfortable in the abandoned Egyptian tents, and are preparing to snatch a few hours' repose.

"Our casualties are at present unknown, but are not heavy. Those of the enemy are very large indeed.

"In the course of a brief ride I counted three hundred Egyptian dead."

From these and other sources we are able to represent to ourselves, as nearly as possible, that the battle took place in the following manner. The troops that Sir Garnet destined for the attack consisted of 12,227 men; 2785 cavalry, 60 guns, 214 marines, with six gatling guns. A regiment of infantry, and one of cavalry, with several guns, were left to defend the camp at Kassassin; or were perhaps chiefly intended to serve as reserves in case of need.

The general ordered the troops to advance early in the morning, so as to traverse the distance of six miles that lay between them and the enemy in the cool of the morning; and in order to take the Egyptians by surprise. This suceeeded perfectly. The outposts of the enemy seem to have been negligent, as those of the English had been on a former occasion. The English, it is said, marched without loading their rifles, by order of the commander-in-chief, and were able to take the first line of defence in their first charge. But as soon as the Egyptians recovered from the first surprise, they began exchanging a brisk fire from their main position, which did great execution, although they fired too high. The English fought with their traditional bravery. The officers placed them-

selves at the head of their men, and led them with loud hurrahs from trench to trench. General Graham's brigade, and that of the Duke of Connaught, fought north of the railway, against the left wing of the enemy; while the Indian troops and General Alison's brigade were to attack south of the railway. The troops were all apparently meant to attack in front, but the brigades were so placed one behind another, that Graham's and Alison's were first to attack, while the Guard's and Macpherson's followed them as supports.

The cavalry and horse artillery under General Drury Lowe (who in most of the previous encounters had done so much to decide the day favourably) were to attack the enemy's left wing, and the general again developed as much skill as bravery. The latter quality was not uncalled for, as the Egyptians for some time fought hand to hand. The English troops used their bayonets, and the Scots reversed their rifles and fought with the butts; while the English artillery made great havoc among the Egyptian reserves. Within an hour after the first charge, many of the defences were in the hands of the English. Further in the rear Arabi tried to rally his retreating forces for one more effort; but one after another the earth-

works were taken in a series of bold rushes, and finally the appearance of the cavalry on the flank was the signal for a general disorderly flight. By mid-day the battle was decided. The rout was made more complete by the fire of the artillery, which had come up in time and played upon the flying masses of Egyptians. Their total loss is said to have amounted to two thousand killed and wounded, and an equal number were taken prisoners. That there was hard fighting at least in some parts of the field, is proved by the duration of the battle, which lasted several hours, as well as by the losses of the English. These losses amounted to eighty-four killed, of whom nine were officers, and 342 wounded, among whom twenty-two were officers. The Egyptians suffered great loss of material. The whole of their guns and military stores, several trains of ammunition and much rolling stock fell into the hand of the victorious army.

This was a decisive victory, and the war was in consequence practically at an end. The way to Cairo was open to the English ; and once there, the occupation, and subsequent pacification and re-organization of the country would be comparatively an easy task.

Even supposing that the first reports overrated

the importance of this victory, yet there is no doubt that the capture of Tel-el-Kebir placed the English in a totally different and improved position. Tel-el-Kebir, and the station at Kishlak, with the drawbridge over the Sweetwater canal are on the fertile Delta, and the English had therefore found space to concentrate their position. They could also have reversed the line of earthworks at Tel-el-Kebir, and so have made themselves quite secure against attack.

It is true enough that the strip of land thus taken would not suffice to find provision for the troops. But as most of their stores were carried with them, this was no drawback. A variety of fruits and vegetables were now to be had, and the change from the hot, dry sand of the desert acted beneficially on the health of the men. A few miles to the west of Tel-el-Kebir, the Ismailia canal from Cairo flows by the side of the Sweetwater canal; but still the dearth of water in the British camp was so serious that some reports ascribed to this cause the actual decision to attack on the 13th. It must be assumed, however, that the Ismailia canal would have remained intact, even should the Egyptians in their retreat from Zagazig, have cut the Sweetwater canal proper in several places. At

any rate the water of both arms of the canal would not have been spoiled by throwing in corpses and carrion as was the case before the capture of Kassassin.

Two roads lay open to the advance of the British. One follows the Ismailia canal along the edge of the desert, through Belbeis, El-Menais, and Siryacus to Cairo—a distance of some fifty miles, or four short days' march. The second follows the railway line to Zagazig for about ten miles, from which station a branch line leads to Benhar, and at Kalyoub again joins the line coming from Shilbin, and both lines run on to Cairo. The distance from Zagazig to Cairo is nearly the same on each line, and amounts to about forty-seven miles. The whole distance from Tel-el-Kebir to Cairo by this route is about sixty-two miles, or five days' march. But whether the route *viâ* Belbeis, is practicable for a large force is doubtful. To follow the railway line, at least with the largest body of troops, would be most in accordance with European tactics of war, as reinforcement and communication with the rear would thus be rendered more easy.

It is needless here to point to the unfortunate effects that a resolute stand on the part of the

Egyptians at Tel-el-Kebir could and would have had on the small British force; the fact remains that the tactics of the English general were sharply criticised at home. The *Times* reproduced the utterances of an officer of high rank in Alexandria, disapproving the transfer of the basis of operations from that place to Ismailia. Did the general wish effectually to silence all such voices? Had he heard from deserters or other sources how weak the troops were behind their fortifications? Did the ill health of his troops or the dearth of water compel him to action? Had English gold smoothed the way to success, or did he think it safe to risk something when opposed to an army of Orientals? Who could give a final answer to such queries? The fact remains, that Sir Garnet did risk something that he would never have ventured to risk under normal conditions, and that he has succeeded. His success is the justification of his means.

