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Biography

LIEUT.-GENERAL
SIR GERALD GRAHAM

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LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR GERALD GRAHAM, V.C., G.C.B.,
COLONEL COMMANDANT ROYAL ENGINEERS.

After a print which appeared in 'The Sapper' in 1896.

LIFE, LETTERS, AND DIARIES
OF
LIEUT.-GENERAL
SIR GERALD GRAHAM
V.C., G.C.B., R.E.

*WITH PORTRAITS, PLANS, AND
HIS PRINCIPAL DESPATCHES*

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BY
COLONEL R. H. VETCH, C.B.
LATE ROYAL ENGINEERS

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
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TO
THE CORPS OF ROYAL ENGINEERS,

WHICH I ENTERED OVER FORTY-THREE YEARS AGO,
AND MY FATHER FIFTY-TWO YEARS EARLIER,

I DEDICATE

THIS LIFE OF SIR GERALD GRAHAM.

His distinguished merit and gallant conduct added to its fame ; his high character maintained its reputation ; his warmest wish was ever for its welfare ; and his proudest moment when he became one of its Colonels Commandant.

R. H. V.

P R E F A C E.

IN an admirable article in the 'Cornhill Magazine' some years ago Mr Sidney Lee divided biography into two classes—the National and the Individual. The one, a collection of memoirs of a nation's notable men and women, written with the utmost conciseness for record and reference; the other, a detailed history of any one person.

The first may be compared to a historical picture into which numerous portraits are crowded, the principal figures being distinguished in the foreground by size and prominence, but all bearing their part in the incident, and recognisable in a greater or less degree; the second to a finished portrait in which, according to the skill of the painter, besides the likeness of form and feature, the soul also stands revealed.

While it would be too much to say that every one sufficiently notable to be included in the first class is also sufficiently interesting to be included in the second, yet undoubtedly a large number are; but as regards a great many the want of material is an insuperable barrier to an individual biography. How

many there are who have come upon the stage, played their part with skill and effect, drawn down upon them the plaudits of the audience, and made their exit, of whom the short scene reveals nearly all that is known about them. How gladly sometimes would we know more, but there is nothing more to be found—an individual biography is impossible.

Even when abundant material is available, a biographer of any experience knows the difficulties of the task. He remembers that what the wise man said ages ago of making many books may to-day be said of biographies, and he hesitates before adding to the number.

That there is a growing eagerness to know more of the prominent persons in the nation's history is patent to every one. It may be due to a more general acquiescence in the dictum of the poet that "the proper study of mankind is man," or to a legitimate desire for further acquaintance with those who have charmed us by their writings or inspired us by their actions, or it may originate merely in that "Paul Pry" curiosity and love of gossip which have begotten the baneful interviewer. Whatever the cause, the fact remains.

And it is indeed very natural that when the names of prominent people are familiar to us—either by their works or from frequent mention of them in newspapers and magazines—as the doers of great deeds or as distinguished in literature, science, art, or philanthropy, &c., we should want to know more about them. We are not content with their works. We want to know what manner of men they were that did such deeds,

or produced such works. An interest is excited as to their persons. We think that if we knew their appearance, their surroundings, their unofficial life so to speak, we should get nearer their inner selves, be better able to understand the spring of their action, the secret principle or motive power that originated the work which has made its author famous and has perhaps touched our hearts.

The aim of the biographer of the individual is to gratify this legitimate desire by producing in the mind of the reader an accurate impression of the individual whose life he writes. But to succeed in this is given to few, and the really good biographies may almost be counted on the fingers.

Nevertheless a sketch bearing a fair resemblance to the original should be possible when sufficient material is available, and more particularly when that material takes the form of unreserved correspondence and of diaries.

But here another and a greater difficulty has to be met. The limitations in the use of such letters and diaries are many. While accuracy demands that the truth be told, discrimination and judgment must prevent the needless importation of anything that can wound the feelings of people still living; due regard for proportion must restrain the possessor of abundant material from overwhelming the reader with details devoid of either general or especial interest, and from giving him in three volumes what would be better condensed into one. Above all must be avoided any attempt to search skeleton cupboards of which the

key may be supposed to be found in correspondence or diaries ; to attribute motives because some depth of character has not been fathomed ; to draw conclusions from accidental, fragmentary, or passing expressions which are not in keeping with the general tenor of the life ; or to magnify small incidents or traits of disposition into a prominence which is not justified and tends to detract from the general effect produced, if not to convey an absolutely erroneous impression.

It is, therefore, with a full sense of the difficulty and responsibility of the work that this 'Life of Lieut. - General Sir Gerald Graham' is presented to the reader, and if some of the canons laid down have been contravened, ignorance clearly cannot be pleaded as an excuse, but rather that it has not always been possible to attain the height of these counsels of perfection.

An article on Sir Gerald Graham will appear in due course in the Supplement of the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' and his right to be numbered amongst the country's distinguished sons will thus be duly acknowledged. But at best a dictionary notice is a case of dry bones ; the anatomy of the skeleton may be perfect, but it lacks flesh and blood : it does not live. Here, then, the individual biography comes in. No one will say he was not sufficiently distinguished, but some may say, "What more is there to tell?" The material exists in the letters which he wrote and the diaries which he kept. With these I first became acquainted through the kindness of Sir Gerald's family, when, shortly

after the General's death, I was requested to write a short memoir of him for the 'Royal Engineers' Journal,' and I have since willingly undertaken the larger work, believing that the material was sufficient to make a lifelike portrait of him, and that the biographer alone would be to blame if he failed in the sympathetic and discriminating use of his material to produce, at anyrate, a fair resemblance of the original.

A serious difficulty presented itself, in that for some twenty years hardly any of Sir Gerald's letters or diaries are available. Fortunately those years form a quiescent period of his life when he was engaged in no great doings, but it is also a period when mature judgments are formed and youthful effervescence is replaced by solid opinions; so that the absence of record is a distinct loss, and to some extent spoils the proportion of the whole.

Although but a part of the available material has been used, and many excisions have been made, it may still seem that much which is trivial might have been omitted, both in the correspondence and the diaries; but, on the other hand, it is in many of these trivial details that character is revealed—even in the telling of them,—while the scenes of active warfare in which they were written clothe many of them with an interest which they would not otherwise possess. Gifted with considerable faculty of imagination, Graham depicts incidents very graphically, and has a pleasant genial way of describing his surroundings. Some of the opinions expressed in his early letters are

crude and over-confident, but they have all the charm of youthful absolutism.

My endeavour has been to let Sir Gerald speak for himself, where it is possible, by his letters and diaries, and to confine my share in the narrative to the provision of connecting-links where necessary, of explanations of the general position of affairs in the various phases of his service, and of such selection throughout of the contributions of himself and of his family as would best convey to the reader the truest representation of the man and of the atmosphere which surrounded him.

To his sons, Mr Frank Gordon Graham, and the Rev. Walter Burns Graham, of Birkenshaw, Yorkshire; to his daughter, Miss Olive Graham, and his step-daughter, Miss Emma Blacker; to his niece, Mrs Shenstone of Clifton, and her brothers, Mr Reginald Graham Durrant of Marlborough College, and the Rev. Bernard C. Durrant of Dalston, Cumberland, my warm acknowledgments are due for their valuable help.

My thanks are also due to General Sir Richard Harrison, K.C.B., C.M.G., Inspector-General of Fortifications; Major-General W. Salmond, C.B., Deputy Adjutant-General, Royal Engineers; Major-General Sir John Ardagh, K.C.I.E., C.B., Director of Military Intelligence; and Captain E. H. Hills, R.E., Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Intelligence Division, for some kind assistance.

ROBT. H. VETCH.

LONDON, 19th April 1901.

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L I F E

OF

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR GERALD GRAHAM.

CHAPTER I.

FAMILY, EDUCATION, AND START IN LIFE.

Few figures were more striking than that of the gallant soldier whose letters and diaries, with a connecting sketch of his life, we present to our readers. Of towering height (six feet four inches in his stockings) and massive proportions, his appearance at once impressed one with a sense of physical grandeur and power. A handsome face, broad brow, dark hair, and those strongly marked eyebrows contrasting with the frank, steel-blue eyes, attracted as much attention as did his remarkable height and build, while a thoughtful, true, and kindly expression told of a fine spirit within.

It would seem extraordinary were there not similar cases that such a personality, strong in every sense of the word, who had displayed his powers in the early years of manhood and won fame, should have been relegated for twenty years of the best part of

his life to the routine duties of his profession; for it was not until after he was fifty years old that opportunities were afforded him to add to the laurels won in his youth, and to show that his ability to serve his country in the field was in no wise diminished by lapse of time.

But his was by no means a solitary case. An even more conspicuous instance of neglect is not far to seek in his own corps in the person of his friend and comrade Charlie Gordon, who, in spite of the display of remarkable military abilities early in life, had met with the same want of recognition on the part of the military authorities, and, it may be said, had to be re-discovered by foreigners, in whose service he became known to the world as one of the greatest Englishmen of his time.

It was an old comrade¹ of Crimean days, himself risen to eminence, who, remembering the fearless young giant of the trenches before Sebastopol sallying out to bring in wounded officers and men, invited Gerald Graham to fulfil his early promise by placing him in the forefront of the Egyptian campaign of 1882.

How that early promise was fulfilled—then and afterwards—and yet the successful General remained the same modest, kindly man he had been as a subaltern; how as a keen soldier he delighted in his profession, and yet had a much wider circle of interest; and how, like the plucky, strong man that he was, in the midst of heavy trouble he possessed his soul in patience and bore a brave front to the world, it is the business of these pages to tell.

On his father's side Sir Gerald Graham belonged to

¹ Lieut.-General Sir Garnet (now Field-Marshal Viscount) Wolseley.

a Cumberland Border family, the Grahams of Rose-tree, a distinct branch from the Grahams of Netherby, though both had a common origin and lived in the north part of Cumberland. Sir Gerald's great-grandfather was a Cumberland "statesman" (landowner or yeoman) who begat a family of stalwart sons all over six feet in height, one of the younger of whom, Joseph, born in 1756, became a doctor and a successful man of the world. He settled at St Albans and married Joanna Lomax (born 1765, died 1830), a woman of a very sweet nature, pious, forbearing, and affectionate.

Joseph Graham, who died in 1820, had two sons. The elder, William, born in 1787, when he reached the age of sixteen years entered the military service of the East India Company, and attained the rank of major. He was rather eccentric, and became oriental both in his tastes and pursuits. He died in 1848. The younger son, Robert Hay (the father of Sir Gerald), born in December 1789, was educated for the medical profession but never practised. He was a man of considerable intellectual ability, and in his young days handsome both in face and figure. An exaggerated notion of his own importance gave him a pompous manner, and he seems to have lacked those sympathetic qualities of heart which go far to make a happy home.

Sir Gerald's mother was Frances, daughter of Richard Oakley (born 1763, died 1833) of Oswald Kirk, Yorkshire, and afterwards of Pen Park, Bristol, an upright, good man, the elder of two brothers, and possessed of fair means. When he was twenty-seven he married a beautiful girl of eighteen, Miss Fanny Swayne of London (born 1772, died 1807), by whom he had three daughters and a son, whose

birth cost his mother her life. Of these children, Frances, the eldest, was born in 1797 — the other daughters died young. She was gifted with a musical ear and a great love of nature, sang well, and was fond of drawing. By her marriage with Dr Robert Graham, afterwards of Eden Brows, Cumberland, she had two children — Joanna, born at Brighton, Sussex, on 12th February 1830, and Gerald, born at Acton, Middlesex, on 27th June 1831.

Besides their parents these children had no near relatives living except their father's brother in India, and their mother's brother whom they seldom saw. They were consequently thrown completely upon one another, and grew up in a bond of sympathy and devoted attachment.

Of their early childhood there are no records, but there is a daguerreotype of Gerald when about fourteen years old, in which he appears as a gentle, thoughtful, rather delicate-looking boy, seated, with a book in his hand. He must quickly have outgrown any delicacy, for he grew up a splendid specimen of healthy physique, six feet four inches high, broad shouldered, and well built. There is a story told of him when at home for the holidays, which shows that he was by no means merely a dreamy, book-reading boy. He is said to have gone into a field at Eden Brows, caught and bestrid a colt, and stuck to its back, while the animal tore over the field into the farmyard, and narrowly missed breaking its rider's leg against the gate-post, the Cumberland farm-hands gaping with open-mouthed astonishment at his fearless audacity.

But he was much more thoughtful than the generality of boys of his age, and both he and his sister read with avidity whatever came in their

way. His sister, who was a year and a half the elder, was also the more vehement and impulsive of the two. Rather delicate in health, she possessed one of those *spirituel* countenances which often accompanies a precocious and sensitive mind. From a child she was desperately devoted to the problems of humanity.

Some idea may be formed of her precocity from a letter she wrote in after-life to help one of her own children. In it she mentions having suffered, at the age of eleven years, deep depression from consciousness of suffering in the world; having experienced, at the age of fourteen, grave doubts and difficulties which she expected to solve by the help of a book on prophecy; till when, at sixteen years old, Voltaire's works were put into her hands, she found nothing new either to shock or enlighten her, although up to that time she had read no infidel books but only arguments against them—which, perhaps, had much the same effect.

"So," she wrote, "the work of destruction was over early with me, and the eager search for truth began early. I cannot tell you now where it led me, how the deep joy of a new faith came to me, but, because it rested on no solid foundation, did not abide with me; and I tried to submit to authority and conform to established belief. With affliction that frail hold was torn entirely away, and I knew what it was to be utterly desolate with but one fibre of strength to hold by—a belief in the reality of God such as Job had; no comfort then but the foundation of all comfort to come."

Together this brother and sister shared in their search for light, while their bright imaginations were early fired by stories of adventure. Those

were not the days of endless children's books, but together they read Humboldt and Don Quixote and many other great works; together they dipped into the political and social questions of the day, he—the story goes—sometimes sitting in the middle of a favourite railway bridge and she on the bank of a deep cutting so that he might exercise his voice in shouting across.

"They inherited from their mother," writes Sir Gerald's niece, Mrs Shenstone, "that great love of beautiful scenery which was always a solace and cause for uplifting of the heart throughout their lives. This same love of nature made them exceedingly sincere; they detested all shams and affectations, loving proportionately all that was frank, free, and true. There is something in this picture of two young eager souls, leaning upon each other, and listening so eagerly for the happier echoes above the world that was not for them all sunshine, infinitely beautiful and pathetic. 'Yet there are green spots even in the desert waste,' my uncle wrote out of the fulness of his heart years afterwards; and these two found not only the inextinguishable laughter of the world amid the shadows but the earnest purpose also."

Gerald went first to a school at Wimbledon and then to one at Dresden, where he acquired among other learning a good knowledge of German. He looked back upon his Dresden schooldays with affection, and when he visited his old haunts after nearly fifty years, he was quite sorry to find no one old enough to tell him about the people he knew as a boy. Both the school and the house he lived in had been reconstructed, and the occupants knew nothing of those old days. The favourite tuck-shop

had become an apothecary's, "so that the present generation do penance in drugs," he writes with a sense of retributive justice, "for their fathers' excesses in sweets."

From Dresden school young Gerald entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich in May 1847. There his great height and somewhat reserved and taciturn manner made him the subject of much of the rough bullying common in those days; but when he himself became an "old cadet," he was known for his invariable kindness to his juniors. He passed out of Woolwich third of his batch, the late Major-General Sir John Clayton Cowell, K.C.B., Master of Queen Victoria's Household, being the head, and he received a commission as second lieutenant in the Royal Engineers on 19th June 1850.

In the autumn he joined the Royal Engineer Establishment (as it was then called, now the School of Military Engineering) at Chatham, and went through the usual courses of professional instruction, sometimes amusing himself in his spare time by boating on the Medway. On one occasion he and a brother officer of his own standing in the Bombay Engineers, George Munro Duncan (who died in India in 1859), went down to Sheerness in an open boat. Returning after dark, they were upset in Sea Reach. Duncan could not swim a stroke, the weather was cold, and they were both wrapped in overcoats. Graham, however, managed to support his friend and to swim with him to one of the man-of-war hulks fortunately lying near. There he caught hold of a rope hanging from the projecting boat-boom and held on until rescued by the crew of the hulk. Considering the encumbered state of the two young men, and the strong tides that run in the reach, this feat was a remarkable one.

On completing his professional studies at Chatham Graham was sent to do duty in the Southern Military District, of which Portsmouth is the headquarters, and was for some time employed at Hurst Castle on the Solent. At this time both he and his sister had been reading the works of Charles Kingsley, Frederick Maurice, and Thomas Carlyle, and had conceived a great admiration for these authors, especially Kingsley. The sister, who was anxious to help in the social movement, corresponded with Kingsley on that subject, while Gerald kept up a constant correspondence with her on this and on every subject which interested them both.

To the habit of writing letters and pouring out his thoughts in them—a practice which has, we fear, now almost died out, to be replaced by hasty scrawls and telegrams—may, perhaps, be attributed some of the reserve frequently ascribed to him, and which no doubt he felt with all but his most intimate friends, if not with them also sometimes. Yet with a sympathetic spirit at the other end of his pen, the writing of a letter meant to him the opening of his warm heart, and to his sister he had always written when away from her as a part of his existence. It is to her, until she married, that the greater part of his correspondence is addressed.

CHAPTER II.

THE CRIMEAN WAR.

OF the causes which led to the Crimean war it is unnecessary to speak here. They have been frequently set forth, and in no work with such wealth of imagination and brilliancy of composition as in Kinglake's 'Invasion of the Crimea.' Lord Clarendon's pithy observation, that we "drifted" into it, accurately describes the situation, and accounts for the anomaly of our sending ships of war and soldiers to the help of Turkey while we were at peace with Russia. As the drifting became more rapid and a crisis was approached, troops were hurried out to Malta in readiness to move forward when required.

Early in February young Graham received his orders to join the 11th Company of the Royal Sappers and Miners at Woolwich and hold himself in readiness for embarkation. The company was commanded by Captain Fairfax Charles Hassard,¹ and the subalterns besides himself were George Reid Lempriere (who retired as a captain in 1866, and died in March 1901) and Charles Nassau Martin (now a retired major-general).

The prospect of active service gave rise to an outburst of boyish delight. The first intimation his

¹ Afterwards Major-General and C.B., who died in October 1900.

sister had of the receipt of good news was to see him careering round the room, vaulting over the chairs in the exuberance of his spirits.

The only letter preserved of this time is one of the 13th February 1854 to his father, written in the hurry and excitement of a youngster's first departure for active service, and occupied with the question of outfit—holsters and saddle-bags, "revolving" pistol, jack-boots, and mosquito-bag. Graham embarked with his company on the 24th February at Southampton for Malta in the steamship *Himalaya*, which carried also some of the Rifle Brigade and a supply of intrenching tools, &c., for field operations. Malta was reached on the 8th March, and the Engineers were temporarily quartered at Floriana, where they were joined on the 27th March by the 7th Company of Royal Sappers and Miners, under the command of Captain Charles John Gibb,¹ R.E., with a further supply of engineering *matériel*.

On the 30th March the two companies of Sappers and Miners and a battalion of the Rifle Brigade, together with Sir George Brown, the general commanding the 1st Division, and his staff, embarked on board the ss. *Golden Fleece*, and on the following morning steamed away for Gallipoli. Soon after his arrival at Gallipoli Graham wrote the following letter to his sister; the letter which he mentions having written to her from Malta cannot be found:—

"BRITISH CAMP, GALLIPOLI, April 20, 1854.

"MY DEAR SISTER,—The last letter I sent you was written just before leaving Malta in the *Golden Fleece*. This one is written in my tent, squatted on the ground *à la turque*, my portmanteau serving me

¹ He became a colonel, and died in 1865.

for a table for want of a better. As I gave you an account of Malta in my last, I need not tell you anything more about that place; besides, I know you are longing to hear about Turkey and my journey hither. I will copy from my diary, though I have not kept it very well lately.

“*March 30, Thursday.*—Having provided myself with a horse and servant, embarked (together with the 7th Company, just then arrived from Woolwich) in the Golden Fleece bound for Gallipoli in the Dardanelles.

“*March 31.*—Weighed anchor at 5 A.M. with a light N.E. wind. Forgot to mention that the Rifle Brigade came with us and among them many of our old shipmates on the Himalaya. Heavy showers of rain during the day.

“*April 1.*—N.-easter continuing, threatening to turn into a regular *grégale*. Found that we had got the ‘Times’ correspondent on board, a short, fat, hairy-looking individual, but, on further acquaintance, he proved a very intelligent and agreeable companion. As he took down all our names, and afterwards sent off a letter to the ‘Times’ in a flaming, red-printed envelope, I suppose we shall all figure in print in the columns of that redoubtable journal.

“*April 2, Sunday.*—Passed Cape Matapan this morning about 8 o’clock. By this time blowing a regular *grégale*. Passed between Cape Malia and Cerigo just after divine service. To give some further account of the ‘Times’ correspondent: I find he is a good-humoured, merry little fellow (rather conceited though), has a decided Irish accent, and answers to the name of Russell.¹

“*April 3.*—Gale blowing stronger than ever.

¹ Sir William Howard Russell.

About 12 o'clock the captain determined to run back to Vatika Bay, in the lee of Cape Malia, having been already driven thirty miles to leeward of our course. This we accordingly did, and lay-to about two miles from shore, exchanging cheers with two French troopships lying there for the same reason as ourselves. The scenery of this part of the south coast of the Morea is very beautiful. Our view was bounded by high-peaked, snow-capped mountains of volcanic formation, the sides of which are studded with little villages, built in apparently almost inaccessible positions. We could, however, see but little vegetation, and excepting a few olive groves near the villages, the coast looked barren enough. We would have given much to have been allowed to land there and to run up to the top of one of those high hills. However, as the captain was afraid of quarantine law, we remained on board, and consoled ourselves by making the best use of our telescopes, which appeared to invest the most commonplace objects with unusual interest. The houses that we could see were of white or brown colour, with gable roofs quite unlike those of Malta.

"*April 4.*—Weighed anchor at 5 A.M. Wind quite gone down; sea like a mill-pond; calm throughout the day. Saw the remains of the Temple of Minerva at Cape Sunium through the telescope, and witnessed a golden sunset over the Grecian isles. Zodiacal light visible some time after sunset.

"*April 5.*—Found that the capricious weather had changed again, and that we have another strong *grégale* to contend with. Passed by Cape Sigri, Mitylene, about 1 P.M. Mitylene, like all the other islands of the Archipelago that I have seen, shows merely barren hills on its coast-line. Came off Baba

Kalesi in Asia Minor at 3 P.M., and saw the snowy heights of the Ida Mountains.

"Here ends my journal, and a very dry reproduction of my experiences it is, I fear. The only times I have kept it regularly have been on board ship, when I could always find the time if I had the inclination.

"*April 21.*—I must endeavour to finish my narrative from memory, though, indeed, I have nothing more to relate to you. . . . I am much obliged to you for Carlyle's pamphlet. He has certainly altered his style considerably, though I must say I prefer his old manner, as it served to mark his individuality more strongly. . . . There is a great deal of sound sense and thought in his pamphlet, which afforded me great gratification. It seems to me that the whole *morale* of the question may be stated, according to similes of Carlyle and the Emperor of Russia, as defending the Sick Man's house and property against all thieves and robbers until it shall have been determined what shall further be done with them. As for the Turks, I quite agree with a French Engineer officer, that they are mere imbeciles. We fight for principles and not for Turks.

"All this time, however, you are longing to know something about my experience of Turks and Turkey. I am afraid my description will disappoint you as much as the reality disappointed me. Our entrance into the Dardanelles was by night, so that we could see but little of the famous passage. We kept close to the European side, and could sometimes distinguish a fort, or the white line of a minaret, or hear the distant challenge of a Turkish sentinel.

"The next morning we awoke to find ourselves at

the entrance of the Sea of Marmora, and the town of Gallipoli before us. The high, thickly wooded hills of Asia Minor lay on our right, looking down on the comparatively small barren hills of the European side. The town of Gallipoli presented nothing very peculiar in its appearance, except the rickety look of the wooden houses and broad sloping eaves of their red-tiled roofs. We were two days before we got all our stores on shore, having no other means of transport than the Turkish caïques or boats, which are very clumsy concerns. It was amusing to see, amidst all the bustle of hoisting stores on board, the Turkish sailors seated cross-legged in the stern, smoking their long pipes.

"Some French officers soon came on board to pay us a visit, and paid some tremendous compliments to the English nation in general and to us in particular. We, I am afraid, cut—all of us—a very poor figure in the complimentary line.

"Went ashore in the evening; wretched, dirty town, swarming with French soldiers and Greeks, and hardly any Turks to be found. Went to a coffee-house, where I had a long pipe and a cup of coffee. The streets are in some parts covered over with a sort of osier-work, making them nearly dark in the daytime. This is the only stroll I have had in Gallipoli, as we were immediately sent off to encamp about six miles from it.

