

REPORT.

to thr U.S.Government in 1884. when in Europe.

No.24 Volume 9.

Subject:

Egypt/ British Troops, Gen.Graham's Command.

GENERAL O.O. HOWARD'S REPORT

From information gathered while in Egypt from officers of

General Graham's Command.

Description of General Graham's battles.

GENERAL C.O. HOWARD'S REPORT

From information gathered while in Egypt from officers of

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Description of General Graham's battles.

Headquarters Department of the Platte

Omaha, Nebraska, November 20, 1884

The

Adjutant General of the Army

Washington, D.C.

Sir:-

I have the honor to report as follows: I received from your Headquarters the 11th. of March the following instructions:

War Department

Adjutant General's Office

Washington, March 11th., 1884.

Brigadier General O.O. Howard,

U. S. Army,

Washington, D.C.

Sir:-

Referring to your request of the 10th. inst., for authority to spend two months abroad, independent of your present four months leave of absence, for the purpose of visiting the scenes of the operations of the British troops in Egypt, I have the honor to inform you that for the purpose specified, you are authorized by the Secretary of War to delay two months after the expiration of your leave, during which period you will be viewed as on duty, but on condition that you make no claim for mileage.

Very respectfully, your obd't servant,

(signed) R. C. Drum,

Adjutant General.

As I interpreted these instructions I could select the two months for duty in Egypt at will; but as the warm weather was approaching in that quarter I determined to hasten thither before taking special advantage of my leave of absence.

Meeting the Honorable Secretary of the Navy I spoke to him of my purpose to visit Egypt and asked if there were any naval vessels in that vicinity. He believed that some vessels of the United States Naval

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Meeting the Honorable Secretary of the Navy I spoke to him of my purpose to visit Egypt and asked if there were any naval vessels in that vicinity. He believed that some vessels of the United States Navy

force were still somewhere upon the Northern coast of the Mediterranean, and said that if that were the fact, he proposed to send at least one vessel to Egypt, believed that I could join it and in cooperation with the Navy better effect the purpose of visiting the scenes of the operations of the British troops.

The 15th of March I left New York by the Steamer "Belgenland" and arrived at Antwerp the 26th of the same month, and Paris the 30th. Here I communicated with the different naval stations with the hope of getting word of some convenient vessel of war that I could join.

On the 31st of March I received by mail the following letter from the Navy Department which put in writing what the Honorable Secretary had previously said to me at our interview before my departure.

Navy Department,

Washington, March 17, 1884.

Brevet Major General

O. O. Howard, U.S.A.

c/o Drexel, Harjes & Co., Bankers,
Paris, France.

Sir:-

I have pleasure in notifying you that Rear Admiral Baldwin, Commanding the U.S. Naval Force on the European station has been informed of your proposed visit to the scene of operations in Egypt, and directed to facilitate your movements and to tender you all the assistance in his power.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(signed) W. E. Chandler,

Secretary of the Navy.

Renewing my communications to the naval force addressed to Admiral Baldwin after some delay I received a dispatch from the London Naval station stating that all vessels of the European station had already

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Secretary of the Navy.

Renewing my communications to the naval force addressed to Admiral Baldwin after some delay I received a dispatch from the London Naval station stating that all vessels of the European station had already

gone southward. I then set out for Alexandria the 6th of April, proceeding to Marseilles, and securing a passage to Egypt by the Steamer "La Seyne". Before going on board, the following telegram was handed me by the U.S. Consul Mason: "Inform General Howard that Admiral Baldwin telegraphs all vessels on Syrian coast bound Smyrna X X (sgd) Walker, U.S. Consul Paris.

After a pleasant voyage across the Mediterranean I arrived at Alexandria, Wednesday, the 16th of April. The next day the "Quinnebaug" came into the port. I went immediately on board and had an interview with Captain Ludlow, the Commander. He informed me that the Admiral, who had been to Palestine, had turned northward and was then at Smyrna, also that after a little delay his (Ludlow's) instructions were to join the fleet at that place with his vessel.

As there appeared to be a lull in the active operations of the British troops I resolved to visit the English Officers in Egypt who had already returned from the front, gather what information I could concerning the battles of the campaign just past, and then go to Smyrna with Captain Ludlow, if possible, in order to consult with Admiral Baldwin. Captain Ludlow very kindly offered his hospitality to me and my son, James W. Howard, who, acting as my secretary and interpreter, was traveling with me.

The Admiral had already written me the 8th of April, but I did not get the letter till the third of May following. This letter, had I received it at Alexandria, as the Admiral intended, would have obviated the apparent necessity of a visit to him, for as soon as I saw him he said the same thing to me verbally, and more, which convinced me of the uselessness of undertaking a journey to Khartoum, the only place where there were likely to be any active operations for a long time, because matters in Egypt had already become a subject for formal reference to the European powers with the hope of concerted action, and further, the heat had begun which rendered any cam-

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of concerted action, and further, the heat had begun which rendered any arm

paigning in Egypt next to impossible for several months. I insert a copy of the Admiral's letter in full:

U.S. Flagship Lancaster (2nd rate)

Jaffa, Syria, 8th April, 1884.

Brigadier General

O. O. Howard, U.S. Army,

Paris, France.

General:-

Your telegram of the 1st inst. and one of similar purport from Mr. B.F. Stevens, dated the 4th, were received yesterday having been forwarded by mail from Alexandria. Want of facilities prevents my replying by telegraph.

Mr. Stevens has probably informed you, ere this, of my departure from Alexandria for a cruise along the Syrian Coast and to the Bosphorous.

Military operations in the Soudan have been suspended for the summer at least and nearly all the land force has been withdrawn to Cairo and Alexandria. It is not expected that hostilities will be renewed before October, if then. Affairs in Egypt proper, are quiet and no outbreak is anticipated.