The first reports of the battle gave no details of the condition of Arabi, who had fled from the field, nor of his troops, nor were probable conjectures to be made. Fortifications on a large scale at Zagazig and, again, at Cairo had been mentioned as possible rallying points; but if no better

stand were made in them than at Tel-el-Kebir, earthworks could not check the advance of the British, and could hardly delay it.

All such conjectures were set at rest by the news of the following days. General Wolseley seems, from the circumstances of the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, to have perceived signs of such a disorganization as enabled him to finish the campaign at once, acting, as it now appears, on plans preconceived and full of energy, and which caused no small astonishment to outsiders. The cavalry under General Drury Lowe, which had on the 13th pressed along the edge of the desert as far as Belbeis, reached Cairo on the day following and occupied it without resistance. This movement gave an effective proof of their marching powers, for the distance from Belbeis to Cairo is over thirty miles. It may be taken as a striking illustration of the discouragement prevailing in Cairo, that a British general at the head of scarcely fifteen hundred men (the 13th Bengal Lancers, the 4th and 7th Dragoon Guards, and one battery of horse artillery) could, without hesitation, take possession of a large town containing more than twenty-seven thousand fanatics, and of the citadel garrisoned by ten thousand men. It might be indeed assumed that the British,

heretofore lax in their conduct of the war, had become suddenly possessed by a spirit of activity which was almost reckless of consequences. "When once the Oriental has been put to flight, he must not be allowed to rest." This expression was put into the mouth either of General Graham or of General Havelock, the military authority of the *Times*. The last-named officer had sharply criticised the carelessness of the advanced posts of the British. According to the maxim now quoted General Wolseley acted, and with the most brilliant success.

By the evening of September the 13th, General Macpherson had entered Zagazig, fifteen to twenty miles beyond Tel-el-Kebir, by a forced march, and had taken possession of five railway trains with their locomotives. The entrance on the Delta after the scarcity and fatigue of the desert region, seems to have refreshed the ranks and given fresh life and activity to every man of the British force. No sooner had the Highland brigade under General Graham reached Zagazig, than Sir Garnet led the Indian troops in person as far as Benha, the second important railway junction, a point where he could cross the Nile. He occupied this place, twenty miles beyond Zagazig, early on the 15th. In the

course of this same day he pushed on to Cairo with a portion of his infantry, by the railway that was still uninjured. He was received with open arms, amidst the acclamations of the populace; and was amply justified in telegraphing to London, "The war is over; send no more troops to Egypt."

Even if something must be discounted from this confident jubilation, yet the fact remains that Arabi surrendered unconditionally with ten thousand men to Sir D. Lowe, and the native population was quite peaceful on the arrival of the English. Their mastery was complete.

The Egyptian leader, indeed, seemed not entirely without hope after his defeat at Tel-el-Kebir. He ordered his troops to move from Salahyeh to Damietta, whither it is probable that most of the fugitives had retired. He ordered the dams to be cut so as to lay the Delta under water, and certainly intended to defend the capital. There, however, he was met by an unexpected change of public opinion. The battle of Tel-el-Kebir had been reported by Arabi in Cairo as a victory for the Egyptian arms (according to his invariable practice), and the populace awaited their leader with the head of Admiral Seymour, who was uni-

versally considered to be the British commander-in-chief. When Arabi reached the city alone and a fugitive, all classes turned against him. Fortunately, his orders to cut the dams were not carried out, and at Cairo he found that resistance was useless. Toulba Pasha, the commander at Kafr-Dowar, was also in Cairo on the 14th, and he and Arabi gave up their swords to Sir D. Lowe.

These rapid and complete military successes quite changed the aspect of affairs for the English at Alexandria. Previous to the battle of Tel-el-Kebir their position had seemed rather precarious. The Bedouins had undertaken an attack on Fort Meks, and had actually taken up a strong position in some of the houses of the place; and, as has been stated already, preliminary steps had been taken for cutting the sea embankment and flooding Lake Mariût, should that extreme measure become necessary. The soldier cannot hesitate when force or necessity compels him to act with entire disregard of every consideration that is in his way; but the flooding of Lake Mariût was not likely to fulfil the object in view, as the water would probably have taken five months to attain a depth of eight feet. It would, therefore, have been not only an useless but even a barbarous measure. But as

the British had inundated the lake in 1801, and in doing so destroyed hundreds of flourishing villages, so on the 13th or 14th of September, 1882, the cutting at Meks was begun. It is said that the water attained a depth of three and a half feet in twenty-four hours, which sounds improbable, but the water of the Mahmoudieh canal, though it increased in volume, tasted salt in consequence of the addition of sea water. This may have been the immediate reason which decided the English to close the cutting, as soon as the Egyptians in surrendering gave up the canal. Eight hundred men were employed in removing the dams. The canal at once yielded a copious supply of water, which soon lost its salt taste.

The Bedouins were another plague with which the British could now deal effectually. They had appeared in force at Ismailia and at Tel-el-Kebir, and had to be fired upon before they could be driven from the latter place.

A few days before the occupation of Cairo, Sir G. Wolseley issued the following general order:—

"The General Commanding-in-Chief congratulates the army upon the brilliant success which has crowned its efforts in the campaign terminated on the 14th instant by the surrender of the citadel of

Cairo, and of Arabi Pasha, the chief rebel against the authority of his Highness the Khedive.