"Here we experience all the variations of this extraordinary climate, which, so far as our experience goes, is the most variable in the world. One day, with a light sou'-westerly wind, it is so hot and the sun's rays so scorching that we are glad to throw off our coats and perhaps bathe in the sea, the Gulf of Saros being only half-a-mile from us. The next day it

blows an icy N.E. gale from the cold mountains of Roumelia, and the water is frozen in our tents. The country is perfectly barren about here, no trees and hardly any vegetables, and in aspect like the Downs of Sussex. We live off bread and meat, onions and rice. Our health is, however, very good. I have abundance of work, first digging for water, and now throwing up lines of fortification with the assistance of the French Engineer officers.

"We are making a continuous line of fortification between the Gulf of Saros and the Sea of Marmora. This will be a great depot, and form one of our bases of operations. I can say nothing of what we are likely to do, as we ourselves know nothing. We expect soon to hear of the Russians at Shumla. If they have any generals they have all the game in their hands, as we have no artillery at present. We Engineers look forward to fortifying Constantinople. Give my love to our father and mother, and believe me, your very affect. brother, G. GRAHAM."

Graham's chief employment at Gallipoli was superintending well-sinking at the camp of Boulair, some six miles from the town, and the construction of the defences between the Gulf of Saros and the Sea of Marmora, called "The Lines of Boulair." A little incident which occurred during his stay at Gallipoli is narrated by his brother subaltern and friend, Major-General C. N. Martin, as an example of his great physical strength:—

"He was always a man of splendid courage and enormous strength, which he used with the gentleness due to his manly character. I think I can remember that at Gallipoli one evening Graham's horse, a notorious fighter, got loose. We found

him in the middle of a ring of Maltese grooms and others, who could do nothing. But seeing how matters stood, Graham rushed in, caught the horse by nose and forelock, and threw him."

On the 26th May Graham sailed with his company for Varna, and lived under canvas at the camp two miles outside the town. Varna was the base of operations, and being also the depot for Engineer stores for the front, the Engineers had a busy time. After the Russians had raised the siege of Silistria, and had been badly beaten on the 7th July at the battle of Giurgevo, they evacuated Wallachia and Moldavia, and the Allies decided upon the invasion of the Crimea. Large working parties, under the superintendence of the Engineers, were engaged in preparing gabions and fascines and gun-platforms for the expedition whose destination it was endeavoured to keep a profound secret.

The following letters describe the life at Varna, the embarkation for the Crimea, and the landing near Old Fort, Kamishlu, Kalamita Bay :—

"VARNA, *Sunday, 17th July 1854.*

"MY DEAR SISTER,— . . . You want to know exactly how I pass my time; well, you shall pass a day with me. At half-past four o'clock my trusty servant Jean, of whom more anon, enters my tent with a pail of water, which he pours into my india-rubber bath, one of the most useful things I have. Jean, like all Frenchmen, considers it advisable to begin the day with a cup of coffee, which he accordingly sets about preparing whilst I am sponging myself in my indiarubber tub. Of course, until I am quite dressed I could not think of admitting a lady into my tent. Now, however, you may enter

and look about you. You need not be afraid of soiling my carpet—it is of nature's own making, excepting where I have laid down a little bit of oilskin tablecloth under the table. I can offer you a very good seat on my pack-saddle put on the top of my portmanteau.

“You cast your eyes curiously around you and form a mental inventory of effects—viz., (1) Large black bundle (contents unknown); (2) suspicious-looking black bottles (do. do.); (3) basket and large ham; (4) boots, saddle, and divers smaller bundles. On inquiry you find that item (1) consists of my bed, which in the daytime I wrap up in the gutta-percha rug so as to leave a clear space in my tent. Jean does not much admire my bed. ‘*Quel triste lit!*’ he generally exclaims on making it in the evening. He is having what he calls a *cantine* made for me, which consists of two boxes, which are to hold everything when packed on a horse, and also make up into a bedstead. This he is getting made for me by some French *Sapeurs*—old comrades of his in Algeria, for Jean has made an African campaign as an officer's servant. To continue our list: the black bottles contain some French wine, as I do not like the wine of the country much. I have great faith in part of item (3), consisting of a large Westphalian ham, which I got on board ship. I have kept it most carefully during the last six weeks for a time of need. . . . You have now gone the round of my tent, beginning at the black bundle and finishing there. You are probably surprised at the quantity of flies that buzz about you. I cannot get them out of my tent, but am obliged to sleep under a mosquito-net, which I bought at Malta.

“*July 18.*—The description of my tent has taken me

so long that my time yesterday passed in making it. But in order to complete your survey of my establishment you must step outside and see my horses. I have three of them. The first I show you is my best bay charger, which I bought of a French officer. He is a half-bred Arab, and has, you see, the Arabian head and crest. Here is my second charger, which I bought at Malta—an unlucky purchase, as it turned out. He too is a handsome fellow, a mettlesome barb, but unfortunately so vicious that I must sell him. My third is my pack-horse, a large, strong, grey Hungarian. . . .

“I have not yet described to you the present position of our camp, for I am no longer alone but have rejoined my Company. We are a little way outside the town on the Shumla side, our camp being on the brow of a hill that overlooks the lake. The opposite coast of the lake is very beautiful, hilly and wooded down to the water’s edge.

“At 5 o’clock I go down to my work either on foot or on horseback, though generally the latter. My work lies in the town about two miles from this, and, as usual, consists in superintending working parties of the Line. When I have seen the men are all at work I generally take a ride into the town, which, even at that early hour, is swarming with soldiers of the three nations, and with Greeks, Turks, and Albanians in their different picturesque dresses. The Turks I am always obliged to push out of the way of my horse, as they never think of moving of their own accord. Fresh shops are now springing up every day. They demand extortionate prices for everything, but at least things are to be had. The shopkeepers are all either Greek, French, or Maltese. They are all very cunning and grasping, but do

not make half so much as they would if they were satisfied with smaller profits. There is at present, in spite of the number of shops, no competition, and the prices of the same articles vary most absurdly. Thus tea is at some places 5s. and at others 2s. 6d. a pound. I got a pair of leathern water-bottles the other day for 16s., the price they were asking for one only at a shop close by, and that the only English shop of any size. At many places they are selling at 300 or 400 per cent profit, and at the more moderate at 200.

"*July 19.*— . . . Sometimes I take my breakfast in a French coffee-house, but generally I return to camp about 8 o'clock and breakfast there. After breakfast I either return to my work or else read or write when not regularly required—as in this instance. In any case I am there again at 2 P.M., and stop till the working hours are over at half-past five, when I return to dinner. I generally feel very sleepy about 9 o'clock, when I go to bed. I read very little, only in my leisure hours. My pocket edition of Shakespeare is then my companion. My choicest reading consists, of course, in the letters you write to me. . . .

"I was very much pleased with F. Tennyson's beautiful song of 'The Blackbird.'¹ The verse describing the passing cloud was especially beautiful. But of all the composition that you have sent me, besides your own, I have most to thank you for that thoughtful, powerful essay of Froude on the Book of Job. It is indeed a glorious piece of writing, enunciating the highest and purest creed that man's soul can conceive. . . .

"I have to close this quickly, as the post will close

¹ In '*Days and Hours*,' by Frederick Tennyson. London, 1854.

for five days. I will send you another letter if any change should take place in my situation. We believe we are going to Sebastopol. . . . —Believe me, &c.,
G. GRAHAM."

"VARNA, 20th August 1854.

"MY DEAR SISTER,— . . . This is but a dull place after all, and our homeward looks are our gladdest. No man in his senses could write to the 'Times' and call this a glorious country. It is an uncivilised and barbarous country, an inhospitable and treacherous people. To judge of the first, a man has but to take a morning's ride. He will probably, if he go a little out of the beaten track, come near the dead body of some native, probably killed in a quarrel or perhaps dead of cholera; no one cares much to inquire which it was, but leaves it as he found it. If, however, he take the high-road to Varna, as I did this morning, he will find it still worse from a sanitary point of view. There are several slaughter-houses in the way, and the exposed offal, which is not buried, causes a most noxious effluvia. In the midst of the thoroughfare, now generally crowded, I observed the dead carcass of a bullock, which from its appearance must have lain there at least two months! Excuse me for giving you all these details, but does it not reflect disgrace on our apathetic authorities that they should allow the high-road between the principal camp and Varna to be in such a disgraceful state? I am speaking of ourselves merely, as there are no Turks over here. We are said to have lost about 400 men by cholera, and a great number are still on the sick-list. The French are said to have lost 6000, an incredible number, even allowing for the numbers they lost in their unfortunate Kustendjie expedition.

“We also are preparing for an expedition, as I told you in my last, and all our preparations seem to point to Sebastopol. We know little of the place ourselves, but I have sufficient confidence in the *prudence* of our authorities, and feel convinced that their secret information is such as to make success probable. Of course this is a combined expedition of the Allies, Turkey contributing perhaps 20,000 men, besides her disposable fleet.

“I, as well as all the rest of us, shall be delighted with this expedition, if it is really to be a decisive stroke towards finishing the war. However, whatever happens, I hope we shall not stop much longer in this detestable country, among a sulky, hostile population, who can hardly be induced to supply our wants. On the other side of the Danube they say the towns are far superior, with European shops and hotels. There is something in the atmosphere here which, combined with the burning sun, produces great lassitude. . . .

“No doubt before this you have heard of the fire of Varna. I was not there at the time, but saw it well from this side. It was a magnificent sight; the flames at one time must have had a front of nearly a quarter of a mile. The fire was distinctly seen by troops 28 miles from it. I only saw the effects of it this morning, about a week after it had happened. The town, on entering, looked like a heap of rubbish. The whole of the business part of the town, the main street of shops, and the bazaar are seen no longer,—in their place heaps of smoking ruins.

“I am very sorry to say that Jean, the French servant I wrote to you about, and had at one time so high an opinion of, ran away from me yesterday with

the intention of embarking for France. He took with him property to a considerable amount, most of which I have, however, succeeded in recovering. I do not know whether he got a passage or not, but if in Varna he will soon be arrested, as I have set the French gendarmerie on him. It is, however, mortifying to be so often deceived, and servants have been my greatest plague during the campaign.

"Yesterday the air was darkened by immense flights of locusts. These animals are from two and a half to three inches long, with a green body, ugly face, and legs not unlike a grasshopper's. They have four wings, on the outer of which are the marks said to resemble hieroglyphics. I send two of the outer and one inner wing. As an admirer of Southey you may perhaps like to see the mystic characters wherein Thalaba, the Destroyer, read his future destiny. . . .
—Believe me, &c.,
G. GRAHAM."

"VARNA, 2nd Sept. 1854,
"On board the William Kennedy."

"MY DEAR SISTER,—We are now fairly embarked for the expedition, wherever it may be to, which is to conclude our hitherto bloodless, though not quite harmless, Eastern campaign. Even here on the spot it is difficult to judge where may be our destination. The magnitude of our preparations would seem to indicate Sebastopol as the scene of our intended operations, but then the late time of year and consequent short period permitted us, not only for the reduction of a place of reputed great strength but also for the defeat of an army of occupation, seem to render the supposition improbable, and appear to suggest that our large preparations are only a feint to deceive the Russians, and that our real object is Anapa or Odessa. Yet it cannot be denied that the opinion prevailing

among the majority is that we are now bound for Sebastopol, to wind up gloriously our campaign with one decisive blow. You must not depend much on what 'our own correspondents' tell you at home. Excepting Russell, the 'Times' correspondent, none are with the army, and he has been stopping always with the Light Division, about 18 miles from Varna, so that he cannot know much about what is going on at Headquarters. The correspondent of the 'Morning Chronicle' writes the greatest nonsense in the world from Constantinople. He gravely assures you that one-half of the Allied armies is about to embark for Sebastopol, and that the other half is already on its way across the Danube. This was in the 'Chronicle' of the 10th August. . . .

"I am now going to have some real action, but I suppose my imagination is slow, for I really do not think much about it. The whole fleet of transports is lying in the bay with the troops on board. The English transports are all on the south side of the bay. The water certainly seems to be our proper element. Directly we are on it our Allies look small beside us. Our large transports and splendid steamers quite cut out the wretched little traders the French have got to carry their troops. The way our troops embarked, too, was far superior to theirs. We have bought up some of the Austrian Company's steamers, which come close alongside our piers and take a whole regiment on board at once, while the French go off by small boatloads. I did not read Nasmyth's¹ letter in the 'Times,' but I know him, and a very nice intelligent fellow he is. Of course you heard of poor Burke² of ours who was killed near Giurgevo.

¹ Captain C. Nasmyth, one of the defenders of Silistria.

² Lieut. James Thomas Burke, R.E., killed in the battle of Giurgevo.

"We are on board a sailing transport with a lot of horses and powder. We shall, no doubt, be towed by a steamer. . . . —Believe me, &c., G. GRAHAM."

"KAMISHLU, CRIMEA,

"30 miles from Sebastopol, 17th Sept. 1854.

"MY DEAR SISTER,—I have got a great deal to tell you about since I last wrote to you. I am not going to give you any statistical details, or account of the proceedings of the army in general, but I will give you some little description of our landing and present occupation of the Crimea as far as my own personal experience goes. For any enlarged account I refer you to the letters of my worthy friend, Mr Russell, the 'Times' correspondent.

"We got off Koslov on the afternoon of the 13th instant. On inspection through the telescope it appeared a perfect Turkish town with the usual domes and minarets. We saw about three people standing about, whom we immediately concluded to be Russian sentries. However, we afterwards heard that the garrison consisted of about three Cossacks only, and that it capitulated immediately on being summoned. We noticed a quantity of corn lying cut in the fields, as well as bullocks. At three o'clock the next morning we weighed anchor and steamed off for the landing-place. It was a fine morning with a slight mist as we steamed along the coast about two miles distant. The hills of the southern part of the Crimea were seen faintly rising one above the other towards the south, the high ground of Sebastopol behind. We knew that we were about to land shortly, and we expected not without resistance. Indeed we had always looked upon the landing as a most difficult enterprise, and that it was only by a serious cost of life that we should gain our foothold in the Crimea. You may

therefore imagine us, after weighing anchor—knowing that troops were landing, but unable to see the land—anxiously listening for the first shots announcing the expected engagement. To our astonishment not a shot was fired, and not a Russian was to be seen when the mist had cleared away, only some natives were seen peaceably engaged getting in their corn. Indeed, as one of us acutely remarked, there being probably no newspapers in the Crimea, the inhabitants were most likely to know nothing whatever about us, and therefore did not manifest any alarm. Our Company landed about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, when we found the beach crowded with troops. Patrols of cavalry were reconnoitring on the adjacent hill. Our men were greatly amused to find that the 'Rooshians,' as they indiscriminately termed all the inhabitants, instead of peppering them, had brought them down bullock-waggons for the conveyance of their tools and baggage. We had five of them, and I was immediately despatched back to the ship to get more intrenching tools. It was a grand sight to see this great fleet all assembled, and to see the increasing activity of the boats and steamers landing the troops. We got a lift in going back to the ship, and were towed by one of the tug steamers at the tail of a string. On coming back it was quite dark, and the troops already landed, who were all without tents, had lit large watchfires. We all bivouacked in the open air that night—officers and men. Unfortunately, it rained heavily during the night, and we got very wet. I had a waterproof coat under me, which I found rather worse than nothing, as it collected all the water, and I soon found myself lying in a perfect pool. So much for our first night's bivouac, and may we never have another like it. Singularly enough,

however, though I had a cold at the time, I was not a bit the worse for it afterwards.

“The next morning we marched about five miles into the country to join our Division. The country is not particularly pretty, being in large undulating steppes, something like that of Boulair, and without any trees. There was plenty of corn about and water-melons. The latter are delicious when you are thirsty. We found the site of our intended encampment on a hill at the head of a lake, and about two miles from a village from which we had already met some parties of French soldiers coming laden with plunder. We despatched a party to fetch wood and water, and then made some tea, with which, and our rations of pork, beef, and biscuit, we managed to make a very fair breakfast.

“After breakfast two of my brother-officers started off to forage for food in the village, and were tolerably successful, having bought two sheep and five turkeys for 4s. One sheep, unfortunately, ran away; but the other was duly killed, and his liver fried with some pork made a capital dinner for the first day. In the afternoon I went out with a few men to see if anything was left in the village. I, however, found that the market was in a very different condition from what it had been in the morning. The French soldiers had been there plundering right and left, frightening the friendly and peacefully disposed inhabitants, so that they had shut up their houses and were either entirely cleared out or would at least no longer sell anything. The French are said to be better soldiers than ours, and may be so, but, allowing them their superior soldiership, ours are better *men*. I had at last the pleasure of seeing every Frenchman (soldiers, that is to say—there were no officers there) turned out of the village, though it required all the moderation of

our officers and men to prevent a scrimmage. Under the circumstances I could only get a lamb, five fowls, and about fifteen water-melons, which I tasted for the first time.

“I told you how badly we spent the first night on shore; the generals of divisions were not much better off. Sir George Brown, commanding the Light Division, slept under a bullock-waggon containing some Sappers’ intrenching tools, and in the morning on awakening knocked his head against a pick-axe.

“Last night we had an alarm about 11 o’clock. I was half asleep, but was awakened by hearing a loud shouting. It seemed to me like a strange sort of shouting, a fierce defiant roar, running from the outlying pickets and advanced posts towards our lines. Our alarms were sounded, and we were soon standing under arms all ready. We remained under arms for about an hour, when the Duke of Cambridge visited us on his way round the Division, and after ordering the men to keep their arms in readiness, dismissed us. They had been expecting an attack at the outposts, as the Cossacks had been setting fire to the corn-stacks of the neighbouring village in the early part of the evening. However, this alarm turned out to have been caused by an aide-de-camp having lost his way in the dark and ridden right into a French picket, who immediately raised the shout of ‘Cosaque!’ which our men translated ‘Russians,’ causing all the row.

“*Sept.* 18. — Last night we had another alarm. About 9 o’clock I heard a musket-shot, and shortly afterwards a faint repetition of the shouts of the preceding night. This time, however, it was quickly followed by the reassuring cry of ‘All’s well’ coming

from the distant outposts, and passed from sentry to sentry through the lines.

"I have received your letter dated the 23rd August. Your account of your conversation with Mr Cooper¹ is very interesting. What an unexpected picture you give me of Mr Kingsley! I should certainly never have imagined him smoking a short pipe and putting it in his pocket with old-fashioned gallantry at the approach of a lady, unless, indeed, he wanted to show Mr Cooper that even with short pipes a man may preserve his gentility. I shall be glad to hear Kingsley's opinion on the war.

"I did not tell you that I had the misfortune to lose another horse just before starting, and that the only charger now left me is that vicious Maltese horse. However, I hope to catch one soon. Yesterday a few horses were driven into our lines, and I started after them with an extempore lasso, but they got the start of me and I lost them.

"This is likely to prove a glorious expedition. There seems little doubt but that we shall drive all before us, and that Sebastopol itself must soon yield before the well-directed assaults of such men as ours. We have calculated that the Russian prodigy Sebastopol shall be ours before the first week of October is out.

"I trust that you too, my dear sister, will be happy this winter. Your natural condition is to be happy as your desire is only to do good. . . . —Believe me, &c.,

"G. GRAHAM."

"KAMISHLU, CRIMEA,

"31 miles from SEBASTOPOL, 18th Sept. 1854.

"MY DEAR FATHER,—At last behold us actually landed in the Crimea with an army of nearly 60,000 men about to advance upon the seat of the Russian

¹ Thomas Cooper, the Chartist.

power in the Black Sea, which is within three days' march of us!

"After cruising about since the 4th, with many delays as yet unexplained, we arrived off Koslov or Eupatoria on the afternoon of the 13th instant. We hear that the town immediately capitulated on our summons, but none of our troops were left there, two of our steamers remaining behind in possession. On the 14th we arrived off this place at 8 A.M. On the map I find our landing-place called Kamishlu or 'fetid lake.' I am, however, happy to be able to inform you that the lake is not fetid, or at least our nasal organs have not detected it. Our troops began landing immediately with amazing celerity. The Light Division is said to have been all landed in half an hour! This amazing despatch was owing to the number of small tugs and boats that we are provided with. The French were not all up with us, but one division landed about four miles farther on. Not the slightest opposition was offered to our landing. The landing-place was well chosen—a pebbly beach where the boats could get close in, with a lake behind, so that no large body of troops could be concentrated at any one point to oppose us. There was certainly a cliff on the right, or south side, which flanked the beach, but which was again outflanked by the ships. Our Company of sappers did not land till 5 P.M. Most of our troops had landed by the time we got on shore. The tug steamers (those we bought of Lloyd's Austrian Company) and Scutari steamers were amazingly useful. I saw one, the Brenda, disembark more than two regiments at a time, one on board and the other in tow. Part of our cavalry, together with some French Spahis, or Algerian Horse, were sent out

to reconnoitre on the high ground. There were a few Cossacks about, but they quickly disappeared. It is said that Sir George Brown, the general commanding the Light Division, having separated himself a little from his Staff, was nearly cut off by some Cossacks and had to gallop for it.

“So far one great feat had been easily accomplished, and our landing in the Crimea was effected. The first step taken, the rest seemed comparatively easy, for we could not suppose the enemy to be in any great strength as he could not oppose our landing. But the old proverb, ‘C’est le premier pas que coûte,’ was not to be so easily cheated of its significance on this occasion. During the night it rained heavily, and as we had landed no tents we all got most unpleasantly wet. The next morning we joined our Division, which is about 5 miles in the country. To-morrow we expect to march to attack some Russian camps on the Alma river, about 18 miles from this, on the way to Sebastopol. We have doomed Sebastopol to fall in the beginning of next month. . . . —Believe me, &c.,

“G. GRAHAM.”

CHAPTER III.

LETTERS FROM THE CRIMEA.

GRAHAM's letters to his sister or to his father are very regular. In this chapter they describe the battles of Alma and Inkerman, and the siege operations until he was shifted from the Left Attack to the Right, and in the next chapter carry us down to the end of the year 1855.

• "CRIMEA, ALMA RIVER, 21st Sept. 1854.

"MY DEAR SISTER,—Before you receive this you will, I dare say, have received intelligence that we have fought and gained a battle. Although the 'Times' correspondent is writing at my side, yet I have no doubt his letter, for which he has been obliged to borrow pen, ink, and paper, will be printed before this comes to hand. To begin, I can tell you that I am unhurt, not having been under fire at all. However, I saw the whole action perfectly well, and will endeavour to give you a general idea of it, leaving our friend at my elbow (who is asking a lot of questions while writing his electric despatch) to give all statistical information. We left Kamishlu on the 19th, our position being in the centre. It was a splendid sight to see the army in movement, the flashing of the bayonets, the tramp of the

artillery, and the magnificent extent of the troops; and then the strange contrast of the native bullock-waggon, the teams of two hundred camels, and shrieks of the drivers, all combined to give the idea of a vast power rolling onward. The first day the French kept on our right in advance. One of our objects was to maintain a communication with the fleet, which was kept by the French. We were thus obliged to keep always about three miles from the coast, the fleet keeping up with us. The first day we marched about nine miles through beautiful, sweet-scented meadowland and then encamped. I and a brother-officer brought a couple of tents about the size of a dog-kennel with us, in each of which two of us put up. We have besides two bell-tents for the sick and wounded, being thus much better off than the Line, who have nothing of the sort.

“In the afternoon a smart cannonading commenced on our left flank.¹ It was, however, only a game of long-bowls, and the Russians retired. This was probably intended by the Russians as a reconnaissance for the following day, and they retreated to a strong position on the southern heights of the Alma river. Yesterday we continued our advance, knowing well the position of the enemy. As soon as our lines advanced to the brow of the hill overlooking the Alma valley a Russian battery fired one gun at our left flank. I immediately asked a brother officer near me to tell me the time, having left my own watch with Captain Hassard at Varna, the main-spring being broken. It was 25 minutes to 2 P.M., so that I have settled that point for sceptical historians. The Russians appeared in strong force on the edge of the hill with numerous cavalry, an

¹ The Affair of the Bulganak.

arm in which we and the French are terribly deficient. As soon as the cannonading on both sides had fairly commenced it was difficult to see what was going on, a dense smoke hanging between us and the enemy. The Russians moved down a column, menacing our left flank, supported by their artillery. However, now the French made a counter-movement on their left flank, and commenced storming the heights in gallant style. We could see their fire as they advanced up the hill, each trying to be foremost. At the same time our Light Division advanced to carry a battery, but was checked until the Guards advanced to their support. By this time the French had carried the heights and turned the Russian position. The bloodiest part of the work, however, was reserved for the British—the storming of the heavy Russian batteries which had first opened fire on us.