Should you in your travels find yourself in the vicinity of the vessels under my command, they will at all times be pleased to extend to you such courtesies and assistance as may be within their power.

I am, Sir,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(signed) C.H. Baldwin.

Rear Admiral, U.S. Navy
Comd.g U.S. Naval Force
on European Station.

Head Admiral, U.S. Navy
Command, U.S. Naval Force
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(Signed) O.H. Baldwin.

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As the Quinnebaug did not get off till Monday evening the 21st of April I had six days in Egypt, a part of which I spent in Cairo. It may be of interest for me to give briefly the situation in a Military point of view of the English Army in Egypt at the time of my visit. To do this intelligently I will first attempt a brief review of the several battles which had occurred between the time of occupation and my arrival.

It will be remembered that in 1878 Ismail Pasha was at the head of the Egyptian government. The railway interests and other financial affairs had, little by little, passed to the management of Europeans. England and France had through these interests become the controllers of the purse and budget of the nation. The famous Egyptian bonds appreciated, and under the wonderful recuperative energies of the Nile Valley, and the uniform industry of the people, prosperity seemed assured, but Ismail Pasha, the Khedive, seeming to fear that fetters were being forged for him and his Egyptian confederates, made a sudden effort to free himself and his people from foreign control.

Our excellent and truthful countryman, General Stone, who commanded the Egyptian Army prior to the British occupation, has just made a few comments on these events.

Speaking of the conduct of certain officials prior to Arabis revolt he says, "the English Minister of Finance and the French Minister of Public Works held fast to their places and their pay, with the full knowledge that they were detested by the whole people and the Sovereign whose Ministers they pretended to be". Again he shows that Mr. Wilson, the Finance Minister, proposed to throw the Egyptian government into bankruptcy to do that even after the Khedive and his family had presented the Government with property amounting to forty millions of dollars to prevent such bankruptcy. He proposed further

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to confiscate the rights of a large number of private proprietors by a species of taxation; in brief to rob "Egyptian proprietors for the benefit of foreign bond holders."

These proposals and such conduct caused the dismissal of the Ministers and all that followed.

These English and French Ministers, for they were virtually ministers, being so summarily treated England and France became indignant and alarmed for their interests and so demanded of Turkey, which held the Sovereignty over Egypt, the immediate removal of Ismail Pasha. They succeeded in having this rebellious Khedive exiled to Italy. But thinking his son more compliant with their designs, he, Tewfik Pasha, by their influence, succeeded to the place of the exiled Khedive.

A German writer says that Tewfik Pasha "with apathetic weakness yielded the reconstruction of his ministry and the organization of his finances to the Western Powers." Mr. Baring represented England, M. de Blignieres, France, as "Commissioners of Control" and they really exercised a mastery over the Egyptian Government. As was natural, the new Khedive became hateful to the people and was everywhere accused by Egyptians who had any spirit left in them of being "the willing tool" of foreigners. A national party sprang into existence whose conspiracies and demands eventuated in the open rebellion of several regiments of soldiers. The first outbreak was at Cairo the 8th of November, 1881. It was headed by the Colonel of the 4th regiment, Ahmed Arabi. The disputes became aggravated and Arabi's power was so strong that the Khedive could not punish him. The Khedive's ministers resigned and at first he tried without success to form a new Cabinet and, the latter part of May, 1882, undertook himself the direct command of the military forces. But his own officers refused obedience, except to orders sanctioned by the Sultan of Turkey. The

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Khedive, thereupon, not only yielded to the insurrectionists, but joined with Arabi himself in begging for an Ambassador from the Sultan. His entreaty was granted. About the 1st of June, Dervish Pasha, an old man of great energy, was sent with full powers from Constantinople. His avowed object was to pacify Egypt and of course he tried to bring Tewfik and Arabi together. Ostensibly the Sultan through this old messenger sustained Tewfik, the Khedive, and called Arabi to Constantinople. But Arabi did not go. He made the singular reply that he would obey the Sultan but his army would not let him leave Egypt. The Sultan, however, secretly commanded him for this course and even gave him a decoration of honor as early as the 25th of June. As matters became more and more alarming, Europeans left the country, or thronged to Alexandria, where the Khedive himself subsequently went and lived for a time in the Ras-el-Tin Palace. The fleets of the foreign powers were already in the neighborhood.

The work of actual revolution against foreign authority began in Alexandria in an alarming riot the 11th of June. The European quarter was attacked, stores broken open, and many of the inhabitants slain. Police, or some of them, took part in the outrages and Arabi's forces, for Arabi was already virtually the Minister of War, were very slow in suppressing the riot. It was some hours before they appeared on the stage and did anything. Now, with considerable energy, the young Khedive tried to conciliate the foreign powers. Arabi, making feints, pretended for a time, to be on the side of law and order, so that the 20th of June matters seemed to be settling.

Tewfik gathered a cabinet, placed Ragheb Pasha as President, and Arabi, in compromise, as the War Minister. But the lull did not last long. Hostile measures were being undertaken by Arabi and his backers. Fortifications near Alexandria were being strengthened and

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re-armed. Projects for the destruction of the Suez Canal were already matured. Finally the English Admiral, Seymour, at Alexandria, under instructions threatened a bombardment of the City unless the fortifying ceased. On the 9th of July he demanded further that certain forts be evacuated and surrendered to him; failing of this he would commence a bombardment at 4 o'clock the next morning.

The actual bombardment however was delayed for one day. The English vessels, some thirteen in number, were sent into position. The French fleet withdrew from the harbor.

The first fire from the War-ship "Alexandria" received a prompt response from Arabi's forts. I need not delay to give an account of the engagement which followed. The city suffered greatly from the fire; even the walls of the fort were "pounded into small fragments". The destruction, caused by the heavy ordnance and by the riots of the lawless multitudes which followed up this spirited contest, is evident in the immense piles of stone and mortar which in fragments appear in every part of the still beautiful City of Alexandria.