"In twenty-five days the army has effected a disembarkation at Ismailia; has traversed the desert to Zagazig; has occupied the capital of Egypt; has fortunately defeated the enemy four times—on August the 24th, at Magfar; on the 25th, at Tel-el-Mahout; on September the 9th, at Kassassin; and finally on September the 13th, at Tel-el-Kebir, where, after an arduous night march, it inflicted upon him an overwhelming defeat, storming his strongly intrenched position at the point of the bayonet and capturing all his guns, about sixty in number.

"In recapitulating the events which have marked this short and decisive campaign, the General Commanding-in-Chief feels proud to place upon record the fact that these brilliant achievements are to be attributed to the high military courage and noble devotion to duty which have animated all ranks under his command.

"Called upon to show discipline under exceptional privations, to give proof of fortitude in extreme toil, and to show contempt of danger in battle, general officers, officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the army have responded with

zeal and alacrity, adding another chapter to the long roll of British victories."

With this congratulation the campaign proper, already virtually at an end, was brought to a formal conclusion. It is here, perhaps, the time and place to put together briefly, and from our point of view, the military aspect of the conduct of the war.

If it is allowable to pass judgment on the events of the war, and if we may express an opinion, dissenting from the decisions of a commander whose motives are not yet fully explained, we may remark that it appears more than bold on his part to have ventured, under the press of circumstances as they appear to outsiders, to make the attack on Tel-el-Kebir on the 13th of September. Success, and that a thorough and complete success, has, however, justified him in this particular. In every other respect the opening and continuance of the campaign can but call for approbation, even from those who are not friendly to the general, and the whole conduct of the campaign must strengthen his reputation as a cautious and energetic commander. The transfer of his base of operations to Ismailia was ingeniously planned, both in the preservation of the secret and in the swiftness and

decision of the several details; and the movement was skilfully carried out. That the general lay so long inactive before Ismailia in spite of many military reasons requiring his rapid advance, was the result of defective preparation on the part of the transport service. It seems no fault in the general that he waited till the reinforcement and supply of his troops were safely provided for; on the contrary, the delay should be counted strongly in his favour. The unhesitating energy with which Sir Garnet followed up the victory of the 13th, and brought the campaign speedily to an end, deserves unmeasured praise.

All the machinery of the War Office has again proved unwieldy and unpractical. Its influence, which obstructed and narrowed the free action of the army, was scarcely counter-balanced by the inferiority of the enemy and by the bravery of the British troops. Under three attacks—two of them surprises—the men held their ground for hours against heavy odds, and they charged the earth-works and the death-dealing cannon's mouth without a moment's hesitation. "The English infantry," says a French general, "is the best in the world; fortunately it is not numerous." The praise conveyed in this saying is still applicable as

far as regards the personal bravery of men and officers. The latter, it is true, treat the service, even in the field of battle, more as sport for the development of personal courage, than as a continuous series of obligatory actions in the interest of a great whole; but this is the nature of Britons, who cultivate every kind of sport. The following expression is ascribed to the Duke of Wellington—the "Iron Duke"—that type of all English generals: "I always found men who followed the hounds brave and valiant soldiers." This treatment of war as sport serves to explain the want of vigilance, in those precautionary and outpost services, where that quality is specially required. The knight fights with praiseworthy courage, and then straightway gives way to carelessness and repose. The sustained alertness of outpost duties, from which little credit is to be gained, seems somehow beneath his dignity, and the British have, in consequence, been twice surprised in this short campaign, to say nothing of the numerous attacks of the Bedouins, the object of which was plunder rather than any military object.

Nothing but their bravery and the opportune appearance of the cavalry saved the English from a check on the 28th. Sir Drury Lowe seems to

have handled the cavalry excellently; besides attacks delivered in the several engagements against superior numbers, his ride to Cairo and its occupation will always be an admirable example, both of the riding powers and the military capability of his cavalry.

In the matter of developing the capabilities of the troops and of their disposition in the field, the Egyptian war has hardly brought to light anything worthy of remark. Excepting the high courage of the individual man, which we note once more, the actual military results shrivel up to a minimum. England, with her present army organization, is unable to put into the field an army equal in numbers to other European armies; yet this disadvantage is not counterbalanced by the superiority of her troops in respect of arms, development of the soldiers' capacities, or manœuvring. On the contrary, the British army, in spite of the best material in respect of men and animals, is in these other matters far below the level of continental armies, and the proud island might find itself quite unable to wage war on land in Europe with any prospect of success.

CONCLUSION.

THE concluding events of the war may be soon told. It was to be expected that the remaining Egyptian troops now scattered over the country, as well as the various garrisons, would hasten to offer their submission as unmistakably as they could. Had they not done so, their final subjugation would have offered no special difficulties, and would have made little or no change in the general state of affairs. As a matter of fact, the disarming of the Egyptian troops was effected without bloodshed. Numerous deserters, fugitives from Tel-el-Kebir and places beyond it, threw away their arms and returned to their homes and employments, glad to be free from compulsory service.

The conquerors, at this juncture, refused all foreign intervention. When the Sultan telegraphed to Sir G. Wolseley with the apparent object of negotiating terms of surrender, he was simply

referred to the English embassy. As might have been expected, after the course events had taken, a flag of truce from Kafr-Dowar appeared in Alexandria, with an offer to surrender the troops stationed there under certain conditions. The terms were refused, and on the following day the troops surrendered unconditionally. The British took possession of the fortifications and the village, and set about repairing the damaged portions of the railway. After the surrender of Fort Aslan, on the 16th and 17th the garrison of Kafr-Dowar was disarmed in the presence of General Wood, with such a demonstration as should make an impression on the populace. Ten thousand fellahîn, two regiments of cavalry, and the artillerymen of several batteries were taken prisoners; one thousand horses and seventeen thousand stand of arms were captured.