“By this time the Russians were in full retreat, but their object being to save their guns, they covered their retreat by a heavy fire of musketry from the battery. Our Light Division (I am not sure what regiments, so I won't guess) advanced bravely to the assault, but was checked by the tremendous fire of the Russians, who, to do them justice, on this occasion fought well. They retired, but only for a short distance, hardly out of pistol-range, and then formed as steadily as if on parade. For nearly ten minutes they remained fully exposed to this fearful fire, and here it was that so many of our gallant fellows fell. Other troops advancing to their support, the battery was carried, the Russians retreating in tolerable order, leaving one gun in the battery. In the mean time the enemy had thrown back their left wing so as to face the

French on the heights, holding them in check until the French Artillery came up. We could see the Russian columns drawn up in dense black lines. A battery of ours was playing on them, and we could see, when a shot plunged amongst them, the sudden rush aside and the wide gap immediately filled up again. The French Artillery now came up, and the Russians relinquished the combat on the left wing. Had the French been strong enough, and had we possessed sufficient cavalry, it is the opinion of many that we might have pursued and utterly routed the Russian army. However, they have now retreated behind the Katscha river, and to-morrow or the day after (for I do not think we shall move to-day) we shall probably have such another battle to fight. I have not the slightest doubt as to the results: the Russians are all very well at long ranges, but they can never stand the charge of our troops or of the French. For our own part, I do not think we have much to boast of. Although within range in the centre, and a clear space between us and the enemy, we were never under fire. I was all the time busy with my telescope trying to make out all that was going on. A spent shot came near us, which we felt rather proud of. A few bullets, too, whizzed harmlessly past us. I went up rather inquisitively to examine what I thought a large round-shot, but found it to be an unexploded shell, upon which I prudently retired.

"After the Russians had been driven from their position we (11th Company) crossed the river and repaired a bridge which they had endeavoured to destroy.

"I will not attempt to describe to you the fearful sight I witnessed on going over the field of battle.

The ground about that fatal battery was literally covered with the bodies of our men and of the enemy lying side by side. But the sight of the dead, fearful as it was, was not so horrible as the groans of the wounded. I am willing to believe that our surgeons did their best, but still some poor fellows, unseen or unsought, passed their night in sleepless groans on the field of battle. . . .

"By the way, the fleet assisted us by shelling the Russian left, but they were too far off to do much.—Believe me, &c., G. GRAHAM."

"Before SEBASTOPOL, 19th October 1854.

"MY DEAR FATHER,—I must still date this from *before* Sebastopol, for I am sorry to say that we are not yet in it. I have just seen a 'Times' of Oct. 2, containing a telegraphic despatch announcing the battle of Alma and a column headed 'Fall of Sebastopol,' in large print. How disappointed you all must be when mail after mail comes in and you find that our splendid victory has had no equivalent result, and that the fall of Sebastopol, which you fixed at five days after the battle, has not been accomplished in thirty. What the 'Times' says is true, that we have to contend with an enemy with whom the most daring measures would be the most successful. If, instead of lying at Balaklava and slowly landing our siege-train and allowing the Russians to throw up powerful batteries for defence on this side of the town, we had followed up the defeated and panic-stricken enemy, there is little doubt but that the sanguine announcement in your papers would have been fulfilled. As it is, we have with infinite labour opened our batteries within a mile of the place, and are now playing at long-bowls with the Russians without much apparent

injury on either side. We opened fire the day before yesterday, the French shutting up after a few rounds, owing to an unlucky explosion of one of their magazines, afterwards followed by an explosion of some powder-barrels.

“The fleet assisted in cannonading the forts the first day, but yesterday we had to sustain the whole of their fire ourselves, and that with a very short supply of ammunition, owing to the defective arrangements of the Artillery. The Russian defences on this side consist almost entirely of earthworks, thrown up for the most part under our eyes, and which might have been checked at once by bringing up a few heavy guns or rockets. We take the right of the attack and the French the left, our own attack being again subdivided into right and left, I being in the left. The work on us Engineers is, of course, very heavy. Some of us are up in the trenches two or even three nights running.

“I have not had time to see the French works, but our own consist of one long line of trench-work in each attack, the batteries being in the trench. We have 38 guns on our side in four batteries, and in the whole English attack there are, at present, 66 guns, including some naval ones. It was entirely our (R.E.) work laying out the batteries, as well as building them. All our object is to silence the Russian guns preparatory to storming the place, no breaching batteries being required against mere earth-works; and besides these the enemy has a mere wall lined with sand-bag loopholes for musketry-fire. I have had always the same battery to work whenever on duty—No. 2, which I therefore call my battery. It is for ten guns, with oblique embrasures, and counterbatters a Russian battery of equal force, which is placed just in front

of a large barrack, so that all our shot that are too high go into the barrack, which looks rather dilapidated by this time.

"I was in the trenches all yesterday under the heaviest fire. Two men were killed at my battery by the cross-fire from a heavy Russian battery, which we had depended on the French to silence, as they can enfilade it from their side. However, yesterday the French did not fire a shot, and, as I have said before, could fire very little, being so badly supplied with ammunition. My battery is manned by sailors, who work capitally, whether fighting their guns or throwing up intrenchments. I have tried both soldiers and sailors, and I consider 100 sailors as a working party worth at least 150 soldiers of the Line. The reason of this is not only the willing spirit of the men but the fact that their officers exert themselves and direct their men, which is more than I can say for the officers of the Line, who do not appear to be at all aware of the importance of speedily completing the work, and instead of energetically encouraging their men, generally (particularly if at night) retire to some sheltered place and go to sleep. As the whole of the working parties—field officers and all—are under the direction of the Engineer officer, I always make a point of turning out these sleepy gentlemen (when I can find them) with a polite request that they will make their men work a little better. They are obliged to attend to this, knowing that a report from me would bring down on them severe censure from the commander-in-chief.

"The night work in the trenches is very hard and harassing. From six in the evening till four in the morning the Engineer officer in the trenches must be constantly on his feet, directing and encouraging the

men to work. He must, if possible, act up to his motto of *Ubique*, and be everywhere at once. Not only that, but when working under fire he must always expose himself *at least* as much as any of the men, so as to stimulate them to work in spite of the fire. I was on duty the night before opening our fire with orders to have my battery completed before 5 o'clock in the morning. My battery was somewhat behind the others on account of unusual difficulties that I met with, and I had to use every effort to get it finished in time. However, by dint of running from one part of the battery to another, working myself when the men would not—which, by the way, I found an un-failing expedient—I got the work done, and at 5 A.M. on the 17th instant I had the pleasure of reporting the battery finished, with all its embrasures revetted and masked by empty gabions, behind which the guns stood looking menacingly towards the Russian battery. It was now broad daylight, and I was glad enough to leave the battery before the cannonading commenced, particularly as the road leading to it is unprotected from the Russian fire.

“It soon became evident that the Russians had perceived that our batteries were armed, as they opened a much heavier fire on us than usual, we not replying with a single shot, our orders being to wait for the signal from the French. In the meantime I reached our camp, which is a mile and a half from the works. I was, of course, very tired and hungry, but this was no time for sleeping. Our batteries were now armed and ready, and that bullying Russian fire, to which we had been exposed through so many weary days and nights, was about to be replied to with a roar as loud as its own.

“One part of my wants, however, I was obliged to

attend to. I could not resist breakfast. You will smile to know that I am considered to have the best appetite of all the mess. I certainly never remember eating so much at any other period of my life, and I believe it is entirely owing to my good living that I keep up my health and strength so well. Out of the ten of us here who do duty in the trenches two are laid up by the fatigue and one by the jaundice, so that the duty falls rather heavily on the efficient officers. I missed seeing the opening of our fire. It began without the French, who said they must wait till the sun got up.

“When I arrived on the ground commanding a view of the action, I found our guns working away at a tremendous rate, the sailors’ batteries especially distinguishing themselves by the energy of their fire. It was a beautiful bright sunny morning, but little could be seen, except at intervals, for the dense smoke that lay before the town. Amid the crash of the artillery and whizzing roar of the enemy’s balls, as they came rushing through the air, was distinctly heard the repeated sharp bang of the Lancaster guns, whose balls made a noise like a railway whistle. After about an hour’s firing we appeared to have silenced the tower on the enemy’s left, but his powerful earth-batteries appeared very little injured. The French now opened, firing slowly, very differently from our own rattling cannonading.

“Suddenly a column of dense black smoke rose high up in the French lines, followed by a deep, crashing report, heard distinctly above all our fierce cannonading. A sickening feeling came over us. The French had evidently had a magazine—and that one of the larger size—blown up. This heavy misfortune paralysed the efforts of our allies for the

remainder of that day. It is said that 47 men and a whole battery were put *hors de combat* by that terrible explosion. It was caused by a shell falling on the top of their magazine, which was not sufficiently protected. A shell fell on one of ours yesterday without any injury, as we make our magazines bomb-proof. In the course of the day we partially revenged our allies' misfortune by blowing up one of the enemy's magazines, the sight of which we welcomed with a loud cheer.

"*October 20, Evening.*—Last night I was on duty in the trenches, to-night I sleep in my bed. Our duty now is to repair at night the damages inflicted in the daytime. All last night we did not fire a shot, nor did the Russians. On both sides, I suppose, preparations were being made for the morrow. This morning the Russian batteries looked rather ruinous, whereas ours were as fresh as on the first day. It is, however, evident that our enemy, if not very enterprising, is one of great resources and dogged determination. They have erected a new battery. To me this business appears much too long; after four days' firing we have accomplished very little. The bayonet should have decided it at first, and must decide it at last.

"A storming party with ladders has been ready every day since the firing commenced, and two Engineer officers (appointed in daily rotation) are always ready to lead the 1st and 3rd Divisions to the attack. We have lost our Colonel by an attack of apoplexy. That makes the fourth field officer of Engineers who has been knocked up—Colonel Vicars¹ on his way out; Colonel Victor² as soon

¹ Major-General Edward Vicars, died in 1864.

² Major-General James Conway Victor, died in 1864.

as at Gallipoli; General Tylden¹ died from cholera; and this last, Colonel Alexander.² The fact is, they are all too old to sustain the activity required from a Commanding Engineer in the field. . . . —Believe me, &c.,
G. GRAHAM."

"Before SEBASTOPOL, 23rd Oct. 1854.

"MY DEAR SISTER,— . . . Your letters both arrived by the same mail, and I got them late in the evening. When I read them over a second time I was in a very different scene from the peaceful ones you described so well. I was in one of our batteries, in full action, amid the deafening crash of our own guns and the more dangerous but less startling rushing roar of the enemy's shot, which passed over us thick and furious.

"There is no doubt about it, excitement apart, war is the most disagreeable employment in the world. Disagreeable is, however, no term for the thing itself, but merely for the duties required from us and others. I should rather characterise war as a hideous and unnatural absurdity, an immense mistake. This you may think stating a mere truism, but you must also allow it, in my case, to be a tolerably practical conclusion, being drawn from personal observation. This is, after all, a pretty general opinion, and though, no doubt, forty years hence old fogies will talk of the glorious campaign in the Crimea as the pleasantest period of their life, yet, I think, if you canvassed opinion now you would find few, if any, who would wish the war to continue, could it be concluded at once with credit to ourselves.

¹ Brigadier-General Sir William Burton Tylden, K.C.B., seized with cholera after the battle of the Alma and died the same day.

² Lieut.-Colonel Charles Carson Alexander.

"Of all war operations perhaps a siege is the most tedious, and this has as yet proved no exception, contrary to your newspaper reports, which annoyed and amused us at once with the ludicrous details of the fall of Sebastopol. Although in many respects, which I will not enumerate, a striking exception to most former sieges, this one affords no varied interest to the Engineer. There has been a great deal of the pedantry of the old school in our operations. However, I shall not criticise our proceedings to you, so let them be judged of by the event.

"Our work since the opening of our batteries is chiefly repairing the damages done in the daytime. The enemy does the same thing, as we have some foolish orders not to fire after dark. The Russians are glad enough to rest too, though we generally manage to set a part of the town on fire before leaving off. To-night there is rather a larger fire than usual, a strong sirocco blowing, and the French are shelling the unfortunate inhabitants. Oh! war is a horrible thing, and that I have often thought when out in one of those beautiful starlight nights. To see those countless worlds shining above us in supreme indifference to our wretched little contentions and ludicrously horrible way of settling them, seemed, if the idea could be impressed strongly enough, to settle the whole war at once by reducing it to an absolute nonentity. If by some means intelligence were to reach us that a war had broken out between a very minute fraction of the inhabitants of one of the stars in the Milky Way, I doubt if, as citizens of the universe, we should consider the matter of any *universal* importance. My reflections on this subject would, however, be suddenly interrupted. A bright flash would be seen like

distant summer sheet-lightning. 'A shot!' calls the man on the look-out. The working party crouches down, and all is silent for three or four seconds, when the report is heard simultaneously with the rushing, roaring sound of the shot or shell as it flies over our heads, or knocks one of them off, dashing on with indifference in either case. A shell thrown from a mortar is a beautiful sight at night as it rises high in the air, its fuse glowing brightly like a star; then, describing a beautiful curve, it falls and fulfils its murderous errand by exploding, if correct, a few feet above the ground. A live shell is not a pleasant thing to be near. One of them burst within 20 feet of me yesterday but without hurting any one.

"Oct. 27.— . . . The siege is progressing slowly and unsatisfactorily. That we shall ultimately take the town I have not the slightest doubt, but it is the *way* of taking it that I am alluding to.

"Oct. 28.—I must finish this letter, as usual, in a hurry, as a messenger is about to take it to Bala-klava. This time I must therefore leave all the public news to be furnished to you by the papers—that rash and fatal cavalry charge, which, however, was avenged though not **repaired** by the repulse of the Russians the day following. It is said that we shall hut here. . . . —Believe me, &c.,

"G. GRAHAM."

"Before SEBASTOPOL, 1st Nov. 1854.

"MY DEAR SISTER,— . . . You will be glad to hear that M. still keeps up his health. One reason for that is he eats so much, though it is doubted by some whether I do not eat as much as he does. He is very cheerful, and sings 'Partant pour la Syrie' every

morning on awaking, which I hear very distinctly, being in the same tent with him. My servant Pierre has turned out very well. He is rather lazy and negligent, but is, on the whole, a good honest fellow. He is, indeed, rather a character in his way, and seems persistently happy when under fire. A round-shot passing near Pierre's head one morning sent him into fits of laughter. He really seemed to regard it as a most excellent joke, a *practical* joke. I also took another servant the day we left Varna, an English lad, but such a stupid helpless lout that he is not presentable, so we will dismiss him without further notice. After all, my Maltese horse turned out the best. He is rather weaker than formerly, but apparently pretty well cured of his viciousness. He was of great use to me during the march. My last letter to you may have seemed rather desponding, but that would be giving you a false impression. I was rather annoyed and grieved at that time by two circumstances which I did not mention. One reason was, that I did not exactly see which way we were going, being without much confidence in our leaders; and another reason was, that an acquaintance of mine (a very slight one—an Artillery officer) had had his head knocked off by a cannon-ball when looking over the parapet to observe the effects of his fire on the enemy's battery. Not that I, by any means, retract my expressed opinion on war and its horrors. Even M., who was most discontented with his pacific position of spectator at the battle of Alma, chafing like a chained hound at the sight of a hare, or, to use his own simile, feeling as if in bed at a ball—even he declares he considers war a disgusting and unnatural employment. Yet, to me personally, the excitement and hardships are not disagreeable,

and I can bear the fatigue better than the average. Besides, you must know there has been a change in the administration lately. Our late Colonel, a well-meaning, active man, but somewhat incompetent for general command, has shared the fate of his predecessors. He was carried off suddenly by a fit of apoplexy, probably somewhat induced by over-excitement. His place is now filled by my old commander, Captain J. W. Gordon.¹ By this time my brother-officers here have begun to recognise Gordon's merits, his high sense of justice, firmness, and practical good sense. Indeed, many of them now go further than I do, and wish to ascribe to him the possession of great talents and natural abilities. This I deny, at least to any extent, and thus may now appear to be rather among the detractors than the eulogisers of Gordon's character. In Gordon I consider we have just such a commander as we now want. I only wish the French Engineers had such another instead of their pedantic old *chef* Bizôt, who is determined to enter Sebastopol according to the rules of Vauban, and on no other conditions. . . . —Believe me, &c., G. GRAHAM."

"Before SEBASTOPOL, 7th Nov. 1854.

"MY DEAR SISTER,—Since I last wrote to you we have been engaged in another battle, and one as fatal as the battle of Alma. We need now no longer be told to remember the 5th November, for it is a day to be marked red in our annals. As I was not an eye-witness of any but a small part of the engage-

¹ Major-General Sir John William Gordon, K.C.B., Inspector-General of Fortifications, who died in 1870. In the Crimea he was nicknamed by the men "Old Fireworks," on account of his coolness under fire, and the unconcerned manner in which he exposed himself to it.

ment, you must not expect any entire account of it from me.

“At 6 o'clock in the morning of the 5th, I, on awaking from a sound sleep (having been the greater part of the night previous in the trenches), thought I could distinguish a distant fire of musketry amid the noise of the usual cannonading. I awoke M., and we agreed to ride out together to see what was going on. We found that our right had again been attacked, and the enemy, in large force, were in possession of a hill (Inkerman), an important position, which our commanders, with culpable negligence, have neglected to fortify. We had evidently been surprised; indeed, one or two of our outlying pickets were killed to a man, and our outposts driven in. However, now the battle was raging along nearly a mile of our right front; the nearest available troops had been hurried out, and were bravely holding ground against the overwhelming force of the enemy, at that time nearly ten to one, who were advancing in dense columns with wild, wolfish yells. At the same time a loud cannonading on the south side announced another attack on Balaklava, so that we appeared to be menaced on all sides, and to be called upon to defend ourselves with our utmost strength. A couple of 9-prs. whizzing near us warned us to enter no closer into that atmosphere of destruction, and accordingly we cantered over to the Balaklava side. Here we found that the demonstration of the enemy was a mere feint to draw off our troops from the real point of attack. However, I cannot now give you any further account of the battle; I may perhaps in my next. As usual, everything was carried by the valour of our troops, who, though disorganised, lacking orders, and frequently in want of ammunition, yet fought

against superior numbers as Britons only can fight. This battle was especially fatal to our general officers. Eight out of thirteen were struck. Sir George Cathcart was killed, a loss not easily to be replaced.

“The Russians have earned our respect by the courage they displayed that day. Their artillery have astonished us by the way in which they carried their heavy guns over apparently impossible ground. In the retreat they actually lifted an 18-pr. gun off its disabled carriage, though under a heavy fire, and carried it off the field, a daring and wonderful feat in the face of a victorious enemy. Our loss was great, nearly as great as at Alma; theirs, I think, much greater; yet they retired in good order, covered by their guns. Three times their guns faced us in their retreat and replied to our deadly volleys. Our troops were fighting from 6 A.M. until 3.30 P.M. The French joined us at 10 A.M. . . . —Believe me, &c.,

“G. GRAHAM.”

CHAPTER IV.

LETTERS FROM THE CRIMEA—*continued.*

“*Before* SEBASTOPOL, 10th Nov. 1854.

“MY DEAR SISTER,—Since my last letter of the 7th I have shifted my quarters from the Left Attack to the Right. I was sorry to have to change, as, considering the circumstances, I was very comfortable in my last quarters with M. for my tent-fellow. We had also a comfortable mess, five of us together, and (as I was not caterer) I was relieved from all the trouble attendant on providing dinner. Now, however, as I have come amongst a set of fellows who have already formed their little messes, provided with stores, &c., none of whom I know particularly well, of course I have to set up a little establishment of my own and dine in solitary grandeur in my tent. By the way, we have all got tents now. We got them shortly after our arrival at Balaklava. I am now in a bell-tent, my little one being abandoned to my servants.

“I believe it is now nearly certain that we shall pass the winter here. At least I know that one of my brother-officers has been to examine the timber about the coast of Circassia, no doubt with a view to use it for hutting. Now, whatever you at home may imagine of the country, I can assure you it is

the very last place any of us would wish to pass the winter in. It was all very well passing through it on the march, admiring the scenery and the fruit, with all the excitement of the thing; but now it is very different. The excitement has vanished and the fruit too, and the scenery no one thinks about: besides, it looks very different in wet weather to what it does in dry sunny weather such as we have generally had till within the last two days. For the last two days it has been pouring in frequent and heavy showers of rain day and night, which is very trying to the troops, whose turn of duty obliges them to lie out in the open air. Indeed, we are afraid the wet season has set in, as in this part of the Crimea there is generally more rain than snow in the winter. Tents are very poor protection against rain. Everything gets wet, and I am awakened in the night by finding the rain sprinkling over my face. I believe, however, the heavy rains do not commence before the month of January, by which time I hope we shall all be in huts. But the principal privation which we all feel is the want of any other society than our own, and the impossibility of filling up our leisure hours with any agreeable occupation. It was for this reason that we all looked forward with longing when in Turkey to some civilised winter-quarters, a hope which will be disappointed by wintering in the Crimea. With regard to the productiveness of the country, you must know that we do not in the least benefit by it, surrounded as we are by a Russian army, and we depend on the ships for bringing us supplies of provisions.

“*November 11.*—Last night I was out on duty and had fully my share of the wet and discomfort. The

soil, being clay, is very unpleasant for walking in wet weather. It was quite hard work yesterday evening to get to the place where we are throwing up a redoubt. About three miles of slippery, sticky mud, nearly as deep as, or deeper than, the height of my instep. I had a party of 200 Turks to work, and an armed party of 250 men of the Line, as this was a very advanced post,—indeed it was on the field of the Inkerman battle of the 5th, about which I suppose your newspapers are now full. It was a dark wet night, and blowing a strong cold wind. An enterprising enemy would probably have sent out a force to endeavour to cut us off, as we had no support, and it was just the night for an attack. We could see the Russian camp-fires on the other side of the Inkerman valley and opposite Balaklava. But the Russians had had a severe lesson on the 5th, so they left us in peace, not even shelling us, as we had expected. I should think they must suffer in this weather, having no tents. I am afraid our poor fellows will soon.

“Our men in this weather have not sufficient energy. I saw them last night lying down in their soaking blankets on the wet mud instead of walking about. I kept myself warm by walking about continually, with an osier basket over my head by way of an umbrella, poking up the lazy Turks, who never miss an opportunity of being idle. I made their officers do the same thing whenever I could make them out, for it is very difficult to distinguish a Turkish officer from his men. Indeed, on one occasion I was pommelling a Turk, who seemed incorrigibly lazy, for some time before I found out that he was a *yüz-bashi*, or captain. The Turks on all these occasions are very good-natured, and inclined to take

things in good part. Still, one can hardly bring oneself to regard them as rational beings, but rather as a sort of beast of burden whom it is necessary to drive to work. This, of course, in a great part arises from our ignorance of their language, for I confess I have not learnt (and hardly wish to learn) any Turkish. In an attempt at a conversation with one of their officers he explained to me that he was afraid some of his men would be ill after the night's work on my complaining of their laziness. The bulk of our conversation, however, was that we agreed the weather was 'no bono,' a phrase which appears to have been *bonâ fide* adopted in the language since our arrival.

"As I have before mentioned, this ground was one of the points of attack on the 5th. I am now merely doing what should have been done at first in fortifying it. There were still many sad traces of the battle near the site of our work. Some bodies of the Russian soldiers yet unburied were passed on our march, and several wounded horses that had been abandoned were limping about. Some that had been very valuable and were now trying to feed themselves on the scanty herbage, and some in almost the last stages of weakness and starvation. A pitiable sight! Poor creatures, they should be shot, but unfortunately their present position is too much exposed to the enemy's fire for any one to go out for the purpose of putting an end to their miseries. I have heard some one remark (and I partly agree) that it is more touching to see a horse wounded than a man, though to you this must seem absurd.

"However, to resume, I got in this morning very tired and with hardly a dry stitch on me. Everything in my tent, too, was damp except my bed, thanks to

my waterproof cover. As I had nothing to do to-day I lay in bed till about half-past one P.M. Rain nearly all day. It is now evening, and I shall go to bed again directly, as I feel damp and chilly.

"In looking over your old letters, I met with that sermon of Kingsley's on Pestilence and its Causes, which I read over again. You know I admire it very much, and liked it even better the second reading. Still I think that if all the theological part of it were left out it would then read not unlike Combe's 'Constitution of Man, Moral and Physical,' &c., &c., only in more energetic and quainter style.

"I rather miss now those long and choice extracts you used to send me, but in your last letter (of the 19th) you mention that you are going to send me some poetry in your next. Reading has always been my resource, and I begin to feel sadly the want of books. Shakespeare was my consoler at Varna, but was unfortunately left there. I can safely trust you to choose me something to my taste, and if you do not pay the carriage, I think it will be pretty sure to arrive safely. Beyond reading over your letters and talking with any chance visitor, I have very little to do in this weather. Writing to any extent is not agreeable, as it involves sitting at a table and with my feet on a muddy floor.

"I have formed a friendship with a little dog that my man Pierre has adopted. He was found after the battle of Alma lying disconsolately in the cloak of a dead Russian officer. He has, however, now got over his grief, and begs very nicely and answers to the name of 'Alma.'¹ . . . —Believe me, &c., G. GRAHAM."

¹ "Alma" was given by Graham to the 11th Company of Royal Engineers to which he belonged, and was for some years a familiar sight on the parade-ground at Brompton Barracks, Chatham.

"Before SEBASTOPOL, 21st Nov. 1854.