The vigorous attack of the Admiral resulted in a partial victory. Arabi abandoned the mutilated city and took up, first, a strong position near Ramleh; there drawing a line at an angle with the railway that runs between Alexandria and Cairo, he made, for a time, an effectual head against the small force which the Admiral could land and send against him.

About the first of August, 1882, an English expeditionary force was collected, including the division from India, of about 30,000 men in all; sent to Egypt and placed under the command of Lieut-General Sir Garnet Wolseley. He went directly from London from the staff of the Duke of Cambridge to take command in Egypt.

About the 18th of August he set out from Alexandria with a large fleet which had on board at least a division of Infantry and considerable Artillery, and abundant intrenching implements. Everybody supposed the

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expedition destined for Aboukir; the General's plan was, however, kept secret till during the 19th the mouth of the canal was, by his orders, blocked by a gunboat; and on the 20th Port Said was firmly seized by Marines from the fleet. The General went on further to possess himself of Elkantara, and Ismailia. From Ismailia he rapidly advanced his men along the railway toward Cairo and seized Shalouf and Nefiche. This gave him possession of what was most important to the English, namely, the Suez Canal, their route to India, and the enemy's approaches. This quick movement of course turned, by the right, the position at Ramleh and Aboukir, and caused Arabi to make a new face. The Indian Division came in just in time, the 21st., to seize Suez. The 25th of August a small affair occurred, hardly a battle, which gave the English General possession of Mahsamah. Now, unexpectedly, Arabi's forces which had been despised began to show themselves possessed of more enterprise and vigor than had hitherto been deemed possible. For, the 26th of August, as a British force under Gen. Gerald Graham, Wolseley's advance guard, was holding Kassassin Lock with eight English battalions, it was fiercely attacked. The Egyptians were finally repulsed, but the English had a long hard battle and lost heavily in the conflict.

Arabi's possible aggregate was about 70,000, counting the regular and irregular troops; he occupied every available approach to Cairo, with his forces well distributed.

One strong division was near Tel-el-Kebir in front of Gen. Wolseley at Kassassin Lock.. Gradually the troops on both sides were gathered near these two places. At least, after incredible delays and extraordinary reconnaissances, the English General was ready. Advancing from Kassassin Lock he gave battle to the redoubtable Arabi at dawn the morning of the 13th of September. This was the celebrated battle of Tel-el-Kebir. It was a decisive victory. The night of the battle Za-za-zig, the junction of

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the two railways, was seized by General Graham. Sir Garnet Wolseley with the Indian troops, by the morning of the 15th, reached the Nile and took possession of Benha. From this place by rail he continued on to Cairo the same day. He telegraphed to London at once: "The war is over, send no more troops to Egypt."

A sudden change of popular sentiment throughout Lower Egypt caused a terrible defeat to the national party and a famous victory to the English.

Lieut. Colonel Vogt of the German Army says, "The battle of Tel-el-Kebir had been reported by Arabi in Cairo as a victory for the Egyptian armies; and the populace awaiting their leader with the head of Admiral Seymour who was universally considered to be the British Commander-in-chief. When Arabi reached the city alone and a fugitive all classes turned against him. He had already, before Wolseley's arrival, surrendered to a British official some 10,000 men, so that everything was then ripe for a complete pacification.

General Stone says "that the troops of Great Britain were received by the Khedive (Tewfik) as friends come to him in the time of great need, and were aided most earnestly by him and by those most faithful to him. X X X X X X X X so that the British Army had only to fight the body of the Egyptian Army, without its brains."

General Stone shows that the Khedive with his faithful officers and with his treasure, during the rebellion, rendered essential aid to the British forces and yet the first action of the conqueror "was to insist upon the issuance of a decree by the Khedive, before his return to his capital, disbanding entirely the Egyptian Army"- not the rebellious troops alone, but the large numbers that had remained faithful as well." One more remark is significant "not only this, but his (the Khedive's) palace in the capital was (subsequently) guarded by British troops, as if to prove that his person could not be confided to his own people, while, in fact, there

the two railways, was seized by General Graham. Sir Garnet Wolseley with the Indian troops, by the morning of the 15th, reached the Nile and took possession of Benha. From this place by rail he continued on to Cairo the same day. He telegraphed to London at once: "The war is over, send no more troops to Egypt."

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General Stone says "that the troops of Great Britain were received by the Khedive (Tewfik) as friends come to him in the time of great need, and were aided most earnestly by him and by those most faithful to him. X X X X X X X X X X so that the British Army had only to fight the body of the Egyptian Army, without its brains."

General Stone shows that the Khedive with his faithful officers and with his treasure, during the rebellion, rendered essential aid to the British forces and yet the first action of the conqueror "was to disarm upon the issuance of a decree by the Khedive, before his return to his capital, disbanding entirely the Egyptian army" - not the rebellious troops alone, but the large numbers that had remained faithful as well. "One more remark is significant "not only this, but his (the Khedive's) palace in the capital was (unobscuredly) guarded by British troops, as if to prove that his person could not be confided to his own people, while, in fact, there

were hundreds of native-born officers who had risked all in proving their fidelity and devotion, and who found themselves disbanded in company with those against whom they had been struggling." So the Egyptian Army proper which "carried the Khedive's flag to the great lakes of Central Africa, conquered Darfour and Harrar, which sent to the aid of Turkey during the war (Russian) a powerful contingent under the command of a prince of Egypt" was annihilated by an enforced decree.

These things being true, and who can doubt that there are, there may be some other way to account for the want of spirit on the part of Egyptians than to impute it to their cowardly nature. Judging by remarks that I heard among all classes of natives, their sympathies were not with the present parties in power. I concluded that many who would have fought bravely with the Mahdi would not fight against him.