On the 17th there followed the surrender and occupation of Aboukir. On the evening of the next day, the garrison, numbering from five to six thousand men, marched to Kafr-Dowar, there to be disarmed. During the march, a whole regiment with their arms escaped and threw themselves into Damietta. The desertion of detached bodies of men took place in considerable numbers, the men

eager to return once more to their homes. Tanta was occupied on the 18th by the English, and on the 21st Fort Ghemileh, on the Tanitic mouth of the Nile, surrendered with eighty men of the garrison, the remainder having deserted to Damietta, which thus obtained a garrison of Egyptian troops.

Damietta lies on the western branch of the Nile, and is situated about seven miles from the mouth of the river. The bay is protected by batteries and martello towers. Only these defences can be bombarded, as large ships of war cannot steam up the river. Reports about Damietta were contradictory. First it was said that Abdellal, the commandant, was organizing an energetic defence, his forces being increased by the troops sent from Salahyeh. Then it was reported that, according to his own assertion, he never had intended to take up arms against the Khedive, and only awaited orders from him. At last his troops broke out into mutiny; he had about seven thousand men, of whom five thousand were blacks. The want of discipline, which had been artificially promoted in the first instance, here brought its own punishment. Some of the men retired to Shirkin, where they destroyed the railway. Desertions were so frequent that only eight hundred black troops remained; it

was even said that they had killed their commander. This last report was without foundation, for on the 23rd Abdellal surrendered Damietta to the English. Twenty-four field guns and seventeen thousand stand of arms were taken in the place. The black troops had all fled the night before, and these numerous deserters were apparently wandering about the country, burning, plundering, and murdering. The existence of a mob of disbanded soldiers is a source of danger, and their destruction becomes a problem, the energetic solution of which will devolve first on the English, and then on the Egyptian army.

The booty obtained by the English seems to have been very large; the quantity will never be known with the accuracy to which Germans are accustomed. Besides the figures already quoted from the sources of information accessible up to the 20th of September, thirty thousand rifles, thirty thousand pounds of ammunition, eighteen 12-pounder guns and one 6-pounder were brought into Alexandria. The number of men disarmed according to all reports was at least twenty thousand. We make no conjecture as to the numbers who deserted from their flag before or shortly after the catastrophe of the 13th of September, nor what

percentage deserted subsequently, but we hold to the figures we have quoted in their entirety. Such a number, almost as many as a German army corps, or at least a strong division—ought certainly to have been able to have put very great difficulties in the way of the British.

The change of popular opinion kept pace with the military successes. On the 14th of September, Butros Pasha, Reufali Pasha, and Ruki Pasha had appeared in Alexandria from Cairo to present a loyal address to the Khedive in the name of the inhabitants of the capital. Sultan Pasha had introduced himself as governor into the captured towns, and was welcomed everywhere. If in western countries one shrugs one's shoulders in astonishment at such a tale, it is to be remembered that changes of this kind are to be explained by the character of the Oriental. He accepts the conclusion of events as the unavoidable "*kismet*," and hastens with proverbial cunning to reap some advantage from a new situation. In the present instance, too, the outward demeanour of the European colony in Alexandria underwent a considerable change in favour of the British, and the victories were celebrated with enthusiasm.

The country meanwhile, independently of the

vagabondage we have alluded to, was by no means at peace. Outbreaks took place at Kafrzeyat, Damanhour, Mansura, Benha, and many other places. They were so serious in Tanta that it was found necessary to send thither a considerable body of troops under General Wood. Even in Cairo there was so much disaffection that General Wolseley threatened to open fire on the Arab quarter, and strong detachments of cavalry patrolled the streets. British officers on a visit to the pyramids were set upon and maltreated by Bedouins. Though such cases may occur now and then in time of peace, yet the number of these single acts taken together is an unmistakable symptom of the course of popular feeling, and one that it would not be wise to ignore. The parade of submission to actual force on the side of the British, the showering of curses on Arabi, the loyalty so noisily expressed towards the Khedive, could not be taken to express the real feelings in the hearts of the Egyptian people. The Khedive seemed to know his Orientals and to mistrust them, for his return to Cairo, put off to the 16th or 17th, was again deferred, though postal communication with Alexandria was restored, and a train had been started on the 20th.

At length, on the 25th of September, the rightful prince, accompanied by the English Consul-General, Sir Edward Malet, made his formal entry into the capital. Among the many reports of this important event, the *Standard* gives an article, apparently from the pen of Captain Cameron, so lifelike and probably so exact in its representation of the circumstances, that we cannot do better than reproduce it :—

"No one who witnessed to-day's spectacle is ever likely to forget the scene which Cairo presented as the Khedive of Egypt was escorted through its streets and conducted to his palace by British troops.

"From an early hour this morning crowds of people, natives and Europeans, perambulated the streets, which by noon were densely lined on both sides by a crowd of Orientals. The scene was a most animated and striking one. Great numbers of men belonging to the upper classes were hurrying along on donkeys. Shrouded women in the background clung to garden railings or stood on door steps. Red-coated British soldiers strode along with measured steps, and mounted orderlies and staff officers dashed hither and thither.