"MY DEAR FATHER,—

"Nov. 22.—I am sorry I have so few items of news to tell you, and that few of so little brilliancy. The most important fact is that we are to winter here. Another, that most of us have long known, and that you in England must now be beginning to become aware of, despite enthusiastic 'correspondents,' is that Lord Raglan is not the man you took him for,—neither a great tactician nor a good general. St Arnaud adroitly presented his only good point when he praised Lord Raglan's personal indifference to danger. However, whether or not he has shown the 'courage of an ancient hero,' he has certainly not displayed the resources of a modern general. Indeed, I am afraid it is the fact of his being so ancient that stands in his way; at least, until we have a more vigorous and resolute general I am afraid we shall not take Sebastopol.

"We have committed a great error in attempting to besiege Sebastopol in form on this side. We should have taken it on this side *by assault*, or, if resolved to besiege it in form, have attacked it on the other side. On this side we have to attack a large extent of front, which puts us in a very disadvantageous position relatively to ordinary sieges. Our fire is no longer convergent, but rather divergent, and we can enfilade very little. Besides, the nature of the ground and the enemy's position are such that we cannot advance our works except on the left, where the French are. There is another curious feature in this siege, that it is an attack on earth-works—in fact, a battle between earth batteries, in which each side tries to silence the other, for there is no such thing as *breaching* an earth-work, nor indeed is there any

occasion for it. Now, as the besieged have all the resources of a large arsenal and of their ships to arm their batteries, and far greater facility in the way of communication than we have, you may conceive that this siege (conducted as it has hitherto been) will not be finished in a hurry. We have been so long about it that we have now another army on us which would perhaps not have recognised the victors of Alma in the hesitating dawdlers before Sebastopol, had it not been for the bloody battle of Inkerman. . . . You have heard of that terrible gale we had, as fatal to us as a battle. We shall have a rough time of it.—Believe me, &c., G. GRAHAM."

"Before SEBASTOPOL, 23rd Nov. 1854.

"MY DEAR SISTER,—I have received your two letters of the 28th Oct. and 1st Nov. . . . Your account of Mr Maurice's lecture on the College for Working Men is very interesting. The Ragged School enterprise is certainly rather a bold one for you, in your present state of health. Indeed, I should think teaching, particularly such elementary instruction, the most trying and exhausting of all occupations. Unless, therefore, you really feel some sustaining enthusiasm for the work, I would earnestly recommend you not to attempt it. . . .

"I am afraid this will be a very rough dull winter. You have had the account of that terrible gale we had the other day. Among the many losses on that tempestuous day was one we felt more deeply than others, as being nearer to us, the loss of a brother officer, Captain William Mason Inglis, R.E., who was drowned when the steamer Prince went down. As yet our loss has been four—a general, colonel, captain, and subaltern. My own experience of the gale was

the common one of nearly all who had tents. Some of the tents were blown off the ground and the inmates scattered about, with their property in admirable confusion. My tent was not blown away, as I had taken the precaution of having my tent pickets driven well into the ground as soon as the gale commenced. However, it did not save me, for my tent-pole broke and brought the tent down on me whilst I was in bed. I scrambled into my clothes and ran out, and found that my fate was common to all. Finding it impossible to set up my tent again, and that it was rather unpleasant outside in the biting cold wind and driving snow and hail, I returned to my fallen tent and managed to creep under my bedstead, which, being composed of pickets driven in the ground, could not be blown away. Here I made a plain breakfast off biscuit and ham. In the afternoon I discovered a tent of a brother officer, which, being in a more sheltered position, had not been blown down. He gave me a bit of salt pork, off which I dined. I was the only officer on duty that night in the trenches.

“*Nov. 26.* — Since I last wrote, an unfortunate accident has occurred, which I feel very deeply, though I trust it will not turn out to be so serious as I at first feared. The day before yesterday (while inspecting some work in front of the trenches) poor M. was shot by one of the Russian outlying riflemen. The ball entered his stomach and lodged somewhere in his groin. The same ball passed through another officer's clothes without hurting him. I went over yesterday (a terribly wet day) to see M., or at least hear how he was. On arriving there, however, I found that it was thought better I should not see him, as it would only excite and disturb him. Whilst there the doctors came to search for, and if possible extract, the

ball, which they had not been able to find the night before. This time they found, but could not succeed in extracting, the ball. I am told he bears the pain like a true soldier. Indeed, in every respect, M. is of a very high, chivalrous spirit. He is, in fact, unconsciously, quite a *beau idéal* of chivalry, at once the bravest and the gentlest. You will, of course, think that my sorrow at his misfortune makes me overrate his virtues, but I will give you a few instances. He would court danger for the glory of it. On the day of the battle of Inkerman I lost sight of him, and afterwards found that he had gone farther than I had into the field, and had his horse shot under him. *He* also was the officer of ours who sketched the chief part of our position, and, disguised as a rifleman, went out with the advanced skirmishers in order to see as much of the ground in front as possible, being a first-rate sketcher. For his extreme courtesy and gentleness ask his equals, or better still his inferiors, to whom I never yet heard him address a harsh, unkind word. However, I hope and believe that I am not writing his epitaph. The news to-day is that he is getting on very well. It is, however, a sad and awful thing to see one's friends struck down so suddenly. There is no previous warning, no sickness and slow decay; but the man you speak with in the morning may in the evening be a corpse or a writhing cripple, a mere mutilated remnant of what he was a few hours before. No natural calamities can be more fearful than these of human creation.

"When I returned yesterday from my visit to poor M. it was raining a deluge. The clay soil here does not absorb much rain, so that it runs off the surface and pours down the ravines intersecting our position, in each of which I found a roaring torrent. I was

on foot, having sent James to Balaklava with my pony, and you may imagine my condition on getting here. I found no dinner beyond cold pork, but Pierre, seeing me so wet, inquired, 'Voulez-vous que je vous fasse un punch?' To my surprise he shortly afterwards brought me a brimmer of hot rum punch, manufactured with sugar and lemons, &c., which I found very acceptable. My former pretentious servant, Jean, had always but one reply when I asked him for anything he was not acquainted with, 'Que voulez-vous que je fasse? je ne suis pas *cuisinier* moi!' which he would repeat with an air of indignant surprise.

"The reason that I hurried back through the rain yesterday was that I expected to be on duty that night, but fortunately my invaluable Turks did not come, the weather being so bad, and my turn of duty has been passed over. Oh! those Turks. Imagine having 300 Turks, whom you are to make work on some regular system. But you cannot imagine it, not knowing what Turks are. The best definition I have seen of a 'regular Turk' is that given by the 'Roving Englishman' in Dickens's 'Household Words': 'A strange, weary, broken-down, cranky, rickety, crotchety old person, whose beginning, end, and whole history may be summed up in two words—pipes and peace!'

"Now then, if you can, imagine having 300 of these same strange, weary, broken-down, &c., &c., old creatures to set to work on a dark night, they all the while longing for 'pipes and peace.' Suppose that I want them to be extended on a straight line about 3 feet apart, and explain this to their *bin-bashi*, or colonel, through the medium of an interpreter (who leaves me as soon as they are started). My 300 have

dwindled down to 260, 30 being missed on the road (for they straggle most terribly), and 10 or more being ill, lying on their stomachs groaning. Besides this, as often as they have the opportunity (which in a pitch-dark night is not infrequently), some of them will skulk away from work and lie down among the bushes. But to return to setting them to work.

“To begin, they must be placed in couples, as a Turk cannot work with a pickaxe and shovel like our men, but carries either a shovel or a pickaxe; and as both cannot work together, half of them are necessarily always idle, though generally the whole are. However, suppose them at last all placed in a straight line, at the proper distances apart: I leave them for a few minutes to look at another part of the work; on my return I find, to my horror, that, with an utter indifference for my straight line, they have collected themselves into different circular groups, or rather herds, I should say, and on my approach make a show of picking up the earth. My interpreter is probably gone away. I rally together the few Sappers I have, and drive each of these strange, weary old people into his place again, to find them all wrong again shortly afterwards. You may imagine how wearisome and unsatisfactory this is. They are not even picturesque-looking, as you may perhaps suppose; in short, there is nothing interesting about them. In their long ugly cloaks with cowls they look to me more like helpless old women than soldiers. Twice a-week or ten days the working parties are allowed pay, if they work to the satisfaction of the Engineer officer. I cannot in conscience recommend these Turks for pay, though I generally allow the poor devils a fraction of it, but stop the pay of all the officers and non-commissioned officers entirely.

"*About 9 p.m.*—A heavy firing is going on now, probably a sortie, as I hear amid the roar of the cannonading the sharp cracks of the musketry. It is either on our Left Attack or on the French side. I rather dread a sortie on us. It takes about ten minutes to turn our poor tired fellows out of their blankets, and by that time the Russians might be in on them. The cannonading and musketry have ceased, having lasted only about five minutes, evidently nothing of importance.

"*November 27.*—To-day I have been shifted back again to the Left Attack, and am on duty to-night. I have seen poor M. His wound is considered to be progressing favourably, but he seems very weak, poor fellow. That, however, is principally owing to the treatment he is now undergoing, having been bled, and taking very little food, to keep down the fever.

"I received yours of the 9th this morning. Do not let anything I have written discourage you in your project of instructing the Ragged School. I shall take a great interest in it. I admire the poetry you sent me very much, but must read it again. . . . — Believe me, &c.,
G. GRAHAM."

"*Before SEBASTOPOL, 10th Dec. 1854.*

"MY DEAR SISTER, — You must think me very neglectful not to have written to you by the last two mails. The last I missed by an unforeseen accident. I lost my way in a dense fog on the very evening that I intended to have written. This is a very easy country to lose one's way in, all the features being so very similar. I was going over some ground that I was imperfectly acquainted with, knowing only my direction, which I lost by turning round to show some one else the way. I found my

way over to the Right Attack, where I slept on the ground in my cloak, and very cold it was.

"I have received yours of the 12th and 18th. I am sorry to hear that our mother suffers from weakness and headaches. I will write to her again soon. So your school business is not to come off so soon as you had expected. I am rather glad of it, as I think that in your present state of health the exertion would be too much for you. Teaching is a very noble occupation, particularly when the pupils are the children of the very poor, who would otherwise grow up in ignorance. To instruct such children, or indeed any, must require a great deal of self-sacrifice.

"*Dec. 11.*—I like the idea of the 'Patriotic Band' very much. A corps of gentleman volunteers would, indeed, be irresistible. English 'blood' would carry all before it, and, despite your republican opinions and large sympathies, you must acknowledge that there is virtue in 'blood' (or, perhaps better expressed, in 'breeding') which is not to be found in the mass. I may say this as a spectator, not having been personally engaged. Our men are the best fighting troops in the world, will follow their officers through the heaviest fire, to certain destruction if necessary; but supposing the officers do not lead or direct, then the men are helpless. As on the officers lies all the responsibility, so they require not only physical but moral courage and presence of mind, whereas for the men the possession of mere animal courage is sufficient.

"I am glad to be able to inform you that M.'s wound is getting on very well. Still, poor fellow, he suffers, but chiefly from the ennui and pain of constantly lying in one position, which is especially trying to one of his active habits.

"Since I have seen wounded men it has often struck me as wonderful to see their composed countenances (though quite conscious) when suffering from wounds the most fearful that can be imagined. The first wounded man I saw was at the action on the day before the Alma. It was a dragoon whose foot had been cut off at the ankle by a round-shot. The bare bleeding stump and the mutilated member, contracted and bloodless, just hanging on, a horrible sight, but I do not believe the man felt more pain than from a severe bruise. Since that I have seen many fearful wounds—too many. At Inkerman, Lieutenant W. G. Dashwood of the 50th had his arm, leg, and ribs crushed by a round-shot. He was carried to the rear perfectly conscious, talking rationally and feeling little pain. Three arteries had been severed, and the case was hopeless. However, some junior surgeon, actuated by what I consider to have been the mistaken kindness of wishing to prolong his life, tied up the arteries, after which the poor fellow suffered great pain, and died within an hour.

"*Dec. 13.*—Twelve days only to Christmas day. As my messmate (who is a capital cook) says, we must begin to think of making our mince-pies. I have no fault to find with my living at present. With our salt pork we make pea-soup, and then we have got raisins and flour for plum-puddings. The only difficulty is to find fat, as everything is so dreadfully lean about here. However, with the help of salt butter and a little spice and lemon-peel we make capital puddings. An ingenious sapper, too, contrives some pancakes with flour and butter. Then potatoes and onions form our standard vegetables, which are capable of an immense variety of preparation. As for clothing, some time ago I cut off a small piece

of my blanket and had it made into a pair of warm gloves. Then I have bought some flannel on board ship and a sailor's shirt and greatcoat, so that I have got plenty to keep myself warm with. . . .

"I have not yet told you how much I admire the 'Working Men's College.' It seems to be a wise, solid commencement, and to have been gravely and deliberately undertaken by grave, thoughtful men. . . .

"I am glad that at home you are beginning to be aware that we require more reinforcements. The men here are worked off their legs, and are badly fed owing to the want of transport—the 4th Division especially are half-starved. I have had a working party at night who have assured me that they have had nothing but a quarter of a pound of biscuit all day! In our way, too, we have sometimes a great deal of work to do. The other night I was the only Engineer officer on duty, and as the field officer did not know the ground, I had to place the sentries all round our advanced works, besides breaking ground in two different places with the working party. Placing sentries in advance is by no means pleasant work, when besides the enemy's fire you are fired at by your own men, as on this occasion. We had sent a sergeant to pass the word along the line that we were posting sentries in front, so that they might not mistake us for the enemy. However, at one part of the trenches they had not understood it, and seeing a party advancing towards them, whom they supposed to be the enemy, fired a volley at them as in duty bound. Fortunately no one was touched. There were eight of us at 80 yards from the trenches. This was no child's play, for the bullets whistled pretty close to us, and we knew the deadly effect of the Minié bullet; so we shouted, 'Friends;

English ; cease firing,' replied to by 'All right.' We complimented them on their watchfulness, and recommended them to make better shots next time.

"The other day when I was in the trenches the Russians sent out a flag of truce to the Right Attack (which the papers call 'Gordon's Battery'). An officer on a white horse rode out, followed by two riding on black horses, the foremost of whom bore a large white flag. On our side one of the men, probably an Irishman, got up on the top of the parapet waving a dirty blanket, and two officers of the Rifles went out to meet the flag of truce. After a short conference, of which we do not yet know the purport, the parties on both sides retired, and the firing was resumed on the Right Attack. On the Left it had not been interrupted. At present, however, we are hardly firing at all. In about ten days we hope, simultaneously with the French, to recommence our fire with heavier guns, which will be the second epoch of the siege. . . .

"The night before last we had an alarm. The Russians made a sortie on us and on the French simultaneously. On our side they did nothing, but they took three mortars (small ones, called Coehorn's) from the French and made an officer prisoner. We all turned out, and were under arms for about half an hour. The Russians generally have a row with the French every night. It is a beautiful sight to see the fierce cannonading that sometimes takes place between them. The other night, when down there, I saw the Russians open a tremendous vertical fire on the French lines. It was a fine, starry, moonless night, and I was just admiring the quiet repose of everything (my working party among the rest, who were half or whole asleep), when flash

on flash was seen from the Russian batteries, and the burning shells, rising high in the air, described their greater or lesser curves, according to their intended ranges. We could not perhaps hear the report till the shell had described more than half its journey. Besides these—and at one time I counted four Russian shells in the air at once—there were the howitzer shells skimming swiftly along the ground, and the round-shot, which we could not see. This heavy fire the Russians generally keep up for about ten minutes. The French are slow in replying, and then they only answer with a few mortar-shells, not wishing to let the Russians know where their guns are placed. On this occasion I saw two shells nearly meet in the air. They had been fired, as if by mutual consent, at the same time, so that each proceeded towards the other's starting-point, describing almost exactly the same curve. I watched them both in their upward path, moving slower as they neared the summit, as if they had made an appointment to fight a duel in the upper regions of the air, to be secure from disturbance, and were both rather reluctant to keep it. At the apex of the curve the hostile shells seemed to pause an instant, and if it be true that the air is peopled with genii, I think the spirit between the two must have had no pleasant time of it, so close were they together. I could not help wishing, for the sake of both parties concerned, that they would just burst where they were and have done with it. It is a pity that the relative merits of our gunnery cannot be determined by some such arrangement, and a contest among the projectiles in mid-air would form a very interesting and exciting theme for 'our own correspondent' to dilate upon, giving all casualties, the number of shells broken,

round-shot damaged, &c. But all this time we have left the two shells high up in the air, facing one another like Don Quixote and the Biscayan at the end of the first volume. These two formidable belligerents unfortunately did not seem at all disposed to 'waste their sweetness on the desert air,' though if I were to anthropomorphise them, I should not put any such poetical sentiment in their mouths. I should not conceive them as anything benevolent or poetical, but rather as cool, calculating demons, who could keep their temper until wanted, when they would burst out in fire and fury. Accordingly I could fancy each hissing to himself with his flaming breath, 'Now, if I stop any longer up here I shall be too late to kill some of those fellows down below, which I devoutly hope to accomplish with my last breath and dying effort.' So each passed on his downward path, and two flashes and reports told that each had done his terrible duty, though with what result I do not know. . . .

"Dec. 15.—My messmate is keeping me waiting for my breakfast, and I am very hungry, as I was up all last night in the trenches. Unfortunately, last night the raining recommenced, and it is now pouring down on my miserable tent and dripping heavily inside, on the windward side. A night and a day like this will cost us a great many men, poor fellows! Most of them are not fit for this work, even in fine weather. That you may not imagine I suffer the same amount of hardship as they do, I will point out to you the difference between my condition and that of a private of the Line. To begin, I am much better fed, being of course able to purchase luxuries which a private could not afford to do. Next, even when equally exposed to the wet and cold, I can

always put on dry clothes on returning to my tent, where I have a dry bed, *raised off the ground*, my bedding being kept dry by a waterproof sheet, whereas the poor soldier has nothing but his greatcoat and blanket, which he carries with him. What I have said of myself applies pretty well to all the officers, now that they have got their baggage.

"My last sheet contained a long and perhaps not very interesting story of two shells, so that probably you have heard enough about shells: however, I cannot help telling you the last famous exploit of a shell, which took place whilst I was in the trenches. A gun, a large 68-pr., was loaded and run up ready for action. In comes a Russian shell, right into the very muzzle of the 68-pr., explodes there, firing the charge and bursting the muzzle of the gun without injuring any one, though several sailors were close by. There is certainly no denying that the Russians are excellent gunners.

"Dec. 17.—This letter must go off in a quarter of an hour. I am now hourly expecting a letter from you, as a mail has just arrived. Last night I was again in the trenches. It did not rain, but the ground was very wet and slippery, so much so that I tumbled down once and got covered with mud. The night before when I was there the field-officer tumbled down four times when visiting his guards. Certainly it is very nasty, unpleasant work. However, they only fired two shells and a few round-shot at us during the whole night. I have been so near to the Russian works that on still calm nights I have heard voices and coughing in the Russian lines. I am sorry to say that there is too much coughing in *our* lines, though, to my own surprise, I have hitherto escaped without a cold or sore throat. The Russians must

have wonderful constitutions. I have myself seen some of their wounded of Inkerman that had only been found and brought in *twelve days* after the battle, having been without shelter during the whole of that fearful gale, living on a small store of bread-crumbs soaked in oil. However, we understand the enemy suffer a great deal. Often we catch the deep tone of their cathedral bell tolling for the burial of their dead. They are, as you know, a very musical nation. I think I never told you that on the night of their first sortie (a long time ago) we had previously heard them in the distance singing the beautiful tune of 'God Save the Emperor.'

"I expect we shall reopen our fire sometime about Christmas day. We have discovered that our first armament was not heavy enough, which I believe was Lord Raglan's fault. Lord Raglan never shows himself to the men, never attempts to cheer and encourage them in their present hardships and miseries. He is consequently unpopular; the men have no confidence in him, in fact know nothing of him beyond that his name is Raglan, and Lord Raglan is commander-in-chief. . . . —Believe me, &c.,

"G. GRAHAM."

"Before SEBASTOPOL, 22nd Dec. 1854.

"MY DEAR FATHER,—I received yours dated the 22nd Nov. by last mail. I am glad to be able in part to relieve your kind anxiety on my behalf, for I keep my health and strength unimpaired, although the siege still continues with its attendant daily and nightly labours. Indeed I think you need not fear much for me in that respect, as hard work and exposure have never disagreed with me—witness my boating at Chatham and Portsmouth.

“Besides which I believe that I am tolerably acclimatised—at least, it is certain that our recruits, our reinforcements, suffer in a far larger proportion than the old campaigners. Indeed the percentage we lose of our reinforcements is something fearful, being in many cases above a third. The French say the same of their new troops. The cause of our great loss, however, is the shameful treatment our last-joined men are generally subjected to. They are usually after landing kept waiting at Balaklava without orders or rations, and marched off about evening to pitch their tents and settle down in the dark as well as they may. One regiment passed the first night, after leaving their hot ship, without any tents at all, exposed to the rain. They are then actually hurried down to the trenches, and sometimes kept there an undue length of time, possibly on the supposition that they have brought out a ready stock of health, which may be largely drawn on for the public benefit. Well, but you may ask, What is the cause of all this mismanagement? Why, this is not a solitary case, but appears to be general in all the departments. The above instance is in the Quartermaster-General’s Department. Then there is the Commissariat Department. The men have sometimes nothing to eat for four-and-twenty hours, and then, perhaps, merely some biscuit. That is certainly an extreme case, but I know it to have happened. Then there is the Siege-Train Department. Our guns are not supplied with ammunition, our powder is often bad, our fuses for shells scandalously bad. Then, to take in the highest case, there is the General himself. He lives in a comfortable house, never showing himself to the troops, never visiting the siege-works—in fact, for aught we know,

not interesting himself about the siege in any way whatever.

"Now, whatever other reasons there may be for the inefficiency of the various departments of the army (including the Medical Department and the staff), here, at least, we have, or seem to have, the *general* solution of the question, and it is my humble opinion that it is Lord Raglan himself who is the great incubus, the impersonation of *vis inertia* of the British army. It has been remarked before that our generals are now about double the age they were in the Peninsular war. With every possible veneration for age, one cannot help concluding that to place a man with little or no experience (for the feeble recollections of forty years ago under different circumstances cannot be of much avail), at a time of life when the inventive faculties are seldom bright, in the immensely responsible position Lord Raglan now holds, was a great and fatal mistake. Even in the Peninsula, as Military Secretary, Lord Raglan had no experience befitting the present emergencies.

"It was strange that Admiral Dundas should command the fleet while Lord Raglan commanded the army. What an unhappy combination that two such mild and phlegmatic old gentlemen should meet together in such a tremendous position. However, fortunately for the service, Admiral Dundas is superseded. That his former colleague may soon share his fate is the fervent wish of the army generally. We are now trying to repair our errors, and are getting up heavier guns. The French, too, have, or say they have, 136 guns in position all masked. The Russians in the mean time have not been idle, and their works are now truly formidable. It will be a tremendous contest, but take Sebastopol we *must*. . . .

"*Christmas Day.*—My letter was too late for the post, so that I will add a little more to it. . . . I have some potted roast-beef and plum-pudding for dinner, and with a couple of other fellows shall, no doubt, be tolerably merry. But this can hardly be called a merry Christmas for the poor fellows out here. The mortality is something fearful to think of. The number put *hors de combat* every day by wounds, sickness, or death is nearly 200. Suppose a battle of Alma fought every ten days, and (without sickness) we should lose no more than we do now. I have been informed on authority that 200 is also the average number of men lost daily since our landing in the Crimea, including of course the battles of Alma, Balaklava, and Inkerman, and now we are by sickness alone brought up to that average. Our reinforcements, therefore, do not keep up even our original strength. How we shall winter it here I hardly know, as we have, as yet, had little or no frost. I am surprised that the press does not yet appear to have lost confidence in Lord Raglan, notwithstanding the pointed remarks made in the excellent letters of the 'Times' correspondent.—
Believe me, &c.,
G. GRAHAM."

CHAPTER V.

LETTERS FROM THE CRIMEA—*continued*.

IN January 1855 Graham heard from his sister of her engagement to the Rev. Reginald Durrant, son of George Durrant of South Elmham Hall in Suffolk.

The Durrants were an East Country family. George Durrant married Esther Payne, daughter of John Norman of Suffolk, another old Suffolk family, and had a family of five children. Of these Reginald and Jane were the two youngest. Jane was married to the Rev. Valentine Samuel Barry Blacker, rector of East and West Rudham in Norfolk, and Reginald, who at the time of his engagement was about twenty-seven years of age, was Mr Blacker's curate.