For a time the European Controllers through the young Khedive, Tewfik Pasha, gave to Egypt a prosperous and "mild" rule." The peace, however, was not complete. It will be remembered that there appeared in Upper Egypt, some time in 1881, a young man, Mahomet Achmet, who laid claim to be the Mahdi, i.e., the "Victorious Messenger" predicted by Mahomet. He, a tall, dark sombre man, asserts that he has a divine mission and is to unite Christian, Mohammedan and Pagan in one religion. He proposed to several chiefs to gather followers, make common cause, and use both persuasion and force to extend his new kingdom. The government of Egypt became disturbed, took up posts of observation, and sent expeditions to withstand him and disperse his followers.

In September, 1883, the well remembered expedition of Col. Hicks, usually denominated, Hicks Pasha, who had previously conducted a successful expedition against a Lieutenant of the Mahdi was organized at Khartoum. He had under his command about 7000 men. Ascending the Nile he was aiming to cross a barren waste and reach a place called El Obeid. During this march

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he was constantly annoyed by the Mahdi's cavalry and the difficulties of the way were very great. His men were suffering for want of water, and his animals dropping down and dying in the desert. The 2nd of November an overwhelming force of the Mahdi assaulted his command. He appears to have formed in the usual English squares and to have held out fighting three days. His men and animals were cut off from water and at last, at a place named Kashgil, the squares were forced and the entire command destroyed.

About the time, Nov. 6th, of this dreadful battle of Hicks Pasha, a small force accompanied by the English Consul Moncrieff left Suakim to endeavor to get to Tokar for the relief of the small garrison there. This force too was utterly destroyed, the Consul being included in the slaughter.

A few days later an out-post at Suakim commanded by Kassim Effen-di, consisting of 600 Nubian regulars belonging to the Egyptian Army, and about 200 Bashi-Bazouks, undertook, by the orders of the Governor of Suakim, to make a reconnaissance of the passes leading to Berber and Khartoum. As they entered the hills they were attacked. The Bashi-Bazouks, being surprised, suffered a sort of panic, but the other soldiers maintained their ground and fought desperately. Their bodies were found piled together. This force was nearly annihilated.

Hitherto the Military operations in the Soudan from the commencement of the Mahdi's revolt had been conducted by the new Egyptian Government. The news of the terrible massacres and of the loss of Colonel Hicks and of Consul Moncrieff produced in England great grief and another effect, namely, to insist on the abandonment of the Soudan.

But the withdrawal of the troops would expose to massacre some twenty-nine thousand people directly, and indirectly connected with the military service, and perhaps ten thousand others.

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But the withdrawal of the troops would expose to massacre some twenty-nine thousand people directly, and indirectly connected with the military service, and perhaps ten thousand others.

General G. G. Gordon, commonly known as Chinese Gordon, was selected by the English Government and sent from London to Khartoum about the 1st

of January, 1884. He went as a sort of plenipotentiary to protect, as far as was possible, the people referred to above, and withdraw them as soon as it could be done in safety to Lower Egypt. He seems to have had further instructions touching the reconstruction of the government or governments in the Soudan. The latter was called reconstituting the country upon its old basis of local privileges.

Gordon reached Cairo the 25th of January. The 26th he visited the Khevide, and the 27th he set out on his perilous journey up the Nile, not only as the English Ambassador, but as the Khedive's Governor General of Upper Egypt.

He went straight to Korosko and then leaving the Nile he crossed the Nubian Desert, some 240 miles by camels, making a most perilous journey to Abou-Hamed. He succeeded in getting to Khartoum without molestation.

While General Gordon accompanied by Lieut. Colonel Stewart as his Aide-de-camp, was promptly executing his instructions, another expedition was undertaken by the Egyptian authorities, placed under the command of General Baker (Baker Pasha). A harbor not far from Saukim afforded him a place for disembarking his troops. This, as well as the neighboring sandy beach, is named Trinkitat.

At half past six February 4th, General Baker with a force of about 3500 men set forth from a temporary fortification near Trinkitat, named Fort Baker. The force had proceeded several miles when an attack began. After the first assault it appears that the General undertook to form a large square, but it was too late. The enemy sprang out from the brushwood, in heavy irregular force, with loud yells, and delivered their attack upon the left and front of the square as yet not half formed. The panic and confusion that instantly set in of horses, mules, camels, and men, beggars description. As in all panics the men fired wildly. A correspondent says: "Finally the scene became one of pure savage massacre. The Egyptian Infantry, throwing away their weapons, knelt down, raised their clasped hands,

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and prayed for mercy." The Arabs showed them no mercy. This horrid massacre, followed the force in flight for at least five miles to the intrenchments which General Baker had left in the morning. Here he was able to make a sufficient stand against his furious foe saving but a remnant of his army. These he embarked and took to Suakim.

The Arabs this time were known to be commanded by Osman Digna, a Lieutenant of the Mahdi in Eastern Soudan. He is said to have been a man of middle age, tall and thin, and stooping, very reticent and for many years fond of slave dealing. After professing conversion, and joining the Mahdi, he took up his headquarters near Tamaai, a well watered region about twenty miles from Suakim.

It was at last determined on the part of Great Britain to work more directly, and as Admiral Seymour and General Wolseley trusted officers of high rank, had been sent to Egypt in 1882, to execute the will of England, so now Admiral Hewett and General Graham with another expeditionary force of Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen, soldiers who are seldom beaten, were dispatched to Suakim.

The strength of General Graham's force was at first a little under 4000. It was just after General Graham's first battle of El-Teb, that I left my home with the hope of being able to reach the scenes of operation before the close of the campaign. Yet General Graham's battles had all been fought and his forces withdrawn to Lower Egypt, principally occupying Cairo and Alexandria on my arrival in Egypt. As soon as I reached Cairo I went to find General Graham who was then stationed there. I met at his office several officers who had been in the battles. Among them Lieut. Col. Ardagh, of the Royal Engineers, who had a prominent place on the staff of the General, during all the engagements. He gave me every facility for studying the situation, and explained to me the battle fields, the positions of the enemy and the formation of the English troops, using excellent detail-

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topographical maps for illustration. He told me that I could not get to the fields of action without escort. And really he, with other officers, gave me more information than I could possibly have obtained by a personal visit to that desert country at the front.