"At two o'clock bands of military music, chiefly

fifes and drums, were heard in many directions, and as if by magic British regiments filed along in a double wall from the station round by Shepherd's Hotel and the Abdin palace to the Ismailia palace.

"At half-past two the Khedive's consort arrived, and drove rapidly, followed by other carriages with the ladies of the harem, to her destination. She was received with shrill exclamations from the women on the housetops.

"At three o'clock the general and his staff left head-quarters for the station. None were in full dress, but all wore their fighting kits. They arrived at the station just as the Khedive's train entered it. Sir Garnet Wolseley with the Duke of Connaught entered the station, and found that the Khedive had that instant alighted and was surrounded by crowds of officials.

"After the first greeting the Khedive was at once conducted to his carriage, in which he took his seat with Sir Garnet Wolseley, the Duke of Connaught, and Sir Edward Malet.

"The Khedive cannot but have been struck at his first view of the scene as he left the station. On either side were the long lines of tall men, on great horses, of the Household Cavalry. As the carriage passed through them the sabres flashed a

salute, which the guns of the citadel and of a battery of artillery were already thundering out.

"Farther on the line was taken up by the 4th and 7th Dragoon Guards, and next to these came the smart 19th Hussars. Beyond these the carriage passed between two rows of British infantry, standing with fixed bayonets and rifles at the present, officers and men absolutely motionless.

"Here the peculiar shrill greeting cries of the Arab women were almost deafening, but the deep rows of men behind the lines of infantry maintained an ominous silence. It is true that Orientals rarely cheer, but even to those accustomed to Oriental impassiveness the reception of the Khedive appeared unfortunately, but most distinctly, cold. Here and there a few of the natives salaamed, but the vast majority of the crowd remained motionless and silent.

"At intervals along the line bands of native music were stationed, and these raised a deafening din as the *cortége* passed along. According to Egyptian custom bullocks were slaughtered; and the vibrating cries of the women were heard along the whole line of route.

"A remark by a turbaned and robed Arab who stood near me was worthy of notice. He said to

another Arab by him, "The Khedive returns like a child in his nurse's arms."

"As the carriage drove along the line Sir Garnet Wolseley and the Duke of Connaught directed the Khedive's attention to the different regiments, and he manifested considerable interest and curiosity as he passed between the ranks of the stalwart men of the Highland brigade.

"Wherever groups of Europeans, of whatever nationality, were gathered, the cheering as the carriage passed was loud and enthusiastic.

"So, amid the thunder of the British artillery, which Arabi could hear in his prison, and between lines of British bayonets, the Khedive passed out of sight between the gates of his palace.

"To-night the city will be illuminated, and to-morrow the Khedive will hold a reception.

"None except officials were allowed to accompany the Khedive in his train, but I am informed, upon the authority of Sir Edward Malet, that his Highness received an enthusiastic greeting along the whole line of route. More especially was this the case at Damanhour, Kafrzeyat, Tanta, and Benha, where the stations were gaily decorated by flags, the platforms were crowded, and loyal addresses were presented.

"Even at the stations where the train did not stop the population was collected on the platform and along the line to acclaim the Khedive's passage.

"His Highness has bestowed the Grand Cordon of the Osmanieh on Sir Garnet Wolseley. General Sir Evelyn Wood has arrived here.

"I hear upon good authority that the Khedive will shortly issue a general amnesty to all concerned in the recent events, excepting only about half a dozen individuals, who will be tried for their lives on the charge of being implicated in one or other of the massacres and the conflagration of Alexandria. This step is likely to have an excellent effect."

But in order to explain to our readers the impression which the reception of the Khedive had made on those in official positions, we reproduce *verbatim* the telegram sent by the British Commander-in-Chief to his Government:—

"His Highness the Khedive arrived at Cairo at 3.30 this afternoon.

"Our troops, of all arms, lined the streets from the railway to the palace, and a dense multitude of the inhabitants gave his Highness a most cordial reception.

"The Khedive expresses to me in most gracious terms, and begged me to convey it to her Majesty's Government, the deep gratitude he feels towards her Majesty, and to the English nation and army, for all that has been done for him. His Highness was pleased to confer upon me the Grand Cross of the Osmanieh."

On the 17th of September, the Khedive had signed the laconic decree regarding the army just as it was laid before him by his ministers. It is as follows:—1. The Egyptian army is dissolved. 2. Officers of all ranks found guilty of causing mutiny and disturbance will be punished in accordance with the military code.—Riaz Pasha is said to have been included under Article 2.

The leaders of the rebellion were to be condemned. Such private soldiers as fell into the hands of the British were all allowed to return to their homes; 375 officers of inferior rank who had been detained at Ramleh were released; fifty-five others, from the rank of colonel upwards, were removed to Cairo to appear before the court-martial. The English took precautions against the abuse of the forms of justice for purposes of personal vengeance or hatred. According to the first arrangements no execution was allowed to

be carried out without the consent of the English general. By a later arrangement the court-martial, which was to meet at Cairo, was to be attended by English officers of high rank, with whom would rest the final decisions. In regard to cases involving humane treatment of the lower classes, the British officers took a decided line of action and maintained it resolutely, *e.g.* the commandant of the citadel of Cairo, Colonel Knox, put the former governor in chains for having subjected prisoners to the torture.

Arabi had several times sought an interview with General Wolseley, but without effect. He was discouraged, and apparently ill. He will probably be looked upon as a political personage with whom the Porte has at one time treated, and will not be put to death.