The news was quite unexpected, which Graham attributes to his obtuseness, and tells his sister that he was nearly as much surprised as if she had written that some young lady intended to marry him. But there is no sign of grudging, and although henceforth the undivided affection of his sister must cease and another take his place, he writes his most hearty congratulations, glad that she has found a man worthy of her esteem, ready to receive him into his own heart at her valuation, being convinced of his fine nature by his appreciation of the much-loved sister, to whom he writes, "Your happiness is mine." His father

opposed the match without apparently any stronger reason than that, in his opinion, his daughter might have done better, and Gerald very strongly supported his sister's wishes. Omitting private references to this matter, the letter Graham wrote to his sister is given below :—

"Camp before SEBASTOPOL, 21st Jan. 1855.

"MY DEAR SISTER,— . . . To turn from your happy prospects to the dismal ones of the army out here. Those attacks in the 'Times' on Lord Raglan are very welcome out here. They have a marked influence on the Field-Marshal, who rides about much more frequently ever since the first article appeared in the 'Times' of Dec. 23. All sorts of absurd anecdotes are told in the camp about Lord Raglan. Among others he is said to have asked a soldier what sort of a dinner he made on Christmas day. 'Not a very good one, your honour,' replied the man; 'I had a charcoal pudding and a cheer in the trenches at night!' Rather a good story is told serving to show how Lord Raglan's invisibility is thought of in the army. Somebody is said to have asked one of his Staff how Malta had agreed with his lordship. 'Malta? Lord Raglan has not been at Malta.' 'Well, then, Scutari?' 'Scutari? Why, his lordship has not left this at all.' 'Indeed! Why, we all thought his lordship had been away for the last six weeks.'

"You know my distrust of Lord Raglan's generalship is of old date, ever since the battle of Alma, when he displayed none of the qualities of a good general beyond a phlegmatic indifference to danger. After the affair of Balaklava again he lost caste in the eyes of many by his want of decision. At first, the day after the action, he gave orders for immediately

evacuating Balaklava and then counter-ordered them. At Inkerman, too, he did nothing. But his faults of commission are as nothing compared with his faults of omission. However, I need not enumerate them, for they will be soon, or are perhaps already, laid bare by the pen of an able and unsparing critic. Lord Raglan's sunshine of popularity will soon pass away, if it has not already, and he may hear the coming storm in the distant thunder-peals of the 'Times.' The Jove of the press as yet hurls his thunderbolts rather wildly. It is ridiculous to state that the Commissariat is the only department that has not broken down, and then mention in another part of the paper that the men are on half rations or are starved. I think, and I am not alone, that it is the Commissariat which causes all our miseries. Had that department been properly provided with means of transport, our horses and men would not be killing themselves in bringing up their own rations. We Engineers foresee that we shall not escape the lash. But we do not wince. We rather invite inquiry. The notoriously slow and apathetic Ordnance authorities at home have done nothing for us. They have sent out Sir John Burgoyne, a nice, mild, quiet old gentleman, who was intended to be a sort of professional adviser to Lord Raglan. I suppose they have quiet chats about the Peninsular war together. But we have had no man of rank sent out to replace General Tylden and Colonel Alexander who could take a place in Lord Raglan's councils, and thus give some material weight and importance to the opinions of the Engineers. Nor have we been properly supplied with Engineer stores, owing to the deficiency in transport. . . . —Believe me, &c.

"G. GRAHAM."

"Before SEBASTOPOL, Jan. 29, 1855.

"MY DEAR SISTER,—I am glad to be able to say that matters are beginning to mend here. Though none of those plum-puddings and other nice things that make our mouths water when reading the papers have arrived, yet we have received warm clothing, boots, regimentals, &c. There are lots of things at Balaklava if we could only get them up.

"The cause of the disorganisation of the army is correctly stated as being simply that Lord Raglan has undertaken more work than he can perform. This, however, is but a secondary cause, resulting from the primary one, which is either ignored by or unknown to the public press, that our commander-in-chief has been entirely outwitted by our shrewd allies the French.

"On the march we had the exposed flank with all its active duties and heavy responsibilities, but then it was the post of honour, and we were proud of it. But here it was very different. Lord Raglan again gave up the sea side to the French, taking for us an equal extent of frontage, with more difficult ground and an unprotected right flank. This lasted until the 5th November, on which day our eyes began to be opened. Lord Raglan has been blamed for not having occupied the heights of Inkerman before that day. But we had not the men to do it and carry on the duties in the trenches. Only a picket could be spared where a division should have been placed. Lord Raglan is to be blamed for not having insisted that the French should aid us on our right flank. For all this while the French army had more than doubled itself (*our* transports had brought many of their troops), whilst we had diminished more than a third. It was only in our direst need at Inkerman that the

French sent a division over to assist us, which was afterwards left there, and since that time we have occupied the Inkerman heights. This tardy assistance was welcome, but we want more of it. We are too weak now to work our trenches, and have still two divisions, the first and second, out at Inkerman. The French have promised to relieve these two divisions, but continue to defer doing so. This much may be gathered from Lord Raglan himself, who was heard to say when visiting one of the camps the other day, 'The men will not be worked so much when the French have taken over Inkerman from us,' and then in a lower tone to one of his Staff, 'It is very difficult to have any control over troops one does not command.' By the way, his lordship comes round the camps much more frequently since those stinging articles in the 'Times.' Three days ago he actually paid a visit to the trenches for the first time. I was there on duty at the time. He came accompanied by Sir John Burgoyne, who *had* been down before. I have seen Lord Raglan before. He is a kind-looking old man. He asked several of the private soldiers how they did, played with one of their dogs, and told anecdotes of the Peninsula, evidently desirous to please. Several shaves have been got up about the Russian riflemen having tried to shoot his lordship when he went to the front, but none of them are true. I was with him all the time and not a shot was fired at us, though I thought Lord Raglan exposed himself rather imprudently. . . .

"I do not think much of those lines by Tennyson you last sent me,—indeed I am surprised he could write anything as badly as that 'Charge of the Light Brigade.' I think his 'Amphion' proves that

he has no talent for the humorous, and I hope for the sake of his reputation that 'Amphion' will *remain* the only one of that description by Tennyson. I admire his 'Two Voices' very much. — Believe me, &c.,
G. GRAHAM."

"Before SEBASTOPOL, 5th Feb. 1855.

"MY DEAR SISTER,—Yesterday I walked into Balaklava, my riding horse, the Maltese barb, being dead. It was a fine frosty morning, and I reached Balaklava sooner than my servant James, whom I had sent with my pack-horse to carry back whatever I might purchase. Arrived there, I went to see M., whom I found in a nice little white cottage. He was, of course, in bed, in a large clean room with a fire. I am glad to say that he was infinitely better than when I saw him last out here. His fever has now left him, he has recovered his spirits; indeed he sings now occasionally, being essentially a singing bird. Of course, like all men after a fever, he eats for two, and is getting so much stronger that he can move slightly in his bed without assistance—an immense relief to one who has been lying motionless on his back for two months. However, it will be a long time before he will be able to get up, and yet longer before he will be as he was, poor fellow. As soon as he can bear it, they will send him to England, or rather Paris, where his mother is.

"After my visit to M., I went to our Quartermaster's office and found the two long-expected parcels had at last arrived, both together. I put them both on my pony, then went on board ship, had luncheon, and bought a ham, whilst my companion bought a cheese. We put all this on the pony (a sturdy little Cossack) together with some potatoes, and finally walked back to camp. . . .

"You may imagine how eagerly I opened your boxes. Books first, of course. What a mine of mental wealth! I had just been reading some trumpery novels bought on board ship, so I was fully disposed to appreciate your judicious selection. The book I read first was 'Phaeton,' by Kingsley. I nearly finished it that evening, all but a page or two, which I read this morning. I like it extremely. Kingsley must be a terrible fellow to argue with. I am now getting into the 'History of the Jews,' being disposed for something solid. I had previously read 'Night and Morning,' which I thought very wearisome indeed. It is just like 'Ernest Maltravers,' but not equal to it. There is the misanthropical Byronic hero, putting himself into dramatic attitudes and uttering tragical remarks. Then there is Bulwer's wearisome metaphysics, strained allegories, and peculiar ethics constantly appearing at the beginning, middle, and end of the chapters, which made me yawn terribly. Of all things, though, he fails most deplorably in his attempts at the humorous, when he generally sinks into coarse vulgarity. I tried 'Paul Clifford,' which I have never read before, but I stopped short at the second chapter. It is really too wretched. . . . —Your affect. brother,

"G. GRAHAM."

"Camp before SEBASTOPOL, 17th Feb. 1855.

"MY DEAR SISTER,— . . . You will have heard that Cowell¹ has arrived as Aide-de-camp to General Jones, a lucky fellow to be on the Staff. He called on me in his usual hearty way, was delighted to see me and to be here himself. I am going to dine with him at headquarters some day, as he has promised me a good dinner, which is rather an inducement in these

¹ Major-General Sir John Cowell, K.C.B., died in 1894.

times. To-day when I was on duty in the trenches he came down, and I showed him the advanced trench. He did not much relish the rifle-bullets that were whistling about, but Cowell does not profess to be a fire-eater—that is to say (to give a general definition, according to Kingsley's dialectics), he does not like danger for the sake of its excitement.

“Thinking of Kingsley leads me to make a review of the books you have sent me. Altogether I think your choice does great credit to your judgment and knowledge of the kind of reading I like, and, as unprofessional works, I could not have chosen them better myself, if so well. Of Ruskin's I have read all you sent me—viz., the lectures, ‘Stones of Venice,’ and ‘Fraser's’ two articles on him and on the latter work. I think his writings extremely interesting and striking, and, as ‘Fraser’ says, ‘very suggestive.’ His task appears to me, however, a hopeless one—to call up the ghost of a dead spirit; to revive Gothic architecture and the childlike faith of the middle ages. For there remains one notable fact prominently mentioned by Ruskin—the almost entire loss of artistic feeling and perception among the mass of the people. How this is to be restored remains a problem for us moderns. However that may be solved, Ruskin may claim a high position as a reformer in art, and his poetic eloquence will make his works read eagerly wherever beautiful thoughts and feelings clothed in beautiful language are admired. I remember that Victor Hugo in his beautiful romance of ‘Notre Dame’ devotes a long chapter to the causes of the decline of architecture. His theory is that architecture, as it existed among the ancients and in the middle ages, was a form or vehicle of expression of the people's thoughts, so that architecture

was a sort of writing on the soil. Printing superseded architecture, affording greater facility for the permanent communication of ideas. Of course after reading Ruskin this theory seems superficial and shallow, though Victor Hugo works it out with considerable ingenuity and learning.

"Now on Mr Maurice I can hardly yet give an opinion. I have read his essays and his letter to Dr Jelf, as well as the article in 'Fraser' you recommended to me; but I will wait before I tell you what I think of him. . . .

"The railway is actually commenced and going on very well. I do not think it will be finished before the end of March, but we believe that our hardships are over. The men have got their warm clothing, and the weather is now dry and mild, so that the roads are good. I continue to live in a tent, not being able to bring up timber for a hut; but my horses are hutted, and so are most of the men of the two companies here. I do not mean to trouble myself about a hut now, as I believe the severest part of the winter to be past. You will scarcely believe that none of the much-talked-of 'Crimean Fund' ships have arrived. A ship has arrived with some stores for officers, of which I get a small share, and a ship, chartered by Lord Blantyre, has also come. . . . —Believe me, &c., G. GRAHAM."

"Before SEBASTOPOL, 1st March 1855.

"MY DEAR FATHER,— . . . You will have heard of the unexpected check the French have received in their Inkerman attack by the erection of a new Russian battery. We are making energetic preparations for our attack, and are going to emulate the Russian feat by constructing a battery in two nights in our

advanced parallel. The rumour now is that we are to reopen fire in ten days.

“Possibly Lord Raglan fears his recall, and wishes to soften popular resentment at home by some display of energy, though late and probably unavailing. For the conviction gains ground among us that we can do nothing decisive until we occupy the heights on the northern side. This, we have understood, was to be done in the spring by the army at Eupatoria, with the aid of our reinforced besieging armies. . . . —Believe me, &c.,
G. GRAHAM.”

“Before SEBASTOPOL, 9th March 1855.

“MY DEAR SISTER,— . . . Our father has taken quite an erroneous view of my state of mind when he imagines that I take a despondent view of the state of affairs about me. I do not know how he got hold of that idea, for one may see the evils of our position without despairing of the remedy. I think the best speech I have read was Mr Layard’s,¹ and he was quite right when he said that what we want is a man and not a commission. I have very little hopes of the efficacy of the measures of this Ministry. I think, as Mr Layard threatened, that the country will have to take the business in its own hand, as it soon will become disgusted with the factious and unpatriotic conduct of Parliament. One thing Layard was mistaken in is that our troops are, as he supposes, at all indebted to the French for food and clothing. He is right when he warns the Ministers against allowing the jealous pride of the nation to be aroused by exposing our weakness to the eyes of the world, and, above all, to the French, who, as he boldly says, though friends in guise may be enemies in heart. . . .

¹ Sir Austen Henry Layard, G.C.B.

“ You complain that I have not been more communicative about the benefits I have experienced from that nice warm clothing you sent me. However, though I have not mentioned much about it, yet I can assure you I have found the use of your kind present. For instance, shortly after its arrival I had to turn out at half-past four A.M. to go to the trenches with a raw north-easterly wind blowing, drifting the snow in a fine dust, which was so ‘ insinuating ’ (as Mr Bird would have called it) that it had collected in a small heap inside the door of my tent. Accordingly I put on several of your flannels, the suit of leathers, the leggings, and then, with the wrapper tied round my face (for it was too cold to face it otherwise), I sallied forth, not caring a jot for the weather, which merely inconvenienced me by freezing my eyelashes to my face whenever I shut my eyes, so as to make it difficult to open them again. You may imagine the comfort I experienced from the fur cap and gloves. When I got down to the trenches I was as white as a Polar bear, but my inner man was as warm as if sitting in a warm room. The watch, too, is of great service to me, as I now know when to begin and when to leave off work. As for the brandy, it was capital. I have drunk one bottle and am keeping the other as a treat. *En attendant*, I have got some bottles of wine and brandy from the Sir George Pollock. We have been very liberally provided with clothing by Government. I have received a rabbit-skin coat (rather a flimsy but still convenient article), two pairs of long boots, a fur cap (not so good as the one R. D. sent me), a pair of gloves (too small for me), and flannels, very inferior to those you sent me. Besides these, a set of very good waterproofs. The men have received the excellent sheepskin coats of the country, far superior in wear

and warmth to the light cat-skin and rabbit-skin jackets that we have got, but not so pleasant to walk in. I chose (as you will consider characteristically) a white rabbit-skin jacket. In warm weather (and we have had some *very* warm days lately) I turn the fur outwards and make a summer coat out of my rabbit-skin. In the trenches, however, I find this inconvenient, the sun shining on my white coat making me too prominent a mark for the Russian riflemen, one of whom evidently aimed at bringing down the white rabbit. Accordingly I thought it the best policy to turn my coat, as others have done before me. My friend the Russ, not seeing me any more, will probably have boasted that he had succeeded in shooting one of the largest rabbits yet seen in the country. Several suspicious individuals consider it a significant fact that so many cat-skins should come out simultaneously with the potted meats.

"*March* 10.—You would be terribly behind hand in news if you depended on me. That General Forey¹ is accused of treason, and that the Emperor of Russia is dead, will be as old and uninteresting to you as, by this time, it has become to us. Nevertheless, if the latter news be really true and not a mere stock-jobbing speculation, like the report of the taking of Sebastopol, we do not see how it can fail to have a most powerful influence on the prospects of peace. The opinion in the camp may be stated thus: Of the two sons of Nicholas, the elder and heir-apparent, Alexander, is of a particularly peaceful disposition; the second son, Constantine, of a particularly warlike disposition. If the first ascend the throne peacefully, it is considered that he will make peace on easy terms, or

¹ Elie Frédéric Forey, afterwards Marshal of France, who died in 1872.

any terms. If, on the other hand, Constantine should dispute his brother's accession to the throne, then a civil war would ensue, which would equally necessitate making peace with us. If again, however, Alexander should, like his uncle Constantine, peacefully resign his title to the throne, then his warlike brother might continue the war *ad libitum* until he gets well licked, when he will think it time to give in. I, for one, think that Russia's position in the war is now at its best, and that she will lose ground tremendously in the next campaign.

"If the Czar really be dead, he will have died just in time to save his reputation among his adherents of being a great and wise monarch.

"I doubt very much whether Louis Napoleon will make peace now, before he has dazzled his people with some more brilliant exploits than we have as yet performed. Before I had written as far as this I went out on the report that we were about to open fire on a new battery that the Russians were throwing up. Since that last failure to carry the new Russian battery the French have made no further attempt, and the Russians have thus been allowed to extend their front and to intrench themselves principally on their left flank. We only fired with one gun and mortar from our Right Attack, without any effect. Whilst on a height overlooking the firing, with my telescope at my eye, I had an amusing scene with some French soldiers who had never seen a telescope, or at least never looked through one before. They came up to me with the easy way of French soldiers, and one of them asked me to let him have a look. I handed the glass to him, and after he had looked through

it in silence for some time he handed it to a comrade, who, however, soon said that he could see nothing at all, which statement the first corroborated with his experience. Seeing that my glass was beginning to be looked upon as an imposition, I took it, and, after adjusting its focus, handed it back again. After a time, 'Sacr-r-ré!' exclaimed the delighted Frenchman; 'why, I see the batteries only a stone's-throw from me,' and threw a stone to indicate the spot. The next accordingly directed the glass on that particular spot, and was very much disappointed at seeing nothing! From one of the French soldiers I learnt privately that it was expressly prohibited to talk about General Forey, who, he said, was still in command of the 5th Division. General Pelissier, he said, had already arrived, but was not to supersede Canrobert. . . .

"Sir J. Burgoyne¹ has just been here and has taken all doubts off our minds about the death of the Czar, and of Alexander's peaceable accession. Sir John hopes, however, that we shall have taken Sebastopol before we have peace, and so do we. Sir John thinks the French will disgrace themselves if they allow the Russians to continue in possession of their new works. He is going to England himself. Sir John is a good old gentleman, and a good Engineer, but it is a pity he was sent out here. . . . —Believe me, G. GRAHAM."

"Before SEBASTOPOL, 20th March 1855.

"MY DEAR SISTER,— . . . I got up very late this morning—at noon, having returned to camp at six after.

¹ Field-Marshal Sir John Fox Burgoyne, Bart., G.C.B., Colonel Commandant of the Royal Engineers, Constable of the Tower of London, who died in 1871.

a very fatiguing night's work in the advanced trench. I suppose you will have heard, or read, that we are now building batteries farther in advance, so as to be able to open fire with more successful effect. The men are very sick of work, and do very little. Besides, in the advanced trench, where we are not 200 yards from the Russian sentries, there are continual alarms, and the men are always rushing to their arms instead of continuing their work. These alarms always turn out to be groundless, and the Russians leave us very quiet, not even firing on us now, though from the Right Attack we still fire on one of their working parties who are erecting a new work on the Mamelon, near the Malakhoff tower. The French yesterday evening opened a heavy fire on the Russian lines. The Russians made a sortie, but replied with very few shells. The shave is that Osten-Sacken¹ is waiting the issue of the peace conference before he continues his fire. I think it more probable that he is short of ammunition. It will be an astonishing figure when we come to know the number of rounds that have been expended in this siege. The Russians have quite paved the ground about our trenches. They have established themselves on the Inkerman side in spite of the French. There are constant skirmishes between them and the French about some rifle-pits in front of the French lines, and the French, I am sorry to say, always seem to be beaten. They are losing their reputation amongst us as fighting troops. . . . — Believe me, &c., G. GRAHAM."

"Before SEBASTOPOL, 23rd March 1855.

"MY DEAR SISTER,—Last night the Russians made a formidable sortie on our lines, both on our Right and

¹ The Russian General Dimitri, Count Osten-Sacken, who died in 1864.

Left Attacks. This, I think, tends to confirm my opinion that it was not from any pacific intentions that the Russians have fired so little on us of late. I was not on duty myself last night, so that I can only give you the account as I have it from those who were.

“Of the two officers of the Engineers who were on duty, the one who returned (for the other, I am sorry to say, is missing) says that the first thing he knew of the assault was hearing a most diabolical yell, immediately after which the Russians appeared on the parapet. It is most extraordinary that the sentries in front gave no alarm. It certainly was remarkable that no one should have seen the Russians approach, but then the night is said to have been black as a wolf's mouth. When the Russians entered, the scene is described as being one of most admirable confusion. The attack was so sudden that the working parties had hardly time to seize their arms before the enemy were on them. They entered at an uncompleted battery, the traverses of which puzzled them considerably. Our men fought behind the traverses, each man, I believe, firing at every one in front of him. They could only aim at the flashes. As soon, however, as our men could be got together in a body, they charged the Russians with the bayonet and cleared them out. Captain Montagu¹ of ours was missing after the skirmish was over. He had been last seen leading on his working party to the attack, waving his cap, for he was unarmed. As his body has not been found it was presumed that he had been taken prisoner. It is, however, now rumoured that he is lying wounded in one of the caves in front of our lines, which cannot be

¹ General Horace W. Montagu, C.B., Colonel Commandant of the Royal Engineers.

approached in the daytime. It will therefore not be ascertained before this evening, by which time this letter will have been posted.

"On the Right Attack the sortie was made in greater force. I must first tell you our advanced trench has lately been extended to the right to meet a parallel made by the French, whose left flank thus meets our right. When we first made this trench the cover was so bad that in the daytime we could not keep any men in it. This was the cause that in the dusk of the evening, before we had got our night guards in, the Russians came and carried away 80 of our gabions, a feat they were very proud of, as they seldom get anything pleasant out of us. Ever since that, Major J. W. Gordon has been uneasy, and has been in the trenches nearly every night, moving about with a body of men on the point that he thought menaced. Last night when the attack was made the Engineer officers were the only ones who were found available. The field-officer, Colonel Kelly,¹ appears to have been made prisoner, but how or where no one seems as yet to know. The Engineer officers are allowed by all to have saved the trenches. Lieut.-Colonel Tylden² of ours gathered together his working party and saved the field-guns and mortars from being carried off, but got a tremendous lick on the head with a stone, as the Russians appear to have been short of ammunition. As for Gordon, he led his men most gallantly. He was unarmed, but, not caring for that, set to work throwing stones most vigorously. It was in the act of throwing a stone

¹ General Sir Richard Denis Kelly, K.C.B., Colonel of the Royal Irish Regiment.

² Colonel Richard Tylden, C.B., R.E., died of wounds received at the storming of the Redan on the 18th June 1855.

that a musket-ball struck his right arm in the wrist and on the shoulder. He tried to throw more stones, but found that he could not. However, he observed it was only a scratch. Nevertheless, he is reported as severely wounded, though we are all glad to learn no bones are broken. Lord Raglan has been to him to thank him personally for his gallant conduct. I forgot to tell you that the attack on Gordon's battery was on the right flank, the Russians having forced the French lines on our right. Our gallant allies were driven back on us in confusion, and it is said that we fired on them and they on us. In consequence of Major Gordon's wound Major Chapman¹ takes command of the Sappers and Major Bent² of the Left Attack. . . . —Believe me, &c., G. GRAHAM."

"Before SEBASTOPOL, 9th April 1855.

"MY DEAR SISTER,—This, as you will have already learnt, will be called one of the memorable days in the history of the siege. Yes, strange as it seems to me to have to write it, we to-day again opened fire, as on the 17th October last year. The orders were kept very secret, so that it was only about 12 o'clock yesterday, while in the trenches, that I was told of it. It rained heavily all night and prevented us from taking the guns to one of our two advanced batteries, neither of which is armed. I could hardly sleep for thinking of the tremendous action that was to take place on the morrow.

"No one could tell the exact number of pieces that would come into action on both sides, probably not less than 1500, a number unparalleled in the history of any siege. I had ordered my servant to call me

¹ General Sir Frederick Chapman, G.C.B., Colonel Commandant of the Royal Engineers, who died in 1893.

² Lieut.-General George Bent, C.B., R.E., who died in 1897.

early, and I got up about half-past five o'clock, though it was pouring heavily, and rode out by myself, as nobody else cared to go out in such weather. We had already opened fire about half an hour before I arrived in view of the trenches. The morning was by no means clear, with a pelting, drenching rain; luckily the men had all got waterproofs. One thing I was pleased to notice, that it was perfectly painful to face the wind, as the rain fell so heavily—indeed, my horse hardly would face it. I say I was pleased to notice this, as the wind was blowing right in the faces of the Russians, who must have found it very difficult to point their guns, or to see the effect of their shots. Besides, their coats are not waterproof.

“I believe from what I hear that we quite succeeded in taking them by surprise this morning, and for the first quarter of an hour they scarcely returned a shot. Indeed when I came out they were firing very little, perhaps for the reasons I have mentioned. We, too, I was glad to observe, were firing very deliberately, not in the wild manner we did on the 17th October. The French were firing much more briskly, though I could not tell with what effect. I made a bet that they would have at least three magazines blown up, though I hope I may lose.