From information so gathered I venture to give a brief description of General Graham's battles:-

First, El Teb

Second, Tokar

Third, Tamaai

Fourth, Tamanieb.

El Teb.

General Graham disembarked his command at Trinkitat and encamped near the works which were previously thrown up close to the landing by Baker Pasha, during his ill-starred expedition, three weeks before. Getting everything in readiness, Artillery, Infantry, Cavalry, mules, camels, commissary stores, ammunition, and water-supply, he moved forward on Thursday the 28th of February (84) across the salt marsh a distance of about two miles to Fort Baker, the temporary work before mentioned which gave the first solid footing on the Trinkitat Shore.

The soldiers in their bivouacs were treated to a drenching rain during the first night. Everything was ready and the advance towards El Teb began at eight o'clock the 29th of February. General Graham profiting by the experience of General Baker, who was present to give him the benefit of his knowledge, organized his command with great care to meet the peculiar conditions afforded by the half civilized, poorly armed, but fearless masses of Arabs, which Osman Digma was holding not far off, ready at any instant, without warning, to pounce upon him.

Instead of using columns in echelon, as has been done by Baker Pasha, he at the outset put everything but the cavalry into the form of a square.

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The Gordon Highlanders, 700 strong, constituted the front; the Black Watch, 750, the rear; the Royal Marines, 310, with the York and Lancaster Regt., 470, the Kings Royal Rifles, 320, with the Royal Irish, 400, constituted respectively the right and left sides of the square. At the front corners were three Gardner guns and three Gatlings. Near the rear corners the camel battery was placed. Part of the Royal Marines marched in column near the left side and part of the Rifles near the right side of the square. The center afforded shelter for the transportation with essential supplies of water, food, ammunition and medical attachments. The engineers followed the front line; here to General Graham kept his headquarters.

Colonel Herbert Stewart formed his cavalry, the main body, a thousand yards in rear of the left of the square. They were the 10th and 19th Hussars, and some mounted Infantry, nearly a thousand strong in the aggregate. He sent one squadron of the 10th under Major Gough about a thousand yards in advance of everything to clear the front and watch the flanks. This organization of nearly 4000 effectives was doubtless a little cumbersome and slow of movement. They kept in motion, however, avoiding the bushes and shrubs, and passing over sandy soil. They beheld as they advanced hundreds of putrefying corpses of Baker's unburied dead- not a very encouraging sight!

But with the thrill of the music and the quickening step the command was speedily brought forward to within eight hundred yards of the enemy's intrenchments. Not much firing was yet encountered for the mounted Infantry which had for a time reenforced Major Gough, was recalled. Soon the advanced squadron uncovered the front, their skirmishers having already cleared the field of the enemy's scouts. Here General Graham made a brief halt, to reconnoitre for a last time the threatened works which stretched along in crescent shape before his front and left.

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As soon as his march was resumed a Krupp gun in the hands of the Arabs, one of those captured at the Baker massacre, opened upon him a well directed fire-then came from the same quarter multitudes of rifle bullets. Graham's men were falling fast, killed and wounded, yet there was no hesitation. Without replying the square kept up its onward motion. Gen. Graham like a wise man, kept his temper and determined while his men were in hand to get beyond the left of Osman Digna's line. The wounding was galling, even Baker Pasha was badly hurt in the face, and the stretcher carriers were becoming much burdened. At last Gen. Graham called another halt, his guns were placed in battery and a brisk fire opened. The enemy replied for a time, but soon Graham's superior artillery had its effect, and as the Arabs were evidently getting hard blows and lessening their fire, an advance was sounded. The troops changed direction to the left and made a steady push for the works. The Arabs held fast to their position, but evidently not in large force. As this march of the square was progressing, lo, a new thing; there seemed to spring from the ground numbers of strange dauntless spirits shouting aloud and wildly swinging huge spears and swords over their heads. They came at a run, leaping like Indians in battle, Graham's fire from Gatling and rifle moved them down but it hardly checked the irregular yelling groups, even the wounded continued to charge till stopped by other wounds or loss of life: Some of these firey warriors succeeded in reaching within a few paces of the fatal square. Soon these desperate enemies along the front had been killed or wounded and the York and Lancaster men made a vigorous charge straight forward and succeeded in striking the left corner of Osman's defences and carried them at a spring. This flank movement opened the square for a few minutes, when more Arabs quickly took the advantage and rushed in to have hand to hand encounters where the sa-

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vage ferocity of the South meets the cool bravery of England's men. As the troops cleared the parapet the Arabs still clung to their intrenchments and the bloody work did not then cease till many desperate Arab fighters, seeking victims and death among the assailants, had been several times shot and become too weak to strike further blows.

In fact, they fought as long as was possible, few who were in the works or near the "brick structure" or the "iron boiler" retreated at all. They issued from deep holes to fight horse-men or footmen and to perish. But as the detached redoubts or separate trenches were carried one after another, whoever was in command on the field, probably some Lieut. of Osman Digna, at last drew off his reserves, yet very slowly and evidently not in fear or panic.

The 10th Hussars now came forward and charged the irregular and retreating masses of the enemy. The Arabs still showed their spirit, they hamstrung the horses, they struck at individual horsemen as they fell, killed some and wounded many others, including a cavalry Commander Col. Barrow. The Hussars after this charge charged back again without breaking the Arab courage and were compelled to make upon these tenacious though untrained soldiers a third charge before the field was cleared - cleared then rather by an ordered retreat than by the gallant Hussars, powerful though they were.