At Alexandria and at Tanta local commissions were appointed to examine into the charges of plundering that occurred between the 11th and 16th of June. The consuls had the right to take part in the sittings. Finally, on the 27th of September, a special commission was appointed by decree of the Khedive. It sat in Cairo, under the presidency of Ismail Bey, in order to take cognizance of all acts performed by military or civil

persons during the rebellion. The adherents of Arabi, the "ringleaders," who had been imprisoned in large numbers, were probably to be handed over to it. Further, two courts-martial were ordered—one at Alexandria, to try cases handed over to it by the local commission; the other at Cairo, under Mohammed Reouf Pasha. The judgments of these courts were to be according to military law and without appeal. At the same time a partial amnesty was to follow. The proceedings of the courts-martial were to be open to the public, and the accused were allowed counsel for their defence.

There remained the reorganization of the Egyptian army; no definite decision on the matter has yet been made. It is said that there will be no other force than ten thousand police under Baker Pasha, to whom all British officers in the Egyptian service are to be subordinate.

The question of detaining British troops in the country goes beyond the practical requirements of the hour and becomes a matter of considerable political importance. Turkey has already made representations to the English cabinet, calling attention to the fact that peace is restored and that the presence of British troops is no longer necessary. If other Governments have hitherto

taken no steps in this direction, there are some at least who look with no favourable eyes on British supremacy in Egypt. Our own conviction is that England never can and never will resign the military control of the Suez canal. By the springing of a single mine at the right time and place she might lose the use of this important passage for a long time, and we believe that she will find the proper means to secure her object. Besides the control of the canal, a considerable force is required to pacify the country, excited as it has been by religious fanaticism and foreign oppression. After the victory of Tel-el-Kebir it was announced that the largest portion of the troops would return home at once; but it was finally decided that a force consisting of ten to twelve thousand men would have to remain in Egypt for an undefined period.

Sir Garnet Wolseley and Sir Beauchamp Seymour have both been raised to the peerage by the Queen as a reward for their services. Sir Garnet remained in Egypt for the time necessary, in order to determine on all arrangements for a fair trial for the prisoners, and to give a start to all plans for the reorganization, and pacification of the country.

While the forces of the expedition remained in Egypt, Sir Garnet Wolseley gave orders for a review of the troops, of whom the greater number were in Cairo. On the 30th of September, twenty thousand men marched past the palace of Abdin, which he was then occupying. The imposing display of the various uniforms, and of the weapons so lately the instruments of bloodshed, has been fully described in the newspapers. It will not fail in its effect on Orientals, weak, yielding, and impressionable, owing to long misgovernment. With this military spectacle our description of this one of the many phases of the Eastern question comes to an end.