“*Evening.*—I sat in my tent all day, the rain pouring in torrents. About half-past five P.M. I went out during a lull. I saw General Jones¹ and Cowell, his Aide-de-camp, outside. I learnt that the casualties in our attack were three killed and ten wounded, and five guns *hors de combat*, three or four of which will, however, be ready again to-morrow. The Flagstaff

¹ Lieut.-General Sir Harry David Jones, G.C.B., Colonel Commandant of the Royal Engineers, and Governor of the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, died in 1866.

Battery was said to be shut up, indeed knocked down on the French side, or, as a French aide-de-camp expressed it to Lord Raglan, 'La batterie du mât n'existe plus.' I went out to the top of the Quarry-hill to see what was going on. The Russians were firing very slackly—the Redan from about three guns, the Flagstaff not at all; the rest of their batteries kept up their fire. I do not know what orders there are for night firing. At present (9 o'clock P.M.) there is very little firing going on. I do not think we fire half enough at night. We ought to take the Russian rifle-pits to-night.

"*April 12.*—I did not write yesterday, as I was very tired with my night's work in the trenches. Neither we nor the French fired much that night. All day yesterday the firing continued, slacker on the part of the French. For a variety of reasons I believe that the cause of the very little firing from the Russians arises from the want of powder more than from the want of gunners, and that they are reserving their ammunition for the assault. I am afraid our delay will enable them to supply this want, as to-day several thousand caissons were seen being carried into the town from the north side. An Engineer officer on the Right Attack had his leg broken to-day by a round-shot. The French are firing very little to-day. Our firing goes on as well as ever, but our Gunners are terribly tired. The Russians keep up a well-directed fire from the Redan and Boulevards Batteries. The French appear to be again shirking the heavy work, which all falls on us. Our Gunners have now 10 hours on and 6 off. Yet if there were any foresight at headquarters they might get excellent gunners from the Marines, or even from the Line. Why the French do not take the Flagstaff Battery I cannot conceive, after they say that it no longer

exists. After all, the most important news that I can give you to-day is that the scaling-ladders are already laid out ready for the storming-parties.

"April 13.—I have been on duty in the trenches all day. The Advanced Battery (No. 7) opened to-day, and the Russians directed a crushing fire on it from the Boulevards, Flagstaff, and Town Batteries. I was there the principal part of my time doing what I could to assist our fire by giving the range and by getting some guns in the main batteries to take off some of the heavy fire from the Boulevards. All was in vain, however, and about 12 o'clock our poor little Advanced Battery had to shut up, having only one gun fit for action, and several men killed and wounded.

"I did not get off scot-free myself. Whilst standing talking to the two Artillery officers¹ I was suddenly hurled backwards against a bank. I regained my feet with difficulty, and, imagining that I had been struck by a round-shot, I exclaimed, 'Well! I am done for.' 'Oh no, you are not,' said one of the Artillery officers, by way of cheering me up; but he evidently thought I was, for he began shouting lustily for a stretcher to carry me off. However, though still under the delusion that I was nearly cut in two, I began to find myself recovering rapidly. In fact, I had been merely stunned, having been struck on my right side by the *débris* caused by a round-shot. The earth and small stones had come against me with such force as to cut the skin on the right side of my face, which was streaming with blood. My greatcoat was perforated in half-a-dozen places, and I have a slight bruise in my side; but (worst of all) my watch was damaged. This I only found out some time afterwards, for about three minutes after the accident I

¹ Captain Charles Edward Oldershaw, afterwards Major-General and C.B., and Lieutenant W. H. R. Simpson, afterwards Major-General.

was walking quietly back to the main batteries with the intention of getting my face washed. However, quiet as I was, an unlucky Gunner got before me and spread the report that the tall Engineer officer was seriously wounded. This was taken on to our camp, where they immediately made every preparation, and the doctor got ready hot water, chloroform, and instruments. Old General Jones¹ rode over to inquire about me, but by the time he came the report of my being seriously wounded was contradicted. I am now reported as 'slightly contused,' and shall perhaps appear under that heading in the papers. At present I present the absurd appearance of having an immense number of pimples on the right side of my face and a clear complexion on the other. . . . As for the siege, I think it is going on wretchedly. The French hardly fire at all. I do not know what the old men fancy will be the result of it all, but I think that we shall never take Sebastopol in this way. . . . —Believe me, &c.,

G. GRAHAM."

"Before SEBASTOPOL, 13th April 1855.

"MY DEAR FATHER,—You must not be alarmed if you should see my name reported amongst the wounded. I have had nothing but the shock from the *débris* of a shot, *et voilà tout*. The principal nuisance is that my watch is damaged; however, I hope to get it repaired. I have received your hams, which are excellent.—Yours, &c.,

G. GRAHAM."

No. 7 Battery was formed in the third "parallel" of attack, not more than 700 yards from the enemy's nearest work. Until it opened fire our nearest batteries to the enemy were those in the first "parallel"

¹ Sir Harry Jones had succeeded Sir John Burgoyne on Lord Raglan's Staff a month before.

of attack, between 1300 and 1400 yards away, and none had then been constructed in the second "parallel." No. 7 and No. 8 Batteries, which adjoined one another, were thus without any near support from guns, and No. 8 was not armed when No. 7 opened fire on the 13th April. No. 7 consequently fought alone for the advanced position. Mr Kinglake, in his 'Invasion of the Crimea,' vol. vii., observes:—

"The effort about to be made was regarded by the scientific conductors of the siege as a bold, if useful, experiment; and therefore it was that an able young officer of our Engineer force (now a far-famed, victorious commander) went down to the third parallel on the morning of the 13th, and there—first from a part of the trench close adjacent to Oldershaw's battery, and afterwards, until wounded, from within the battery itself—observed the course of the fight."

Graham himself supplied Mr Kinglake with the following information, writing from Cairo in August 1883:—

"On the 13th of April I was the Engineer officer on duty in the Left Attack, and I took a strong interest in the artillery conflict about to commence. It was our first attempt at taking up an advanced position for our Artillery, and I knew well that we were greatly overmatched by the enemy's guns in number, weight, and position. Before us we had the Barrack and Creek Batteries, to our right the great Redan, and to our left the Flagstaff and Garden Batteries. The latter were perhaps the most formidable, being armed with guns equal to our 68-prs., and having a considerable command over our advanced battery, of which, as events showed, they—the enemy—knew the range very accurately.

"To the best of my recollection, owing to difficulties in transporting the guns across the trenches by night,

only four guns were ready to open fire in No. VII. Battery on that morning under Oldershaw and Simpson of the Royal Artillery. I placed myself on the right of the battery in the advanced trench so as to note the effects of our fire, and, if possible, to assist the Artillery officers in getting their range."

Mr Kinglake continues:—

"We saw Graham place himself in the 3rd Parallel, near to Oldershaw's battery, with the double object of watching a hazardous experiment deeply interesting to our Engineers and, if possible, helping our Gunners to 'get their range.' In that last object, however, he constantly found himself baffled by the keenness, the skill, the alacrity with which the Russians exerted their vast artillery-power; for they did not so much as allow him to find out what points had been reached by shot already discharged. Whenever a gun of ours fired, the garrison instantly answered it with three or four guns from their side, and by thus piling up banks of smoke put it out of the power of Graham to see where the English shot struck.

"And, so far as concerned the 'experiment' of operating against the great fortress with Oldershaw's four advanced guns, Graham seems to have found himself driven to an early and decisive conclusion. 'The battle,' he writes, 'was from the beginning a hopeless one for us. . . . No. VII. made a gallant fight, but in a short time three out of the four guns were disabled, and half the gun detachments killed or wounded.'

"Then Graham goes on to say simply, and as though it were merely a law of any man's nature to go where conditions are desperate: 'About this time, seeing how our fire had slackened, I visited the battery.'

"It would have been interesting to hear an account of any conference passing at such a moment, and between two such men as Captain Oldershaw and Lieutenant Graham, but the enemy granted no time. By the blow of a round-shot, or rather by blows from the substances and the mass of stone which the round-shot—after striking a sandbag—sent driving against his breast, Graham was struck down, and it seemed for a while that he had received his death."

After alluding to the fact that besides Oldershaw and his officers and men Graham was the only witness of the splendid fight made by No. VII. Battery on the 12th of April, which, owing to a series of mischances, was never "recorded in either a public despatch, or any less formal document," Kinglake goes on to say :—

"But the chasm thus left in our records has now been substantially filled. We saw an Engineer officer keenly watching the fight; but he was only a young lieutenant, well able indeed to give testimony of the highest value, yet not to speak with authority. Time, however, has changed the conditions; for the then young lieutenant was destined to attain to high fame in the profession of arms; and it is with the mature judgment of a general officer well versed in the business of war that now he reviews what he witnessed on the 15th April 1855—the fight maintained under Oldershaw in the 'advanced No. VII.'

"Speaking thoughtfully of a branch of the service which was not, remember, his own, Sir Gerald Graham says :¹ 'The Royal Artillery never hesitated to engage at any odds, and they never had a hotter morning's work than in No. VII. on that 13th of April.'"

¹ Letter from Cairo, 18th November 1883.

CHAPTER VI.

LETTERS FROM THE CRIMEA—*continued.*

"Before SEBASTOPOL, 19th April 1855.

"MY DEAR SISTER,— . . . As for the siege, all I have to say about it is that nothing has been effected by our firing. I believe that we are now losing another of the rare opportunities of taking the place through the indecision and probable division in our councils. There have been many long councils of war held during the ten days that have elapsed since the opening of our fire. No decision appears to have been made. As in the last bombardment, we have reduced our fire, thereby acknowledging our attempt to have been a failure.

"To-day we made a reconnoissance in force seven miles beyond Balaklava. I believe that if we were to attack the place on the *north* and south sides simultaneously, with a bombardment by sea, we should take it. At all events, we should make a fair trial of its strength. If it is really impregnable, then it is mere fatuity to be sitting idly before it. You will have seen that in the last month the Engineer officers have suffered rather severely, so much so as, perhaps, to satisfy Mr Russell—3 killed, 6 wounded, and 1 taken prisoner. Some of the wounded, however, were very slightly hurt. Nine,

for instance, were reported wounded without ever even going on the sick list for it. You will be glad to hear that Captain Montagu of ours, who was taken prisoner on the 22nd of last month, wrote to us telling us that he was very well treated. He slept the first night in General Osten-Sacken's house, one of the General's Aides-de-camp giving up his bed to him. He requested that his baggage might be sent to him, as he was going to be sent to some place 100 miles beyond Moscow! General Osten-Sacken is mentioned in the narrative of the 1st lieutenant of the Tiger as being a very kind and religious man. The French Engineers have suffered in proportion as heavily as we have. Their chief, General Bizot, died a few days ago in consequence of a wound received in the trenches. All of us not on duty attended at his funeral, I among the number. It was well worth going to, if merely to see the number of general officers of the Allied armies. There were Lord Raglan, General Jones, some Staff officers of high rank, and the Engineer officers, all in full dress on our side. Nearly all the French celebrities were there: Canrobert, Bosquet, Pelissier, Niel, together with a host of Engineer officers, a very intelligent-looking body of men. The greatest novelty to most of us was Omar Pasha and his Staff. Without taking to myself much credit for discrimination, I think I could have immediately selected Omar Pasha from his Staff, even had he not carried his brilliant row of orders and medals on his breast. The great distinction between him and them was that he was one of the most intelligent-looking men present, whereas they looked a set of helpless louts. Omar Pasha stands about the middle height, has a broad forehead and very quick, expressive eyes. His manner, at least

on this occasion, was one of smiling, easy courtesy. This struck me particularly when I saw him conversing with Canrobert, who is a very different style of man—a little fat man with a red face and very coarse features,—a decidedly sensual cast of countenance. His manners, gait, and voice are boastful and blustering, as if he were constantly endeavouring to awe those around him with a due sense of his dignity. However, to describe the ceremonies. The bodies of General Bizot and of Commandant Mâcon (another Engineer officer to be buried with him) were lying in a wooden hut which served as a chapel. Accordingly a grand procession, headed by Lord Raglan, Canrobert, and Omar Pasha, was made into the chapel. It was worth while seeing together the representatives of the three Allied Powers. I must say I thought Turkey, 'the Sick Man,' had the best of it. Lord Raglan looked what he is—an amiable, good-natured English gentleman. Canrobert strutted and scowled like a stage hero at a fair. Omar Pasha was evidently the man of intellect of the three. According to custom, speeches were made over the grave. The first was by General Niel. I was near enough to hear what he said; but he was evidently very much affected, as were several of those around him. General Niel is a tall, intelligent-looking man. He holds in the French army a similar position to the one Sir J. Burgoyne held in ours. A speech was also made by General Pelissier. I was rather disappointed by the appearance of this celebrated officer. He is a short stout man, with short white hair all over his head. His features were as unimpressive as those of a *bon bourgeois*. He, too, was affected while *reading* his speech, so as often to be scarcely able to utter the words. When he came to the words, '*Adieu, Bizot!*'

Adieu, vieux camarade ! I saw many of the French Engineers in tears. Then Canrobert stepped forward and made a ranting, roaring speech, flourished his walking-stick, beat himself on the breast ; in short, committed every possible oratorical extravagance within a short space of time, and then retired to a prominent position, whence he scowled majestically on all around him. I quite pity the mild, gentlemanly Lord Raglan. To think that he should have to be closeted for hours together with that ranting, perspiring braggadocio !

"April 21.—All day yesterday I was in the trenches. The night before last we gave the French a lesson. We took a rifle-pit from the Russians and held it, but at a heavy loss—2 officers of the Line killed, 2 of the Engineers wounded, and 50 men killed and wounded. . . . —Yours, &c., G. GRAHAM."

"Before SEBASTOPOL, 2nd May 1855.

"MY DEAR FATHER,—Since I last wrote to you that hurried note on the occasion of being struck with the *débris* of a round-shot, several things have occurred, though, I am sorry to say, our position does not appear to have improved, and we have less confidence than ever in our leaders. First, there was the failure of the long-talked-of, much-vaunted bombardment. A more lamentable display of weakness was never made than on that occasion. After a winter's slow and sluggish preparation Lord Raglan allowed himself to be bullied into opening fire by Canrobert before we were ready, and then, in a council of war the next day, the French determined to slacken their fire and not to give the assault. Now there is this expedition to Kertch. I believe it is the intention to take that place and hold it so as to throw open the Straits of

Yenikale to our fleet. As the Sea of Azov is, however, very shallow, only our gunboats could navigate it. These, however, could stop supplies coming that way, and, with an army at Perekop, might complete the investment of the Crimea. But it seems rather late to begin investing the Crimea when there are already more Russians in it than we seem to know how to deal with, and it would seem bad policy to weaken our besieging army, which is not a bit too strong. The other and more plausible conjecture is that it is merely intended to destroy the fortifications and magazines of Kertch, and then return. In the mean time the destination of the expedition is kept very secret, every one believing that it is for Eupatoria. I believe there will be from ten to twelve thousand men—English and French. Four Engineer Officers and 25 Sappers from the Right Attack accompany the expedition. I wish I were one of them.

“The French had a smart affair with the Russians last night, took several rifle-pits and eight mortars, and *held them*. They are so unaccustomed to be victorious in these skirmishes that they were all highly elated with their success. A French officer told me that the Russians were quite demoralised by it. If they were, they appear to have recovered themselves again pretty quickly, for they had the audacity to make a sortie on the French in broad daylight, at 2.30 this afternoon. I have not yet heard the result of their sally, for such a tremendous cannonading was opened on both sides that the smoke hung over the ground for hours. The Russians are a bold, daring enemy, but they never try those pranks with us. We answer their yells with a British cheer, give them a close volley, and then charge home with the bayonet. . . .

"*May 3.*—Last night a brother officer of mine was killed in the trenches. He was a very nice young fellow, and we all feel his loss very much. You will be sorry to hear that at the time I got my contusion my watch suffered from a blow with a stone. The watchmaker at Kamiesch can do nothing to it, as the balance-wheel is completely broken. The watchmaker recommends me to keep it as a souvenir, but I think it would be a better souvenir when mended.

"*May 5.*—I was in the trenches all day yesterday. One poor fellow had his arm dreadfully shattered with a shell below the elbow. The doctor and a stretcher were immediately sent for. However, as this happened in the advanced trenches and the doctor was in the first parallel, more than half a mile to the rear, the poor fellow might bleed to death before he arrived. Accordingly I pulled out my pocket-handkerchief, and with my walking-stick made a tourniquet round his arm. When the doctor at last arrived he said that no doubt that measure had saved his life. I did not use a stone to put over the artery, as I might have missed the right place. . . . —Yours, &c.,
G. GRAHAM."

"Before SEBASTOPOL, 6th June 1855.

"MY DEAR SISTER,—The bombardment of Sebastopol was recommenced at 3 o'clock this afternoon. This time again it was carefully kept secret, and the orders for opening fire were only issued at 1 P.M. The Russians, however, evidently had some idea of what we were about, partly from the deserters (a 93rd man went over to them the other day), but principally from our own immediate operations of unmasking our embrasures and manning our guns. The French, on the right, were very punctual, and exactly at 3 o'clock

opened a heavy fire on the Batteries d'Avril and the Mamelon. The Russians, however, appeared quite prepared on these points, and answered immediately, the two detached Batteries d'Avril being remarkably prompt. Our Right Attack now opened, and began firing fiercely into the Mamelon, Malakhoff, and the Redan, receiving hardly a shot in return for the first quarter of an hour or 20 minutes. About three minutes later our heavy sea-service mortar on this attack, thundering, sent forth its large shell far into the town, and at this signal all our guns except those in our two advanced batteries roared out in concert, and joined in the already tremendous chorus.

"The Russians, on their side, did not refuse this terrible challenge. Rapidly manning their guns, they returned our fire with both shot and shell with a readiness and rapidity that reminded many of us of that terrible first bombardment on the 17th October. The Russians stood to their guns with their usual stubborn courage. We used a great deal of vertical fire against them by mortars, of which they seem to have very few, and which are far more destructive to life than the shells of horizontal flight. I think I saw as many as four shells burst together in the Mamelon; indeed it was astonishing how they could keep a man alive in that place, and yet they continued to fire from it by intervals in volleys at a time. I remarked that they used shells much more abundantly than last time, and it is said that the day before yesterday they received a large convoy of stores of all kinds. It has been remarked by some—Cowell, for instance—that the enemy's gunnery has lately become worse, and more uncertain than before. It is certain that we have had fewer casualties to-day than we have usually experienced in the same number of hours'

firing. It is possible that their best gunners are all used up.

"This evening about half-past seven o'clock I went up the hill again to see how we were getting on. The whole atmosphere before us was one cloud of smoke, which the light wind drifted towards us, and through which the yellow rays of the setting sun could hardly penetrate, but became dispersed, and threw over the whole a yellow glow of light, so that the air looked as if filled with a brightened London fog. The bright, quick flashes of our guns alone could pierce through this heavy curtain, and it was impossible to tell what reply the Russians were making to our fire, as there was almost one continuous roar of the guns and their projectiles echoing through the ravines. To judge of the path of the shot by their sound, as they went roaring and rushing through the air, I should say that the Russians were making a very feeble reply. On the French left, before the Central and Quarantine Bastions, there was not much firing, their efforts being wisely concentrated on the Flagstaff and Garden Batteries and those to the right. Farther to the left, in the harbour of Kamiesch, all was smiling and peaceful, the ships lying at anchor on the almost unruffled sea. The sky was clear there, excepting a light thunder-cloud in the far west, through which might be seen faintly the distant flashes of summer lightning, feebly resembling in appearance, though less in effect, the great tableau before us.

"*Eleven o'clock at Night.*—The fire is being fiercely kept up. Half the guns are worked while the embrasures of the other half are being repaired. Usually we have only used our mortars for night-firing.

"*June 7.*—The effect of our heavy night-firing was

very satisfactory. This morning the only batteries that returned our fire were the Malakhoff, the flanks of the Redan, the Barrack and Garden Batteries. The Mamelon and Batteries d'Avril were entirely silenced. The Redan itself fired from only two guns of its twenty. This is an exciting time, and we are all expectation, as this time we are really to make an assault. The men know this, and exult at the prospect of putting an end to this weary struggle. Yesterday as Pelissier rode through our camps he was loudly cheered, as the French generals were in the early days of the campaign. The men are all in the highest spirits, elated with the good news from the Sea of Azov, and ready for anything. You will, of course, have received a detailed account of that fortunate expedition, of which we only know the results—viz., the capture of 100 guns, 4 war-steamers, 246 ships, and enormous stores of provisions. It remains for history to recount by what series of blunders, feebleness, or other cause it has happened that the Russians left their base of operations so utterly undefended. This blow must have seriously crippled their resources, and from letters found at Kertch it is surmised that their army is by no means in an effective condition. There is an elaborate plan of assault drawn up, of which I only know part. The French, I believe, will attack the Mamelon at 3 o'clock this afternoon, and, if possible, carry the Malakhoff Tower at the same time, which I doubt them doing. Should they be successful, we are to take the Redan.

"Ten o'clock in the Evening.—Well, I have seen the assault made, and it has turned out pretty well as I imagined it would. Tired as I now feel, and having to go down to the trenches at 2 o'clock to-morrow morning, I am unable to give you a very clear or full

account. The upshot is that the French have taken the Mamelon, and we the Quarry rifle-pits. — Ever yours, &c.,
G. GRAHAM."

The next event in which Graham took a distinguished part was the unsuccessful attack on the Redan on the 18th June 1855. The following short letter to his father, written just before the assault, shows that he fully appreciated the danger of the duty to which he was called, and the possibility that the words he was then writing might be his last :—

"Before SEBASTOPOL, 18th June 1855.

"MY DEAR FATHER,—You must excuse the extreme brevity of this hurried note when I tell you that in little more than two hours I have to leave this to join the assaulting columns on the Redan. It is now past 10 o'clock, and we have to be at the trenches in readiness about 1 A.M. Should these be my last lines to you, let them remind you that when I am gone Joanna is your only remaining child. Cherish her, then—not only for my sake but for her own, for she is better worthy of your love than I am. Sanction her union with Durrant, for by making her happiness you will ensure your own.—Ever, &c.,
G. GRAHAM.

"*P.S. June 19, Evening.*—Sad work we have had to-day. The attack on the Redan failed, as did the attack on the Malakhoff. I was through it all, but not hurt, only very exhausted and depressed by our failure. To-morrow at 5 A.M. I am again for duty in the trenches. I am too tired to write any more now, so adieu for the present.
G. G."

At such a moment his one thought is for the hap-

piness of his beloved sister ; he seizes the opportunity, which his probable death may make by the rush of tender feelings and memories, to press for his father's consent to her marriage with the man of her choice ; and then, when he returns safe from that memorable night's work he does not destroy the letter but adds a postscript. The effort on behalf of his sister must not be lost—the letter must therefore go as it is. Who shall say whether gratitude for his preservation may not be as effective as sorrow for his death, and win the favour he had hoped to gain by it ? So the tired young hero, who has indeed won his laurels, says nothing of what he has done, but, exhausted by fatigue and depressed by the failure of the assault, merely scrawls a postscript to announce his safety and excuse himself for not writing more.

To his sister he had also written a farewell letter on the night of the 18th, but this he destroyed, and instead he writes to tell her that he is not hurt, but the Redan is not taken :—

“ Before SEBASTOPOL, 19th June 1855.

“ MY DEAR SISTER,—Yesterday evening I was writing you a farewell letter, for I thought it might be the last I should ever write to you, as I was to lead the assaulting columns on the Redan. But it has turned out differently to what I anticipated. I am not hurt, but the Redan is not taken. Our loss has been very great—I think not less than 75 officers alone ; but the greatest loss has been in *morale*. The Russians will no longer consider our troops invincible. Of the Engineers 3 officers were killed and 2 wounded, the General¹ himself being one of them. I am dreadfully tired in mind and body ; indeed, as some one observed

¹ Sir Harry David Jones.

to me, 'All you fellows who have been in action to-day look about ten years older.' As I am also for duty in the trenches to-morrow at 5 A.M., you must excuse the shortness of this note. . . . —Yours, &c.,

"G. GRAHAM."

But if there is no account from Graham himself of that night's doings, they were none the less memorable in the history of the siege. The attack failed but was the occasion of many deeds of heroism, and in all narratives Graham's gallant bearing figures prominently.

The attack on the Redan was made by several columns, to one of which, the Left or No. 1 column, commanded by Major-General Sir John Campbell, Graham was attached to lead the ladder party. The column was composed and ordered to move as follows:—

Royal Sappers and Miners (10).

Covering party of skirmishers, "Rifles" (100).

Ladder and woolbag parties (120) and (50).

Storming party, 57th Regiment (400).

Reserves, 17th and 21st Regiments (800), with working party (400).

Lieutenant James Murray, R.E., was with the Royal Sappers and Miners guiding the column with the skirmishers. Graham commanded and led the woolbag party and the ladder party, composed of an equal number of sailors and soldiers. Major Bent, R.E., was with the storming party, and Lieutenant Charles G. Gordon, R.E., was with the reserve.