The works were taken; the wells in the vicinity also and an abundance of material including the Krupp Guns lost by Baker Pasha was recovered. The fighting had been desperate and continued for several hours, though Graham's losses, owing to the superiority of arms and organization, were not great.

An epoch had evidently come at El Teb, so the prudent General halted his men, entrenched and rested them for the night.

The official report of General Graham gives 3865 as his aggre-

large ferocity of the South meets the cool bravery of England's men. As the troops cleared the parapet the Arabs still clung to their intrenchments and the bloody work did not then cease till many desperate Arab fighters, seeking victims and death among the assailants, had been several times shot and become too weak to strike further blows.

In fact, they fought as long as was possible, few who were in the works or near the "brick structure" or the "iron boiler" retreated at all. They issued from deep holes to fight horse-men or footmen and to perish. But as the detached redoubts or separate trenches were carried one after another, whoever was in command on the field, probably some lieutenant of Osman Digna, at last drew off his reserves, yet very slowly and evidently not in fear or panic.

The 10th Hussars now came forward and charged the irregular and retreating masses of the enemy. The Arabs still showed their spirit, they hamstrung the horses, they struck at individual horsemen as they fell. Killed some and wounded many others, including a cavalry Commander Colonel. The Hussars after this charge charged back again without breaking the Arab courage and were compelled to make upon these fanatics though untrained soldiers a third charge before the field was cleared - cleared then rather by an ordered retreat than by the gallant Hussars, powerful though they were.

The works were taken; the wells in the vicinity also and an abundance of material including the Krupp guns lost by Baker Pasha was recovered. The fighting had been desperate and continued for several hours, though Graham's losses, owing to the superiority of arms and organization, were not great.

An epoch had evidently come at El Teb, no the prudent General halted his men, entrenched and rested them for the night. The official report of General Graham gives 3865 as his regis-

gate after leaving Fort Baker; 3000 Infantry, 750 mounted troops, and 115 of the Naval Brigade. He had 6 machine guns, and eight seven pounders. He captured 4 Krupp Guns, 2 brass howitzers, and 1 Gatling. He reports his own loss at El Teb as 28 killed, including 4 commissioned officers; 2 missing, and 142 wounded including 20 commissioned officers.

He gives the enemy as estimated at 10,000; more accurate subsequent accounts put their numbers at 6000. The English counted 9000 of their dead. There were enough besides of the killed and wounded to make an aggregate of at least 1,500.

Tokar.

General Graham remained at El Teb till 9 o'clock the next morning, Saturday, the 1st of March. He had caused his supplies, such as were needed for another advance, to be brought up from Fort Baker during the night. He placed a small force consisting of the Black Watch and a detachment from the 10th Hussars, with a few pieces of Artillery, in the works which he had captured; this post was to be held as a secondary base. It was especially necessary in this country to guard the water supply.

Grown more daring from success the General moved his command in column towards Tokar covering his front and flanks with his cavalry. The little army kept in motion till the middle of the afternoon picking its way so as to avoid the scrub trees and brushwood. At last the small village of Tokar was discovered by the Cavalry. A brief skirmish followed when the enemy's forces, evidently but a rear-guard of a few hundred men dismounted, but battle was declined by the Arabs who steadily continued their retreat evidently with the intention of joining Osman Digna at Tamanieb where, it was said by spies, he proposed later to make another stand against the English.

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a sandy plain the Fort Tokar was simply the rough enclosure, by barricades and trenches, of the greater part of the village itself. There was higher ground and some houses outside of the trench. The fort being evacuated as a few horsemen rode towards the town, the inhabitants rushed out and testified great joy, after the Oriental fashion, at being delivered from their slavery by the English. Their excessive delight was however suspected by their conquerors as a cloak to conceal a very recent participation in the battles of Baker Pasha and El Teb.

Taking possession of the Fort, General Graham encamped his square now extended so as to embrace his cavalry at a convenient place not far from the town. A chief called Sayd, or Sheikd Sayd, visited General Graham in the night. He told the General that he himself wanted peace, but that owing to the religious fanaticism of his people it was of no use to expect it. The next day reconnaissances were made to several villages within the compass of ten miles. The villages had been abandoned in haste, the people having fled to the mountains. A brass gun, a Gatling, a large number of Remington rifles, soldiers clothing, and articles of various descriptions, which had belonged to Baker Pasha's command were here discovered and either destroyed or brought back to camp.

The English cavalry admired the enemy's weapons so much that Colohel Stewart armed his men with several hundred of their well tempered spears which he had captured.

Tamaai.

By March 10th Graham had completely changed his base from Trinkitat to Suakim having brought back his forces for a fresh campaign. As the weather was getting very hot and sun strokes were frequent the first forward move from Suakim was made mainly by night. The morning of the 12th of March found the same troops before mentioned with a few additions here and there, eight miles from Suakim at what was called Baker's Zereba.

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This appears simply to have been an enclosed work of a temporary structure, hastily thrown up like our field intrenchments, to cover a camp and supplies. General Baker had a month before made a reconnaissance in this direction and started the work. It was mainly relied on as a shield against infantry fire. Besides a proper supply of provisions and ammunitions, the camels had conveyed to this Zereba hundreds of barrels of fresh water. General Herbert Stewart had already reconnoitred the country from seven or eight miles. Osman Digna was still inflexible and hostile. His irregular forces were now near the hills of Tamaai, ten or twelve miles distant from Baker's Zereba.

About one o'clock of the 12th of March, General Graham began his movement. This time he varied his formation, using two squares in echelon, the right square being in advance. He covered his front, rear, and flanks with Cavalry Scouts and skirmishers, but put the main body of his cavalry, as before, in his rear evidently relying upon it as upon a reserve force. The right square was called 1st Brigade and commanded by General Redvers Buller. Its front and right and left sides were formed by the 75th Gordon Highlanders, and the 89th Royal Irish, the Rifles brought up the rear.