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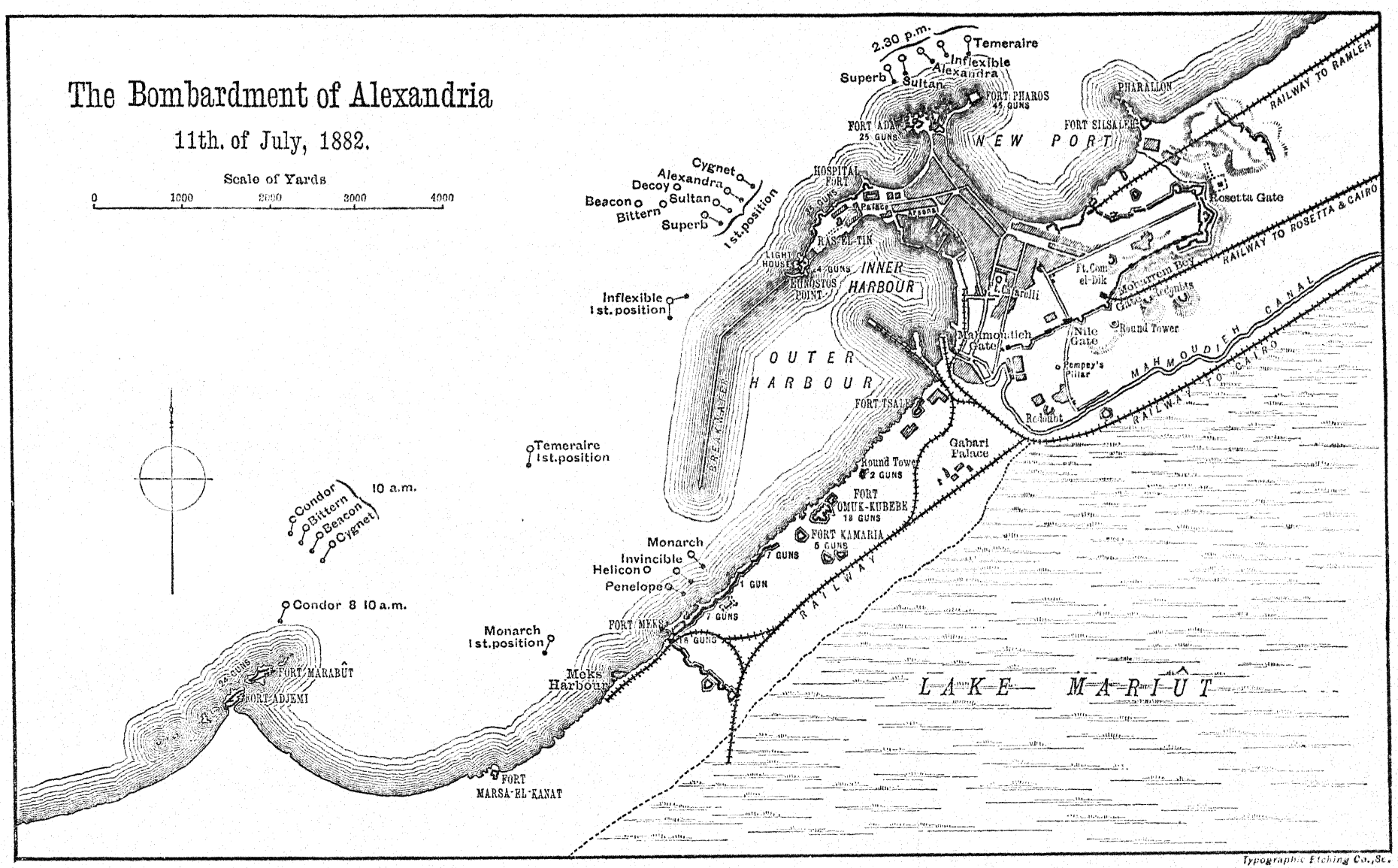
The Bombardment of Alexandria
11th. of July, 1882.
Scale of Yards
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1000
2000
3000
4000
2.30 p.m.
Temeraire
Inflexible
Alexandra
Superb
Sultan
FORT PHAROS
45 GUNS
PHARALLON
FORT ADA
25 GUNS
NEW PORT
FORT SILSALEH
RAILWAY TO RAMLEH
Cygnet
Alexandra
Decoy
Sultan
Beacon
Bittern
Superb
1st.position
HOSPITAL FORT
Rosetta Gate
RAILWAY TO ROSETTA & CAIRO
RAS-EL-TIN
LIGHT HOUSE
14 GUNS
INNER HARBOUR
EUNOSTOS POINT
Inflexible
1st. position
Ft. Com. el-Dik
Mohammed Bey Gate
Ft. Caffarelli
Mahmoudieh Gate
Nile Gate
Round Tower
MAHMOUDIEH CANAL
OUTER HARBOUR
Pompey's Pillar
RAILWAY TO CAIRO
FORT TSALEH
Redoubt
Temeraire
1st.position
Gabari Palace
Round Tower
12 GUNS
FORT OMUK-KUBEBE
18 GUNS
FORT KAMARIA
5 GUNS
Condor
Bittern
Beacon
Cygnet
10 a.m.
Monarch
Invincible