The column assembled before the break of day under the parapet on the western side of the "Quarries," and when the concerted signal was given, the skirmishers and Sappers under Lieutenant Murray

moved out, followed by the woolbag and ladder parties. A storm of grape and musketry fire burst from the western face of the Redan, and the Rifles, after advancing about fifty yards, took advantage of some natural cover, behind which they plied the Redan with fire. This temporary halt brought the ladder party also to a standstill, and men began to fall rapidly. Lieutenant Murray was mortally wounded, and Graham's ladder party lost several men, although Graham himself seemed to bear a charmed life. "The vast stature," says Kinglake, "of the young Engineer who directed their energies made him strangely conspicuous in the field, and it was on Gerald Graham and the sailors that the praise of observers converged."

At this moment up came Lieut.-Colonel Tylden, the Commanding Royal Engineer, fretting at the delay, waving his sword, and shouting to them to go on. Graham ran to meet him to obtain his approval to storm the Salient instead of the right flank of the Redan, which appeared to be impracticable. "Anywhere, so long as you get on," said the gallant colonel, and was almost immediately struck down. Throwing down his sword, Graham, with the help of Sergeant Coppin and Sapper Ewen of the 8th Company, Royal Sappers and Miners, raised the wounded Colonel from the ground, and carried him to a more sheltered spot fifty yards away. "Graham's cool courage," says Sir Evelyn Wood in 'The Crimea in 1854 and 1894,' "in these trying moments was evident from his being able to walk straight back to where he had thrown down his sword."

Having picked up his sword again and rejoined his men, the skirmishers moved towards the Salient, followed by the woolbag and ladder parties, which

Graham halted in front of the advanced trench in order that the skirmishers might cover them before they moved on farther. The skirmishers were unable to advance under the formidable fire of grape and musketry from the Redan, and most of them moved to the west, whither some of the storming party had already gone. After remaining for some time in advance of the trenches exposed to fire, Graham ordered the escalading party to retire into the shelter of the advanced trench, which they did.

Some ten minutes later, Lord West, who had succeeded to the command of the column, Sir John Campbell having been killed near the Salient, came up and, telling Graham that he was about to lead out another skirmishing party, requested him to take out the ladders. Lord West intended to form another storming party out of the reserve, lying in disorder along the line of parapet and seeking cover from the furious fire of the enemy. Of the ladder party many of the soldiers were missing, but the sailors were eager for another try. Although some additional men were obtained from the reserve, Graham could only muster four bearers for each ladder instead of six, but with these he moved out under a murderous fire.

With their ladders beside them, Graham's party lay on the grass exposed to this tremendous fire while they awaited the skirmishers; but when ten minutes passed and neither skirmishers nor storming party appeared, Graham withdrew his party into the advanced trench.

Mr Kinglake says on this head: "When after a while it was seen that the 'covering party' of skirmishers had not begun to advance, the sailors eagerly wished—making only an exception for Graham—to

dispense with the aid of all soldiers. They had lost their naval commanders (Lieutenant Kidd killed, and Lieutenant Cane gravely wounded), but Mr Kennedy, mate, still remained to them; and delighted with their pilot, Gerald Graham—a giant intent on his work as though proof against grape-shot and fear—they wanted, if he would but lead them, to go and attack the Redan without asking any one other landsman to share in the bliss of the enterprise. Their ‘pilot’ of course could not humour them in this wild desire; and, on the contrary, he soon brought them back to find shelter under the parapet.”

Graham in his official report calls attention to “the remarkable steadiness and gallantry of the officers and men of the Naval Brigade who formed part of the ladder party, and who suffered most severely on this occasion,” and also to “the steady conduct of the party of Sappers.”

Lord West wrote to Lieut.-General Bentinck: “I wish I could do justice to the daring and intrepid conduct of the party of sailors. . . . Lieutenant Graham of the Engineers, who led the ladder party, evinced a coolness and a readiness to expose himself to any personal risk which does him the greatest credit.”

The enterprise was abandoned, but, while waiting for instructions, an incident occurred which is recorded by Kinglake and others, of Charlie Gordon (afterwards Major-General Gordon of Khartoum), who was attached to the reservé. Assuming that yet another effort would be made, he eagerly inquired of Graham what part in it would be assigned to him, now that Lieutenant Murray was *hors de combat*. Graham intimated that he supposed the affair was over, and there was nothing, therefore, for him to do. Gordon was so angry and disappointed that

hot words ensued, which caused, for a short time, a little estrangement between the two friends.

On the night of the 8th to the 9th of July 1855 Graham and Captain G. J. Wolseley of the 90th Regiment (now Lord Wolseley), acting as an assistant Engineer, on account of the paucity of Engineer officers at the siege, were on Engineer duty in the trenches. Early on the morning of the 9th Graham was wounded in much the same way as before, only more seriously. The official 'Journal of the Siege of Sebastopol' shows how dangerous the work in the trenches was at this time, the enemy keeping up a continuous fire of shell, grape, and light-balls, which greatly interfered with the work. So hot was the fire that the entry in the 'Journal' on this night runs: "Nineteen gabions were pushed on in the Right advance, fifth parallel; but Lieutenant Graham having been unfortunately struck in the face with some stones from a round-shot, and consequently forced to leave his party on the Left advanced sap 'f,' the officer of the 62nd Regiment who commanded the party withdrew his men, telling the sapper then in charge that he considered it too dangerous for Line-men." Graham's wound was a severe one, but he made light of it to his mother:—

"9th July 1855.

"MY DEAR MOTHER,—A friend of mine has kindly undertaken to write this from my dictation, as you will see from the paper. I was slightly wounded this morning in the trenches. The same thing happened to me then as on the former occasion—a cannon-ball struck the parapet just above my head and sent the earth into my face: my face is somewhat swollen

and cut, and I am unable to open my eyes on account of the dirt driven into them, but the doctor assures me that the sight is not in the least degree injured, and that I shall be all right again in a day or two. The principal reason that I cannot open my eyes is that my cheeks are so much swollen. This letter must go off to-morrow morning. By the next mail I will write you a letter myself; in the mean time this will reassure you all.—Ever, &c., G. GRAHAM."

He was, however, incapacitated for duty for nearly two months, and had to go to Therapia, where he wrote the following letter to his father, who was anxious that he should return home:—

"HÔTEL D'ANGLETERRE, THERAPIA, 8th August 1855.

"MY DEAR FATHER,—Before you receive this you will perceive that you have overestimated the severity of my wound, and that there is no necessity for me to return home; and as I am determined not to return home without a necessity, I hope you will perceive the worse than uselessness of urging me to such a step. . . . You must disabuse yourself of the idea that there is such extreme peril in my remaining at the seat of war. I have now had my fair share of the blows, and according to an ordinary calculation of the chances of war, I should be pretty safe for some time to come. Besides that, I am pretty well acclimatised, having never been ill when in the Crimea. Altogether you may consider that I go back a seasoned veteran, with a much better chance of escape from danger or disease than the raw recruits. At present, my dear father, you see everything *en noir*, whereas I would much prefer you seeing things *en couleur de rose*, as you did last year. After all, the Russians must suffer

next winter infinitely more than we shall. A few days' rain, such as we are having just now, is for them a virtual investment of the place. . . . —Ever,
&c., G. GRAHAM."

The next letter—to his sister—shows that his endeavours to overcome his father's reluctance to her marriage had been successful, and that the wedding had taken place:—

"HÔTEL D'ANGLETERRE, THERAPIA, 25th August 1855.

"MY DEAR SISTER,—By the last mail I received your wedding-cards, giving me to understand that the great event had come off. Since then I have received an account of the wedding both from you and Richard. It certainly appears to have been a delightful wedding-party. Richard was greatly pleased with it, he says, and thought you looked very well and happy, as I have no doubt you *felt*. I suppose you have pitched your tent in the most picturesque part of the Pyrenees you could find, and lead a very romantic life together. I am now about to return to the Crimea, my health being fully re-established. I have lately received a very long-winded and rather facetious letter from Mr Packman, who has written at my father's request to advocate his notion that I should go home on sick leave. Mr Packman does this rather ingeniously by urging it as a generous measure for me to adopt, in order to allow some of my brother-officers to come out here and dis—? ex—tinguish themselves in my place. . . .

"Here the Turks are holding the feast of Bairam, and every Turk puts on his best clothes, so that one sees a great many bright-coloured jackets and waistcoats with gold embroidery, &c. I have not

seen many of the sights at Constantinople yet. Yesterday I went to the mosque of S. Sophia, which is very splendid (*vide* 'Murray'). Another place we went to was the Bin-bir-derek or Thousand-and-one Columns. This is an underground vault, an old Roman cistern, the roof of which is supported by a great many columns. The inhabitants of this place, silk-spinners, set up a tremendous howl when they saw us for *backsheesh*, but, not getting any, they pelted us as we were going out. There is a remarkable photograph in the Exhibition of an Egyptian obelisk, which I have sent to our father. In the same box I sent some things for you: a photograph of myself, a few views of the Crimea, and a few Turkish things, including a pipe and dervish's cap for Reginald. The latter I thought appropriate on account of its sacerdotal character. . . . —Ever, &c., G. GRAHAM."

Graham resumed duty in the Crimea on the 4th September, the day before the final bombardment, and took part in the operations of the 8th September, which resulted in another failure to take the Redan, but in the capture of the Malakhoff by the French and the immediate evacuation by the Russians of the south side of Sebastopol. On the 10th he writes to his mother, to assure her of his safety:—

"Camp before SEBASTOPOL, 10th Sept. 1855.

"MY DEAR MOTHER,—I can only write you a few lines to assure you of my being in very good health. I arrived here on the 4th, the day before the bombardment commenced. On the 8th the French took the Malakhoff by a *coup de main*. We failed in the Redan. The Russians, however, evacuated it during the night.

They blew up their magazines and set the town on fire. It is still burning. Although we have no more trenches, yet we have still plenty of work, so I must now conclude.—Ever, &c., G. GRAHAM."

Friends at home were eagerly watching young Graham's career. Warm had been the congratulations among them on his safety amid "the danger and slaughter of the Redan," and many anxious inquiries were made when the great news of the fall of Sebastopol reached England. One relative in Norfolk incidentally mentions that "there was a great to-do at Norwich" on receipt of the joyful intelligence, "and all the butchers and bakers burnt their baskets, and the old market-women set fire to their own stalls, by way of illumination, the bells ringing merrily, and the people shouting themselves hoarse."

CHAPTER VII.

LETTERS FROM THE CRIMEA—*continued.*

DURING the ten months he remained in the Crimea after the fall of the south side he was very busy until after the winter was over, and his letters are much fewer. The marriage of his sister had cut off his confidante, and it is easy to see that he felt the loss, and threw himself all the more into the work he had in hand.

“SEBASTOPOL, 4th Dec. 1855.

“MY DEAR SISTER,—I appear again before you in writing, like a schoolboy, who has long played the truant, would before his master. There has been a long gap in my correspondence, during which very little has occurred that I could write to you about, though I have been myself incessantly occupied. I am now harder at work than ever, and indeed may be said to work night and day. For the last month I have been living here, in Sebastopol, occupied with the construction of a battery and the demolition of the docks. The former is quite finished, but we are mining against time and the French for the destruction of the docks. The French have one-half to destroy, and we the other half. They have an immense advantage over us, their position being higher, so that they have very little water, which is the chief obstacle

we have to encounter. The work is very hard for the men—harder, I should say, than ever the trenches were; for here they have to work in water, sometimes all night long, and the nights are now very cold.

“The Russians, too, keep up a series of protests and remonstrances against our proceedings by shot and shell. To-day we had two men wounded. The house I live in is the same that figured in the ‘Illustrated London News.’ It was formerly occupied by the officers of the commission for estimating the value of stores found in Sebastopol. It is a pretty-looking little house with a verandah in front, and is a special object of attention to the Russians, who appear to have kindly laid about one gun and two mortars on it, so that we are constantly under fire. However, they have not hit us yet, though they have the houses on either side of us. We have so far escaped unscathed. This house also was very fortunate during the siege, as only one shot hit it, passing through the roof, which we have since had repaired.

“I have heard that you are very desirous to get some relics of Sebastopol. I am rather puzzled what to send you. For want of anything better I enclose a piece of the piles on which the docks are built (pray do not mistake it for a piece of lucifer match), and a few rhododendron leaves out of our garden. . . .

“In England, we hear, there is talk of a monstrous siege-train next year for the siege of Nicolaief—that would, indeed, be a gigantic undertaking. I told you that I was under orders for Kertch, but did not go there. . . . —Ever, &c., G. GRAHAM.”

“SEBASTOPOL, 11th Jan. 1856.

“MY DEAR SISTER,—I have just received your very kind, sisterly letter of Christmas day. I must appear

very neglectful and forgetful of you not to write more frequently, and certainly I hardly expected or deserved to receive such a pleasant letter as the one you have sent me. Both my father and mother complain of my long silence. But the fact is I am not naturally a good correspondent, and besides, you at home do not at all understand what my work here is. During the siege I had a good many leisure hours between my turns of duty. Here, however, I have none. Even now I have not got one, and were I not writing for the post I should be on the works. Under these circumstances you really must not blame me if I do not write regularly. . . .

"We are still busily demolishing the docks. We have not as yet, however, done half our work, having enormous difficulties in the way of water to contend with, which the French have been fortunate enough to avoid. I must finish this at once, as we are preparing for another demolition.—Ever, &c.,

"G. GRAHAM."

"SEBASTOPOL, 24th Jan. 1856.

"MY DEAR MOTHER,— . . . The day before yesterday we were told that news of a proclamation of peace might arrive the next day, and we got orders to try and blow up as much as possible before that intelligence could reach us. With that charitable intention we laboured all that night. I had been running about so much during the day, descending deep shafts by rope ladders and wandering about long wet galleries, sometimes nearly knee-deep in water, that I was fairly tired out by midnight. I did not get any dinner till 10 o'clock. I was, however, up again next morning by seven o'clock, and we just managed to get ready in time to blow up with the French. We could

not blow up as much as they did, but altogether we did a great deal of mischief yesterday.

“The French demolition was very pretty to look at, but their work has been incomparably easier than ours, as they have had no water to contend with. I shall be very glad when this work is finished, though I take a great deal of interest in it, and should like very well to have to demolish the large storehouses and wharf wall. I think the Russians will be very much disgusted with the appearance of their docks when they return. Yesterday they expressed their annoyance by firing rather heavily directly after the explosion. The French have left nothing but shapeless mounds of earth, where they found beautifully built walls with granite curbs. On our side the ground behind the walls is of solid rock, so that the effect is not so striking to the eye. . . .

“I saw one of the theatrical exhibitions of the 4th Division, which I thought very good. I saw nothing of the beef and pudding that you mention, though I made a pretty good dinner on Christmas day on Crimean beef and pudding. We have now got a regular mess up at camp, with really excellent dinners, but here at Sebastopol, where there are only four of us, we make a little mess of our own. . . . —Yours, &c.,

“G. GRAHAM.”

“SEBASTOPOL, 3rd March 1856.

“MY DEAR FATHER,—You appear confident in your last that there will be peace, and every one else says the same thing, so I suppose we really shall have it. You must not, however, suppose that the army will return to England as soon as peace is concluded. It will take at least three months to ship away the army and stores from the Crimea. The greater part

of the army will then probably be sent to the Mediterranean, besides garrisons in the Bosphorus and on the Turkish shores of the Black Sea.

“For us Engineers there will, as usual, be plenty of work, and I should not think of applying for leave to go home if I can get a good post out here. However, peace is not yet concluded, and of course I hope professionally that it will not be concluded, or that, if it is, it may be of short duration. Had I been a captain at the commencement of this war I should now probably be a lieutenant-colonel, but being merely a subaltern, by the laws and regulations of the British service I can get no promotion. This rule is peculiarly unjust to us Engineers, where there are subalterns of ten years’ standing, as in the line there are captains of only 18 months’ service who may get brevet rank. In the French army the promotion of the Engineers is given principally among the officers out here, instead of being, as with us, given to the whole Corps by seniority. Thus with us they ought to form the Engineers out here into a war battalion. It seems a great pity that such a splendid army as we have out here should be wasted. I attended the grand review the other day as a spectator: our men looked splendid. The Grenadier Company of the 42nd Highlanders was the finest sight I ever saw of the kind. The Guards and Rifles, too, were very fine. The French would not show nearly so well. They are said to have above 20,000 men in hospital. No wonder they are so anxious for peace. However, I suppose the peace will not last long. The Russians will probably only wait for the next French Revolution to recommence their aggressions on Turkey, and then we shall have to do the whole thing ourselves. . . . —Ever, &c., G. GRAHAM.”

“SEBASTOPOL, 7th April 1856.

“MY DEAR SISTER,—My last letter¹ to you, I think, described the death of poor Ranken² on the 28th February last. Since that time I have been employed in making a detailed report and drawings of the demolition for the Inspector-General, Sir John Burgoyne. Having to collect Ranken's notes, and owing to a variety of delays, I have been pretty well occupied up to the present time, and I think have hardly written a single letter, so that my hand for writing is quite out. As soon as Peace was declared we expected to be immediately ordered up to camp, but General Codrington³ considers it probable that we may be allowed to use the harbour of Sebastopol for embarkation, and will not consent to our being removed yet awhile. We are not sorry to remain here, as it is a most beautiful place in the fine weather which is coming on. If we should embark from here, it will be delightful to pull about the harbour and examine the sunken vessels. We have seen a great many Russians lately, though I have not had the opportunity of conversing with any of their officers. How astonished they must be at our camp, with our comfortable huts and canteens containing every luxury from England. But the sight that surprises them most of all is the railroad, and the first place a Russian officer turns the head of his shaggy little pony towards is Balaklava. Here, indeed, the change is wonderful, and were it not for its unmistakable characteristic features it would be impossible to rec-

¹ This letter cannot be found.

² Captain George Ranken, R.E., killed by the explosion of a mine on the 28th February 1856.

³ General Sir William John Codrington, G.C.B., Colonel of the Coldstream Guards, was Commander-in-chief of the army in the Crimea from November 1855. He died in 1884.

ognise it as the little Tatar (or rather Greek) village we entered in September 1854. I will not attempt to describe it to you, but should like very much to go over it with an intelligent Russian, who saw it for the first time, and who was not in the habit of reading the 'Times.' Our soldiers are fraternising with the Russians now, somewhat as they did with the French at Gallipoli. I saw yesterday a great number of their new but dirty-looking acquaintances, staggering or lying about in various stages of drunkenness. One of them appeared to have exchanged caps with a man of the 17th. Yesterday, to our great pleasure, we read in General Orders that passes were to be issued permitting a certain number of each division to enter the Russian lines. This will be a great treat, especially to us Engineers, and we are all eagerly looking forward to a ride over the Russian works, and especially the plateau of Mackenzie's Farm, which we are very curious to examine, as it is a most remarkable defensive position.

"You will now like to know, perhaps, what is to become of me. Well, I really cannot tell you, but I do not wish for a home station, though I should like to get leave for a short time to see you all. The shaves or stories about what is going to be done with us are, of course, innumerable, but nobody knows anything about it. . . . I do not think we out here are quite as much pleased with the news of peace as we should be. By a spirit of contradiction apparently every one has become excessively warlike, though during the siege I know there were a great many wishing for peace. . . . —Ever, &c.,
G. GRAHAM."

To his Brother-in-law.

“SEBASTOPOL, 18th April 1856.

“MY DEAR REGINALD,—I have received Joanna’s letter of the 20th March, together with your pleasant supplement to it. You may both rely upon it that if I return to England, my first visit shall be to All Saints’,¹ where I expect to find Joanna duly invested with the matronly duties of housekeeping.

“As I think I mentioned in my last, we are still living in Sebastopol in expectation of this harbour being used for embarkation of a portion of the troops. We like our quarters very much, as we can now go out into the harbour, and, if we like, cross over to the north side and fraternise with the Ruskies. A week ago several of us made an expedition over to the north side. There was nothing very remarkable to see there, as we were not allowed to enter the forts. I was struck at observing the small force of men there, certainly not more than 10,000. They were either quartered in their forts or in camps of mud huts. The greater part appeared to be militia, who are known by the cross on their caps and their generally very dirty appearance, the militiamen being allowed to wear the usual Russian peasants’ beard, while the regulars shave off everything except the moustache. As we were among the first comers, the Russian soldiers saluted us, as they do their own officers, by taking their caps off and walking past us bareheaded. Since then they have lost this habit, as did the French soldiers also, and rarely salute us. They seem to me to be a good-natured, good-humoured set, and with very friendly dispositions towards us.

¹ The Rev. Reginald Durrant had obtained the living of All Saints’, South Elmham, Suffolk.

Every evening they turn out and sing in their camps. We witnessed one of these performances, after which a buffoon appeared with a mask and long beard, who executed a grotesque dance in time to the music, which seemed to amuse the Russians immensely. On the way back from our expedition we saw a camp with some gabions and platform timber, which we concluded to be the Russian Engineer camp, and accordingly went in and requested to see the Colonel. One of us, who, having been a prisoner some time, understood a little Russian, heard the Colonel call immediately for a pair of clean boots and trousers. Having obtained these articles, the Colonel made his appearance and invited us all in. As, by the assistance of some Artillery officers, our party was augmented to 15 in number, we rather crowded the Colonel's hut. The Colonel was a short, stout man of about fifty, shaved in the Russian manner, so as to leave nothing but a very heavy moustache. He spoke neither French nor German, in fact only Russian. The duties of interpreter were performed by a lively little Italian doctor, who was an excellent linguist. We commenced by asking the Colonel and six Engineer officers, including the doctor, to dinner, which, after debating on the means of getting to our camp, and our agreeing to furnish a boat and horses, was accepted. The Colonel then insisted on our taking some wine, and made each of us drink some claret and a tumblerful of champagne, after which we parted on the best of terms. I have forgotten to mention that several of the junior Russian Engineer officers came in and entered into conversation with us. They were pleasant, agreeable young fellows, and were nearly all of them able to talk either French or German.

“On Saturday last, the day appointed, they came to Sebastopol in one of their own boats, I and a brother officer being there to receive them. We brought them to my house, which they told us had been the house of General Chrolov, Commandant of the Karabelnaia, during the siege. I gave them some draught English ale, which was much admired, particularly by the doctor, who drank so much of it that by the time we started for camp he was uncommonly merry. On arriving at camp old J. W. Gordon and Lloyd¹ came out to receive the Ruskis, and an amicable chat began in a marquee that we had erected for a reception-room, and we showed them ‘Punch’ and the ‘Illustrated London News,’ &c. At dinner a band that we had borrowed for the occasion struck up ‘God save the Emperor,’ followed by ‘God save the Queen.’ We gave them a capital dinner with plenty of champagne, and everything went off very well. I was seated next the doctor, who continually shook my hands and told me that he loved the English from the bottom of his heart. He also persisted in drinking beer as well as champagne, claret, sherry, &c. The doctor (an Italian) was evidently the privileged buffoon and factotum of the stern, reserved old Russian colonel. He made all the toasts, and returned thanks in French rhymes, which were not remarkable for their cleverness, but created a great deal of amusement. I talked a good deal with some of the younger Russian Engineers, but found them uncommonly reserved with respect to the siege operations. They were evidently very proud of their defence and of Todleben, though they admitted some faults. . . . On their departure they

¹ Lieut.-Colonel, afterwards Major-General, Edward T. Lloyd, Royal Engineers, who died in June 1892.

very civilly invited us for the following Monday, as on Tuesday they were going off into the interior. Accordingly we went, and were shown all over the forts. Fort Constantine did not appear to have suffered much by the bombardment of the 17th October 1854. On our return from the forts about 2 P.M. we found dinner prepared for us. Our dinner, they told us, was strictly Russian. We began by caviare and Russian brandy, then soup and force-meat in one, then ham and greens, then a rice-plum-pudding, followed by beef-steaks in grease (!) and sweatmeats all well moistened by champagne and claret. We thought them uncommonly civil. They had borrowed the music of 'God save the Queen' from us and played it three times—the first time, they said, it had been played by them in the Crimea. Altogether we were very much pleased with one another, and parted with mutual expressions of friendship. . . . —Yours, &c., G. GRAHAM."

"SEBASTOPOL, 23rd April 1856.

"MY DEAR FATHER,— . . . The other day, when going through the Russian camp in the pass of Aitodor, about 15 miles from this, I was asked in by some Russian officers, who treated me in a most hospitable style. Two of them spoke German, which, indeed, I find spoken amongst them much more commonly than French. They made me drink a quantity of champagne to the health of the Emperor, Queen Victoria, &c., and brought out the soldiers to sing and dance in their national style. In fact, they were almost overpoweringly hospitable, as I was, I believe, the first English officer they had entertained. It was so late when I left them that, coming back, I lost my way, and was obliged to accept the hospitality of

some Cossack officers. They put up me and my horse much better than I had expected—indeed, to my surprise, gave me a clean sheet to sleep on. They, however, spoke nothing but Russian. The only thing I objected to was their schnapps, which is a bad sort of potato-brandy, and which appears to be with them an indispensable luxury—the first thing in the morning, and before every meal. I parted with my friends on capital terms, and made them a present of a penknife, all that I had about me. They gave me for a guide a regular Don Cossack, with a long lance, mounted on a remarkably ugly little pony.