The second square as a second Brigade commanded by General John Davis had for its front and sides the 65th York and Lancaster and 42nd Black Watch, with the Royal Mariners forming the rear line. The Naval Brigade and Royal Engineers took care of the cannon at the corners of the squares. The first day's march simply amounted to a reconnaissance in force. When there was no enemy near the men moved habitually by small fronts in column, or by fours, being ready at any moment to deploy and re-complete the squares.

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Tamaai; and large irregular groups of black figures moving hither and thither showed him the position of his enemy. A cavalry reconnaissance was then pushed rapidly forward to within firing distance. The Arabs at once showed a bold front and revealed to the field glasses of the officers a force of five and six thousand men. Bringing up his squares, still in echelon, with 500 paces between them, he pressed out another reconnaissance to find if possible the wells of water. This move awakened so strong a resistance that the General concluded to close the operations of the day, encamping his command behind a ridge of sand where there was no water except what had been brought by the camels. During the night this supply was increased by fresh trains from Baker's Zereba.

The men with overcoats on slept in line with their arms in hand. The bushes were cleared away to prevent this enterprising foe from having too good a cover for a night-surprise. It was a good thing to have taken this precaution for noiselessly some scouting parties of the Arabs crept up to within rifle range and with yelling and screaming fired rapidly towards the sleeping camp. Wonderful to tell no alarm was created except among the camel and mule drivers, one of whom in his fright sprang up and lost his life. The Arab shots were not replied to, but the Arabs themselves did not come nearer, simply continuing an irregular rattling fire till morning. They killed but one soldier of the 65th York and Lancaster. At sunrise General Graham ordered a few guns to be fired especially at the nocturnal operators who speedily put themselves under cover at the wells. Graham's and Osman's lines facing each other were now about 1200 yards apart, which distance the artillerymen demonstrated.

Stewart's Cavalry that went back for water returned before seven in the morning so that all was in readiness and the advance began at 8 o'clock; the squares moving in the same order and formation as the day before. The left square was today rather in the advance, General Graham accompany-

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ing it.

High and rough ground covered with rocks, affording abundant shelter, ranged along the entire front. In places there were sudden projections of the ridge, one particularly to the right of the second square, which the enemy took advantage of to conceal themselves for a rush. There were also plenty of dry beds of streams filled with large stones. These, sometimes called "Khors", also were filled with Arabs. As the squares advanced the cavalry endeavored to guard the left and soon became engaged. As the skirmishers retired the 2nd. Brigade pushing up seven or eight hundred yards, began firing as it advanced. The 1st Brigade front endeavored to cover the flank of the second. Shortly the whole front was involved in a dense smoke. The Arabs taking advantage of this as cover in spite of the terrible fire, made a sudden rush for a corner of the square. At least a thousand men with spears and swords leapt from cover of ravines and rocks and enveloped the right striking the 65th York and Lancaster, and the Royal Marines. Some officers say that the 65th had charged forward to clear a troublesome ridge and thus made a double opening in the square exposing its own flanks. This regiment was broken and thrown back upon the Marines. These two were in confusion, the disorder soon extended to the 42nd. Black Watch, but notwithstanding the general breakup it appears that there was no panic and that individual men Highlanders, Marines, and all fought desperately as they retired. The Naval Brigade managed their guns as well as they could, but at last nothing could save them. Taking away their sights they left them to the enemy. With the vigor of Englishmen, fighting and retiring, these troops managed somehow to get again into order within a thousand yards of the place where their ranks were first broken. The Black Watch was the least disorganized and under their cover the Brigade reformed. It was now 9 o'clock. The 1st Brigade had approached near enough to engage the enemy in a brisk skirmish. The 2nd Brigade was soon re-supplied with ammunition and came up with renewed courage, cheering and pressing

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with ammunition and came up with renewed courage, cheering and pressing

steadily towards the foe. This time the two squares acting in concert quickly cleared the outside ravines. A little later the first Brigade advancing with a cheer broke over the first ridge which was the main front line of the enemy. Then the battle was soon over for the Marines, who had lost their Gatling guns were delighted to recover them on the second advance, and knowing how to use them, they turned them on the Arabs and moved down their reckless groupings like sheaves wheat before a furious wind.

Burleigh, the correspondent, speaking of the weapons says, "I again noticed the poor quality of the steel wrought into cutlasses and bayonets for the soldiers. X X X their (the Arabs) spears and swords, sharp as razors, cut as I saw scores of them do, through bone, sinew, and every obstacle without turning the edge of the weapon. X X When they made a thrust it was invariably for a vital part, about the head, throat or chest."

The terrible battle of Tamaai now ceased and the enemy again with wonderful deliberation, steadily and slowly retired.

In Graham's command there were over 100 killed and as many wounded in the short and sharp action at Tamaai, certainly not a large number of casualties considering the disaster which befell the 2nd Brigade. The enemy's force probably numbered 6000 soldiers, but were not so well armed, nor so well supplied with ammunition as at El Teb. The Arabs were as brave as before, exposing themselves recklessly in front of the Gatlings and breechloading arms, and were therefore constantly mowed down by the steady and deliberate fire of the English soldiers who never intermitted their shots, even during their disastrous retreat.

The same correspondent says when commenting upon the rush against the second square, "with hair on end, eyes glistening, and their white teeth shining, more like infuriated demons than men, they (the Arabs) seemed to bound out of the battle smoke upon the soldiers like figures in a shadow

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pantomime. In an instant they were at the guns and among our men, thrusting, cutting, & stabbing with desperate energy. The men recoiled before the avalanches of fierce savages; but to our soldiers credit, be it ever told, they retired mostly with their faces to the foe, loading and firing with the courage of heroes."

One more scene. "I saw Arab after Arab through whose bodies our bullets had ploughed their way, charging down on the square, with the blood spouting in pulsating streams from them at every heart throb."