Helicon
Penelope
7 GUNS
1 GUN
RAILWAY
Condor 8 10 a.m.
FORT MEKS
16 GUNS
7 GUNS
Monarch
1st.position
FORT MARABUT
24 GUNS
FORT ADJEMI
Meks Harbour
LAKE MARIUT
FORT MARSA-EL-KANAT
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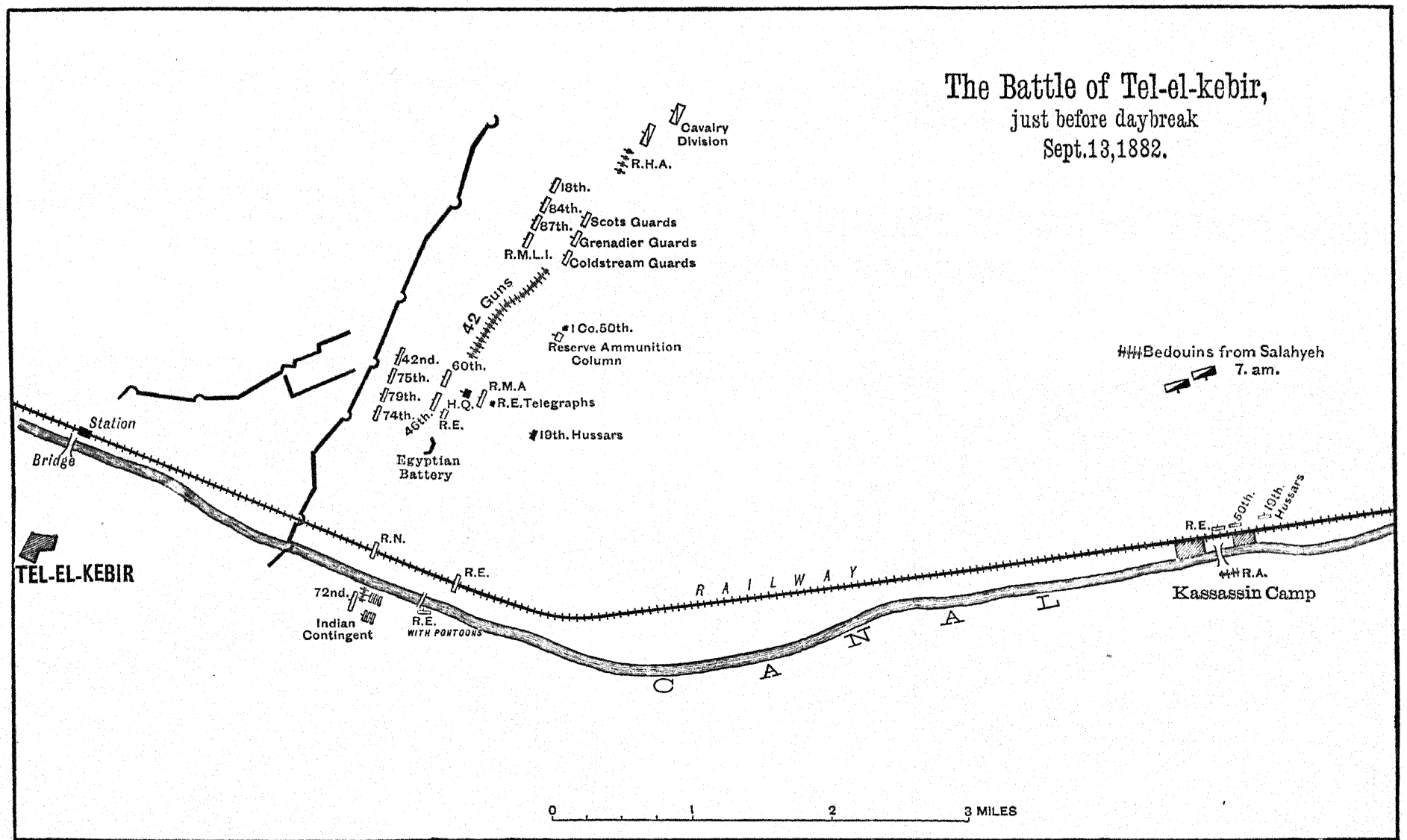
The Battle of Tel-el-kebir,
just before daybreak
Sept.13,1882.
Cavalry Division
R.H.A.
18th.
84th.
87th.
Scots Guards
Grenadier Guards
R.M.L.I.
Coldstream Guards
42 Guns
1 Co.50th.
Reserve Ammunition Column
42nd.
60th.
75th.
79th.
74th.
46th.
R.M.A
H.Q.
R.E.Telegraphs
R.E.
19th. Hussars
Egyptian Battery
Bedouins from Salahyeh
7. am.
Station
Bridge
TEL-EL-KEBIR
R.N.
R.E.
72nd.
Indian Contingent
R.E. WITH PONTOONS
R A I L W A Y
C A N A L
R.E.
50th.
19th. Hussars
R.A.
Kassassin Camp
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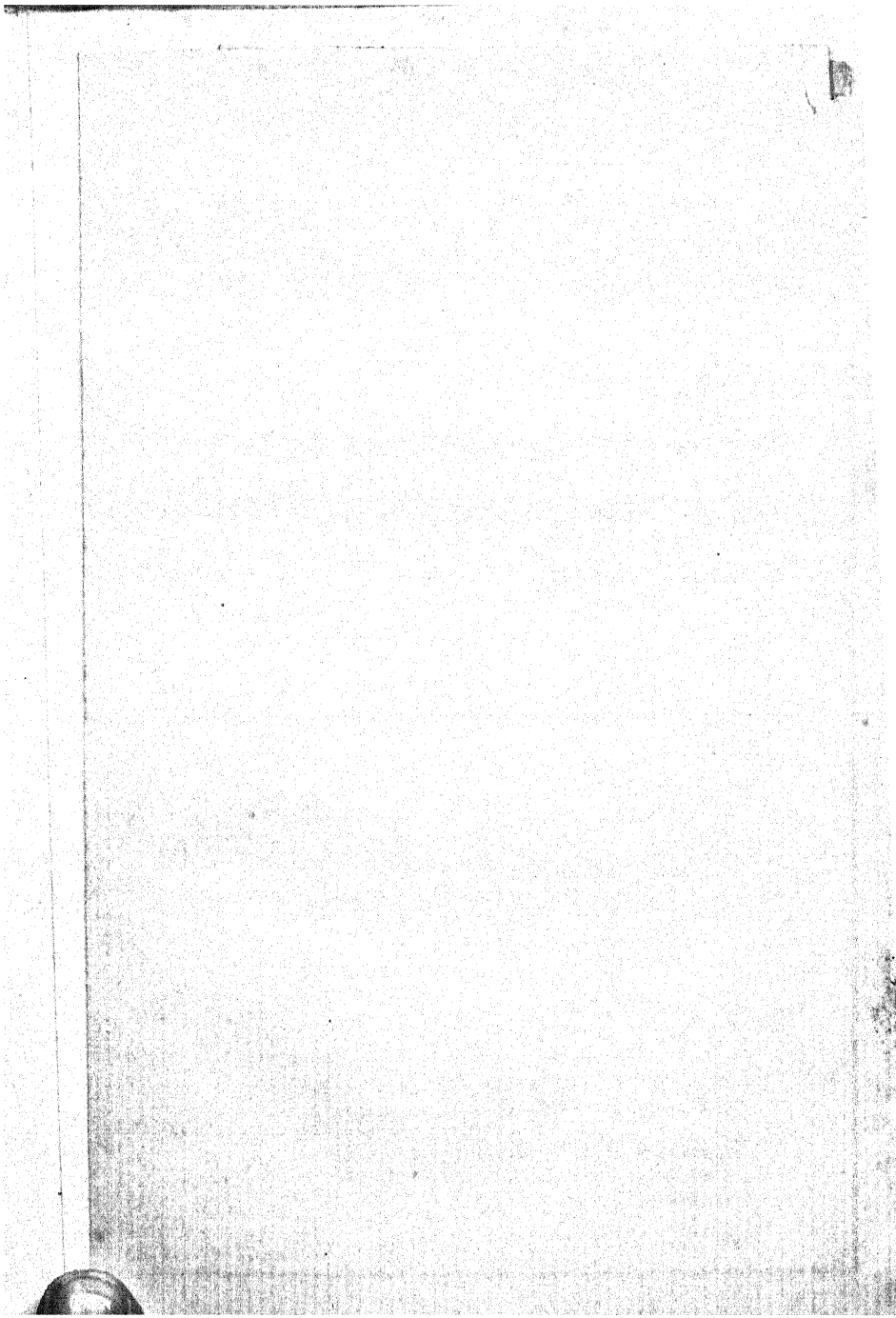

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