Certainly these warriors equaled their enemy in boldness and energy, but like our bravest Indians they fall and retire before the skill and persistency of the more civilized man.

Tamanieb.

After the victory of Tamaai General Graham drew back his whole force to Suakim. The retrograde movement was completed by the 15th of Mar. Like some of our conscientious ganarels, after a defeat, during our War, Gen. Graham assumes the blame of the fearful check of the 2nd Brigade by allowing the square to be opened by an untimely charge. "As he says, "the charge took place under my eyes and under my approval". I should be disposed to impute no blame to General Graham or to his soldiers for this but great credit to an enterprising enemy.

During the halt at Suakim Osman Digna still kept the field. He took up a new position nine or ten miles beyond Tamaai at Tamanieb. He gathered his remnants at this place and with distance and water difficulties to help him against the English appeared to be ready for another trial of strength.

This time taking a new route, a higher ridge, by way of Handouk, making Zerebas, i.e., intrenched enclosures to secure his water trains and supplies at convenient distances, and avoiding the intense heats of midday, the General, the 26th of March, marched out from Suakim having substantially the same force as at El Teb and Tamaai. From his Zereba #4 (see the map)

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the General, the 20th of March, marched out from Suakin having substantial-
ly the same force as at El Tep and Tamamish. From his Zerebas (see the map)

Graham sent his Cavalry and mounted Infantry under Colonel Stewart to make a determined reconnaissance. General Stewart went forward with his squadron in echelon, his right in advance. He established two or three Heliographic stations on convenient heights connecting with Graham's position. At last at about 1 o'clock from an admirable heliographic station, he had a good view of Osman's lines. He was near enough to send officers well escorted to communicate. The Arabs answered Stewart's flags with volleys from their rifles. Immediately a lively skirmish began between the Arabs and the mounted Infantry and was continued for over an hour. Then the Cavalry returned to the camp of the previous night.

The next day, the 27th of March, General Graham pushed out his command in substantially the same formation as at El Teb except that he put his mounted force in advance. The Cavalry struck Osman's lines three miles ahead of the main body, and a skirmish set in like that of the day before. The men were dismounted and were pushed forward in irregular line taking advantages of ridges, ravines and boulders. After a time Stewart sent a part of his Infantry to work around Osman's right flank. This effort brought on a wilder firing. Soon about 9:00 A.M. General Graham himself came up with that part of mounted Infantry which had been in reserve. Osman's force being pressed in flank and front, without waiting to engage the squares, began to retire in groups. Still another fitful fire came from every hollow and crag, but the First Brigade came within a thousand yards and brought out its Artillery. The nine pounders burst their shells among the rocks and in the main water courses held by the Arabs. This time their fierce spirit seemed to be broken and in a few minutes the whole mass fled speedily back over the rough hills.

The officers say that it was a sight to behold, the effect produced upon the men and horses by the running water which now came to view before the pursuers. The clear and beautiful stream was irresistible. They

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The troops of General Graham were now marched back. He congratulated himself that notwithstanding the great heat, that there were but few cases of sun-stroke. By the 25th of March he reports the entire command in camp by the sea near Suakim.

Shortly after this, before my arrival all but a small garrison of Egyptian troops were, as we have before seen, brought back from that front.

Though Osman Digna was three or four times beaten in battle by Europeans, yet, with the 30000 or 40000 souls belonging to Lower Egypt still exposed in the Soudan to the fierce Mahdi and his thousands, the purpose of the campaign, which was to further the avacuation of the Soudan, was hardly realized. The fruits were apparently almost nothing. Yet Lower Egypt was safe and England resolved to try to bring the European Powers into better line before further operations. In fact the heats and other troubles called for a halt. I had good opportunities to see some of the British soldiers that had been in the battles. Those in Alexandria and Cairo were young-looking, robust and healthful. Beside the native Egyptians they appeared of large size. In drill, discipline, military set up and dress you could find no better.

I am Sir,

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6052. A.C.P. 1884.

190	WAR DEPARTMENT.	1884
2	RECEIVED DEC. 19.	

Nov. 30, 1884

3559 H.G.O. 1884

Howard, O. O.

Brig. Gen'l Comdg Dept.

Platte

6052. A.C.P. 1884

Submits from information gathered while in Egypt from officers of

Filed with 638 A.C.P. 72
Gen. Graham's Command,
a description of General
Graham's battles, viz: El
Feb, Tokar, Tamaai and
Tamanieb, Egypt

3
Cor

Received

Headgr's Dec. 17, '84

Rec'd back A. G. O.

Dec. 31, '84.

Rec'd A. G. O. Dec. 15, 1884

1st Endorsement.

Headgrs of the Army

Washington, Dec. 18, 1884.

Respectfully sub-
mitted to the Secretary
of War, for his informa-
tion.

O. H. Shirdan

Lieut. General

3h

2nd Endorsement

Seen by the Secretary
of War, file.

Robert Lincoln

Secretary of War

War Dept.

Dec. 26/84

back 31.

Seen by the Lt. General

A. G. Dec. 29, 1884

31.

File with 6052 A.C.P. '84.

Maps which accom-
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Howard's report, 6052

A.C.P., A.G.O. '84 were

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WAR DEPARTMENT
1884

6052. A.D. 1884

3557 H.P. Q. 1884

General C. C.
Brig. Genl. Light

6052 of R. Q. 1884

about from a former
two gathered while in
Egypt from officers of
the
a description of General
Robert Butler, reg. 81
the 10th Tennessee and
General, Egypt

General

Memphis, Tenn. 1884

Grand book A. B. Q.

Grand A. B. Q. Dec. 1884

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Headquarters of the Army
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Genl. C. C. Light
Lieut. General

31

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Robert Lincoln
Secretary of War

Dec. 31

been by the 1st General
A. B. Q. Dec. 1884

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General's report, 6052

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