“Yesterday I went with a party of some brother officers and paid a visit to the scene of the battle of Alma. I was the only one of the party who had been present at the battle. We went over the old ground where the Light Division and the Guards had crossed the river and had stormed the fatal battery. The parapet and graves inside are untouched. A wooden slab over a grave to the memory of Montagu of the 33rd still remains, and we were glad to observe these signs of the respect the Russians have for our dead. Over one of the mounds marking a grave the Russians had put a cross with Russian writing on it. Few other vestiges of the battle remained, and, singularly enough, not a bullet was to be found. Lead was said to become scarce among the Russians during the siege. —Ever, &c.,
G. GRAHAM.”

“SEBASTOPOL, 9th May 1856.

“MY DEAR SISTER,— . . . The weather is remarkably fine now, and the few ships that are in the harbour enliven the prospect very much. The *Gladiator*, a splendid steam-frigate, lies at anchor

there, and the French are busily embarking their field artillery on their side of the creek. We are the only inhabitants among the ruined houses here, and the birds prefer building their nests under the eaves of our house to those of the deserted ones. Sparrows, starlings, and swallows form their little colonies undisturbed about us; indeed the swallows are so tame that they frequently fly through the open window into my room, make a rapid circuit, and dash out again. The Russians have a curious custom of having a little box like a pigeon-house on the top of a high pole with grain for the birds. This, the origin of which I must have explained to me, may be seen in all their batteries, at least on the north side. I have not remarked it in their Sebastopol batteries. Perhaps they thought it would be cruel to expose the poor little birds to such a murderous fire as that we poured down on them. This reminds me of a very pretty custom that I remember the Swedes have of putting corn out in the fields for the birds on Christmas day.

“The British officer may now be found in every part of the Crimea, at least the southern part of it. Numbers of trips have been made, and I suppose by this time you have got Russell’s account of his excursion. I have not made any distant one yet, as the country will look so much prettier when the leaves are fully out. As it is, the country is getting more and more beautiful every day. The day before yesterday I made one of a party for Mangoup Kaleh—I don’t know whether you possess a map of the Crimea showing the ground. If you do, you will be able to perceive the remarkable position and extent of the plateau on which Mackenzie’s Farm stands. It is bounded by a cliff which, starting from the head of

the harbour, forms the eastern boundary of the valley of Inkerman, after which it trends away to the north as far as Mackenzie's Farm, and then resumes its south-easterly direction to the pass of Aitodor. The line of cliff then takes a north-easterly direction to Baktchiserai and Simpheropol. These cliffs form the most perfect military obstacle that can be imagined. For the greatest part of their length they are inaccessible even to those on foot, their crest being surmounted by a perpendicular wall of rock from 40 to 50 feet high, and the remainder forming a steep slope of white chalk covered with scanty vegetation. This line of cliff forms the leading characteristic feature of the country we passed. All the rest is wild and irregular, like an immense plain that had been boiled up into gigantic bubbles and consolidated. The scenery was very beautiful, though the sky looked dark and threatening, lending a purple tinge to the distant mountains, and giving the green of the hills and fields around us a deeper tint. The wild flowers were all coming out in bloom—irises, orchids, anemones, violets, poppies, peonies, and a variety of others whose names I do not know. There were also sweet-smelling herbs, wild mint and thyme, and fruit-trees in full blossom.

"*May 11.*—The summer has been a long time approaching this year. I think I told Reginald in my last that on the 28th April we actually had snow early in the morning. To-day was the warmest day we have yet had. Still, it has so changed towards evening that I am now sitting with a fire in my room. Well, to continue the account of my trip to Mangoup. We passed through a great deal of ground that had evidently been highly cultivated before the war, but neglected since. We had a good

view of the green valley of Schula, with its little stream and pretty Tatar villages. These villages are, I believe, half deserted. The Tatars are being very badly treated by the Russians in all those villages that we occupied and have since relinquished. The poor frightened Tatars, who are a most harmless, in-offensive race, crowd into Balaklava for our protection, bringing with them their wives and families in their quaint carts drawn by bullocks. We ship them off to Constantinople, where they will form a colony. I had a Tatar servant for a month, and a very nice boy he was, most willing and industrious. He left me a few days ago to go to his mother, who was at Eupatoria, and whom he was going to bring back here and then proceed to Constantinople, together with his brother and five-and-twenty Tatar friends. I wish them every success.

“Mangoup Kaleh, or the fortress of Mangoup, is an isolated table-mountain standing in a wide chasm, bounded on one side by Mount Aitodor and on the other by Elle Barsun, the Cape of Tempests. Mangoup is upwards of 1000 feet high and nearly perpendicular on all sides. It is called the key of the gates of the steppes. It forms, with the great line of cliffs, two passes, the pass of Korales and the pass of Aitodor, both of which are strongly defended. At the latter I was hospitably entertained, as I mentioned in my last. Each time the Cape of Tempests proved worthy of its name. On this last occasion we boldly commenced the ascent of Mangoup in spite of the heavy rain. It was very slippery, and we had to lead our horses up the whole way. On arriving at the summit we put our horses into one of the Tauro-Scythian crypts and then started off on foot to examine the position. In the front of it, or towards the south, we found the

façade of the ancient palace of Mangoup. Four windows remain with sculptured ornaments, most of which, however, have been destroyed or carried away. They appeared to me to be Saracenic, though my companions considered them Hebrew. We traced the remains of an old wall with towers. I was perfectly puzzled as to the architecture, particularly of the palace. There were Gothic pointed arches and Norman arches and Greek lintels all jumbled together. We explored several of the crypts in the face of the rock at the north end of Mangoup, which were very curious. Steps cut into the solid rock led down into a large chamber hewn out of the rock, with square pillars left standing to support the roof, which was about 2 feet thick. This chamber opened, like in a cloister, into several smaller caves all round it, which were used as sleeping apartments, each having a raised dais of rock. The view from this point would have been magnificent had it not been for the rain. However, we made out Old Fort and the lake of Kamishlu, where we landed on the 14th September 1854.

“We have as yet had no orders relative to our embarkation, nor do we (the Engineers) know where we are going to. Our transports are now taking away the Sardinians. . . . —Yours, &c., G. GRAHAM.”

“SEBASTOPOL, 15th June 1856.

“MY DEAR SISTER,— . . . My principal occupation has been riding, fishing, boating, and occasionally shooting; my companion is the commandant of the place, Colonel T. Of the artillery officers down here I see very little. . . . T. is a fine active fellow, thorough soldier, and thorough sportsman. He has seen an immense deal of service, been all through the Punjab, China, Ceylon rebellion, and in everything out

here except Alma. He was a great hunter in Ceylon and India, a destroyer of elephants, tigers, panthers, bears, &c.—very different sport to mere partridge-shooting or fox-hunting. He has put me through a course of ‘*hunting literature*,’ and I have read ‘*The Old Forest Ranger*,’ ‘*The Hunter’s Feast*,’ ‘*The Solitary Hunter*,’ &c., till I am quite enthusiastic for the ‘*sport*,’ and have determined to become a ‘*hunter*’ too. I mean to commence by shooting a rascally Russian dog that comes howling under my window every night.

“About half-past six every morning we get up and bathe. The water is delightful just now—not too cold nor too hot. After breakfast I look after my men, whom I have had hitherto making a monument for the battle of Balaklava. Now, however, I have got them no longer, but am on the survey. After noon we go out for a sail, walk, or ride, as the case may be. The other day I had a surprising visit. The original proprietor of the house I live in presented himself to me, and, to my surprise, I beheld a very respectable old English farmer! His name was Newman. On the Crimean steppes he fed his flocks and herds—a frugal swain. I gave him some porter, and he asked me to go and see him at his estate, fifteen miles from Old Fort, where we landed. He was a quiet, cautious old gentleman, probably afraid of seeing his name in the papers. He said he was the only English settler about here, and that the Russian authorities had watched him very suspiciously during the war, that all his cattle and horses had been bought (at rather a low valuation though) by them. He did not seem so delighted with his house as he ought to have been, as it is only one of three that is standing at all. I expect to be off in a month. . . . —Yours, &c., G. GRAHAM.”

Peace was declared in April 1856, but it was not until the 9th of the following July that Graham said good-bye to the Crimea. He came home in command of troops and in charge of horses of various units on board the s.s. Clarendon. The following letter concludes the Crimean series:—

“Off the GOLDEN HORN, 13th July 1856.

“MY DEAR SISTER,—I am now on my way to England, though this letter will probably precede me by a week or a fortnight. I left Sebastopol for Balaklava on Tuesday morning (8th July), after taking my last bath in the harbour and my last look at it. It never, I thought, had looked more desolate. Beyond the spectral-looking masts, the remains of the Black Sea Fleet, all that was to be seen above water was a Russian merchantman from Odessa, and in the South Creek the Gladiator and a small Russian Government steamer, the Taman, disembarking furniture for some Russian dignitaries. The French had given over Sebastopol proper and the Malakhoff suburb the Saturday before I left, and I had a Russian guard near my house. The only part of the town we held were the wharf buildings, where the Gladiator kept a guard of Marines. The Russians were allowed to take all the black bread out of these buildings, and used to send over gangs of men and *women* for that purpose, the women seeming to work quite as hard as the men, looking prematurely old in consequence. When I came to Balaklava, I found myself, to my surprise, under orders to embark the next day, in charge of all the horses. The next day, therefore, at 10 o'clock in the evening, we were off. I was in company with several detachments from different regiments, in charge of horses and a large detach-

ment of the Land Transport Corps, altogether about 150 men, 13 officers, and 112 horses. . . . We arrived here on Friday evening after a 42 hours' run, 6 hours longer than usual; but the Clarendon is a slow ship, I am sorry to say. . . . We expect to arrive in England about the 7th or 8th, but the time may vary from the 5th to the 10th. . . . You will be glad to hear that I have got the goat and kid safely on board, and hope to bring them to All Saints' House. . . . —Ever, &c., G. GRAHAM."

In the Mediterranean the Clarendon encountered a heavy gale and sprang a leak. The water extinguished the fires, and when off Cadiz the troops were transferred in open boats, fortunately without casualty, to the French merchant ship *Constance*. Several horses were lost during the storm. The Clarendon, after running ashore six miles to the west of Cadiz, was got off and towed into Cadiz harbour with nine feet of water in her hold. The troops had to remain about a week in the *Constance*, and were then transferred to H.M.S. *Centaur* and landed at Portsmouth on 12th August 1856.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOME AGAIN.

AFTER a delightful leave of absence spent amongst his relatives, and particularly with his lately married sister at All Saints' in Suffolk, where we have glimpses of him with his honours fresh upon him, playing games with children, listening to fairy tales, singing duets with young ladies, and generally enjoying himself, he was sent to do duty in Scotland, and was quartered for a time at Glasgow. The following letter relates a meeting with Sir E. L. Bulwer-Lytton :—

“ 318 BATH CRESCENT, GLASGOW, 18th Jan. 1857.

“ MY DEAR SISTER,— . . . I am going to Edinburgh at the end of the month, when I have three invitations which fall due on successive nights. One of my engagements is to dine with Sir John M'Neill. I shall be very glad to make his acquaintance. The great event of the week here has been the installation of Bulwer as Lord Rector of the University. I was not present at that ceremony, where he made a splendid speech, or at the dinner given by the civic powers on Friday. I have, however, seen the lion more closely than I should have done on those public occasions. Whilst here he stopped at Possil House, the residence of

Sir Archibald Alison,¹ and on the day of the dinner (Friday) I was asked to dine at Possil House. Of course the host and his guest were at the civic dinner, so that I found quite a ladies' party. Another officer, and a son of Sir Archibald (who has been in the Crimea), and myself were the only representatives of the lords of the creation. . . . Young Alison² is a remarkably nice, intelligent young fellow. He served in the Highland Brigade in the Crimea, and we had many notes to compare together. In the evening a literary lady and I talked about German literature. She produced a collection of autographs, containing among others a letter from Carlyle. The subject of his letter is tobacco, and he confines himself strictly to it, requesting his friend to send him some 'shag.' Indeed, except for a few characteristic Germanisms, it is about as uninteresting as those of Dr Johnson when he writes for a box of pills and a dose of salts. Of the different cliques of society here, Lady Alison's is considered about the first, and the literary lady is the only one to be found in it who also mixes in the town society. Thus I found my friend B. knew her, though he knew no one else of the party. He was not there, you know. As a married man he is chained to the bottom of his well, and cannot go climbing up the pole for sweetmeats as I and others (bears, bores, or beaux) do. May he at least find truth and happiness there as others similarly situated! But how about Bulwer? you are impatiently asking. Wait a little, as *we* did, and you will read. About half-past ten o'clock in came two gentlemen. One of them I

¹ The well-known historian.

² Now General Sir Archibald Alison, G.C.B., colonel of the Seaforth Highlanders.



LIEUTENANT GERALD GRAHAM, V.C.,
ROYAL ENGINEERS.

From a photograph taken at Chatham on his return from the Crimea.

recognised at once, by his shaking hands with me, as Sir Archibald Alison. He is a man of striking appearance, massive nose, high forehead, and dignified, kind expression. He speaks with a broad Scotch accent which I like. His companion was a big, red-faced man. No Bulwer here it seems. Presently, however, enters by a back-door a tall thin man, whom I recognised for the great novelist (the author of the 'Caxtons'), and made way for accordingly. His eyes scarcely seemed to see me as he made his way towards the sofa. His appearance is certainly remarkable. You will remember how David Copperfield, after a very convivial party with his friend Steerforth, looks at himself in the glass and thinks that he is all right but that his *hair* is drunk. Well, Sir Edward's hair had precisely the same appearance. For the rest he has a high forehead, aquiline nose, and wears a moustache and imperial. He seemed to me terribly tired, fairly done up, having very bad health. The literary lady rather bored him by reading Carlyle's letter to him (which is rather long for the subject). He is somewhat deaf, and she had to bawl it into his ear. He made no comment, but tried feebly to laugh. In answer to an inquiry from Lady Alison he replied, in a very melancholy tone, that he always burnt his letters and would have burnt that one. I heard nothing more from him, and as it was getting late we took our leave. I will do so with you too. . . . —Ever, &c.,
"G. GRAHAM."

From Scotland he was ordered in April 1857 to Aldershot, where he was for a time acting-adjutant. He used frequently to ride over from Aldershot on Sundays to attend divine service at Eversley church,

for Charles Kingsley, the rector, gave a warm welcome to military officers from the camp. Kingsley, already a favourite author with Graham, and a friend of Mrs Durrant, had been allowed to read one of his Crimean letters to her, and had expressed a high opinion of his descriptive power. So the two men soon became friends.

For his services in the Crimea Graham had been twice mentioned in despatches (see 'London Gazette,' 21st December 1855 and 15th February 1856), and had received the war medal with three clasps (Alma, Inkerman, and Sebastopol), the Turkish medal, the fifth class of the Turkish order of the Medjidie, and the fifth class of the French Legion of Honour. He was now to receive the most coveted of all distinctions—the Victoria Cross.

During the Crimean war a want had been felt by the Queen and Prince Albert of some reward for conspicuous bravery on the part of junior officers and of all ranks below them in the army and in the navy. For senior officers of both services the military division of the Order of the Bath was available, but the statutes of the order limited its distribution to them only. The Queen therefore instituted, for junior officers of the army and navy and for all ranks below them, a new distinction—the Victoria Cross—by Royal Warrant of the 29th January 1856. The Cross, in the words of the Royal Warrant, was to be "highly prized and eagerly sought after," and to be awarded for some signal act of valour, or of devotion to country, performed in the presence of the enemy. The Prince Consort, who took the greatest interest in the decoration, designed the insignia, and the inauguration took place in Hyde Park on Friday, the 26th June 1857. Lieutenant

Graham—for he quitted the Crimea still a subaltern—had been awarded the Victoria Cross on the 24th February 1857, a few weeks after its institution, for “Determined gallantry at the head of a ladder party at the assault of the Redan on the 18th June 1855, and for devoted heroism in sallying out of the trenches on numerous occasions and bringing in wounded officers and men.”

The ceremony of inauguration in the presence of representative forces of the army and navy, assembled in Hyde Park, was a magnificent spectacle. The Queen, mounted and in a scarlet jacket, accompanied by Prince Albert, Prince Frederick William of Prussia (afterwards German Emperor), with the Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred, afterwards Duke of Edinburgh and of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and attended by a brilliant suite, personally decorated sixty-two officers, warrant officers, non-commissioned officers, and men with the cross, with her own hand pinning it on the breast of each recipient. The band of heroes then formed line facing her Majesty and her suite, and the headquarters staff and the troops marched past between them. Graham wrote the following letter to his father after it was over :—

“CAMP ALDERSHOT, 30th June 1857.

“MY DEAR FATHER,— . . . We were formed in line and then advanced singly to the Queen, who remained on horseback. She pinned on the medal (cross) with her own hand to our coats. She stuck the pin fairly into me, so that I keenly realised my momentary interview with Royalty! . . . —Ever, &c.,

“G. GRAHAM.”

There is little to relate of Graham's life at Aldershot.

There are some jottings in a note-book in the spring and summer of 1858, which tell of military duties and field-days, inspections by the General and by the Commander-in-Chief, interspersed with Sunday visits to Eversley and week-day visits to London, with notes of books he was reading. He mentions H. Wallis's picture in the Royal Academy Exhibition of that year, the subject of which was a quotation from Carlyle's 'Sartor Resartus,' referring to "the toil-worn craftsman," whom he apostrophises — "Thou wert our Conscript on whom the lot fell, and fighting our battle wert so marred," &c. Graham notes it as "wonderful—a dead workman with a blue lake in the background"; he sees "Faust" at the Princess's, but thinks the performance very poor; he is present at the opening of her Majesty's Theatre, hears Tietjens in "Figaro," and sees Taglione dance; at the Turner Exhibition he is struck with "The Parting of Hero and Leander," which he calls a glorious picture; Albert Smith he regards as an impertinent mountebank! He reads MacDougall on Tactics, Ludlow's 'History of India,' 'The Virginians,' 'The Bible in Spain,' &c.; and he goes to balls and dances, and gets up a party at the Star and Garter at Richmond in return for hospitalities received.

This round of duty and pleasure is suddenly broken in upon by orders to hold himself in readiness for service in India, and he has to bethink him of varicose veins that have troubled him, and to undergo at St George's Hospital a troublesome operation before he goes abroad, which confines him for a time to his room. Then "good-bye" to Aldershot; a Sunday in London, when he goes to hear Frederick Maurice at Lincoln's Inn Chapel; a hurried visit to his sister and mother in Suffolk, and to Eden Brows to see

his father, whom he finds failing fast (he died soon after); then, amid loud cheering and farewells, on the morning of the 7th August 1858, he marches off a draft from Chatham and embarks at Gravesend in a sailing transport for Calcutta.

The voyage round the Cape was a very tedious, and, owing to contrary winds, a very long one: during the latter part of it provisions and water ran short, and all on board were placed upon half rations. Calcutta was reached just before Christmas day, and in January 1859 Graham went up to Lucknow and took over the command of the 23rd Company of Royal Engineers. He had been promoted to be captain on the 28th October 1858.

The war of the Indian Mutiny was practically over, and there was nothing to be done but the ordinary routine work of an Indian station. When the Indian Mutiny began in May 1857, British relations with China were in a strained condition, and the troops destined for an expedition against that country were stopped at Singapore on their way out and hurried to Calcutta. Since then much had happened, and Canton was now occupied by British troops. The 23rd Company of Royal Engineers had done good service in the Mutiny war, and, being no longer required in India, was ordered in the autumn of 1859 to Canton. On the 25th October 1859 Graham left India with his Company and arrived at Canton in November. On the 22nd of that month he was promoted to a brevet majority for his Crimean services.

CHAPTER IX.

CHINA CAMPAIGN, 1860.

It will not be out of place here to state shortly how it came about that British troops were in garrison at Canton, and what were the causes of the war with China in 1860, in which Graham took part.

As early as 1856 difficulties which had occurred with the Chinese local government at Canton came to a head with the lorcha Arrow incident, and the British admiral took action that led to our second war with China. Canton was captured by an Anglo-French force in December 1857, the Ta-ku forts at the mouth of the Pei-ho river were taken in May 1858, and the Chinese Government forced by Lord Elgin and Baron Gros to conclude the treaty of Tien-tsin at the end of the following month. This treaty provided for British and French Residents at Pekin; but, on the urgent representations of the Chinese Government, in order to avoid embarrassing them in the face of the Tai-ping rebellion, it was decided to allow this provision of the treaty to remain in abeyance until the exchange of the ratifications, which was to take place in Pekin in the following year.

In 1859 the Hon. Frederick Bruce, brother of Lord Elgin, and British Plenipotentiary to China, on his

way by water to Peking to exchange the ratifications of the treaty, found his progress barred by obstructions at the mouth of the Pei-ho, and the guns of the Ta-ku forts loaded and run out to prevent him entering the river. Admiral Sir James Hope endeavoured to force a passage, but was unsuccessful, and lost three gun-boats and over 300 men. Thereupon Mr Bruce withdrew to await instructions.

England and France decided upon a joint expedition to support their special representatives, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, who were again sent to China in 1860 with an ultimatum demanding the ratification of the treaty of Tien-tsin and an indemnity for the insult to the envoys in the previous year. These demands were categorically refused. It was then decided to land the British and French military forces under the command respectively of Generals Sir Hope Grant and de Montauban at the mouth of the Pei-ho river, and, after capturing the Ta-ku forts, to march on Peking.

The British army was assembled at Kow-loon, opposite Hong-Kong island, and Major Gerald Graham, V.C., in command of the 23rd Company R.E., joined it there from Canton in the spring of 1860. Early in June he sailed with the Company for Talien-wan Bay, near the Gulf of Pe-chi-li, a place we have heard a great deal about lately as forming with Port Arthur part of the Russian leasehold estate in China. This bay had been selected as an advanced base for the British army and fleet to work from, while the French chose Chi-fu. On arrival at Talien-wan the ships were dispersed in four different smaller bays: Graham's Company was landed with the rest of the troops, and was kept busily employed in the construction of intrenchments, reservoirs, and other engineering works.

Graham's diary, or such of it as has been found, commences on the 7th July at Odin Bay, one of the smaller bays of Talien-wan Bay. His Company was in the 2nd Division of the army, commanded by Major-General Sir Robert Napier (afterwards Field-Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala).

*"July 7, Saturday, 1860, Odin Bay.—*At 5 A.M. rode over to Bustard Bay. The working party had been reduced from 100 to 50. This I immediately got altered, and organised the carrying party in gangs like navvies. Saw the Admiral (Jones),¹ who wishes me to look out for a site for a pier, &c. He evidently considers the reservoir of immense importance, and has set his Flag-captain at work finding levels and distances for troughing, &c. I got back to camp about 2 P.M., leaving Hoile² to follow with a pack-pony. I found our little Colonel³ busy laying out intrenchments for a depot. He seems to have chosen the ground very well, but it is rather extended for 600 men, who are to constitute the garrison. However, the enemy will not be very formidable. Whilst going round with the colonel I suddenly became sick. . . .

*"July 8, Sunday.—*I was unable to attend the Colonel, who took Hime⁴ with him to lay out these intrenchments. He (Mann) seems to think the reservoir only a naval business, though I believe it is of much greater public—and certainly of more immediate

¹ Admiral Sir Lewis T. Jones, K.C.B., then Rear-Admiral, Second in Command of the Squadron.

² Assistant-Surgeon Edmond Hoile, attached to the Royal Engineers.

³ Lieut.-Colonel Gother Frederick Mann, Commanding Royal Engineers, afterwards Major-General and C.B., who died in 1881.

⁴ Lieutenant Frederick Hime, Royal Engineers, now a Retired Major-General.

—importance than these lines. But every one to his hobby.

“*July 9, Monday.* — Set the men to work, the sailors pumping the water into a tank-ship. At 7.30 I started in an Odin boat under a very small naval cadet, who had been bitten by our monkey, and was ambitious to become a Guardsman! Arrived at Odin Bay, I did a deal of intrenching with little Mann, and returned to Bustard Bay at 6 P.M. Chatted about the trenches, &c., with old MacMahon.¹ Lord Elgin arrived to-day. No salute was fired!

“*July 10, Tuesday.* — Saw Corbett,² who wishes the dam originally proposed to be made across the reservoir, as my tank does not supply above 20 tons a-day. I did some levelling, but find it impossible to run the water down except into the tank, which is now 10 feet deep. I am afraid that with the high spring-tides the salt water may get in. I will make that dam if I can get enough casks. Went on board the Scout to see Corbett about the casks, but he could not promise me any. Saw Harrison³ there, who seems well taken care of, but does not look very well. Went on board the flagship, and the Admiral promised me some casks. I then proceeded to Odin Bay, looked round the works on horseback, and returned to Bustard Bay about 6.30 P.M., having collected about 40 casks. Heard that the commander and mate of the Leven gunboat had been shot by a Marine.

¹ Colonel Patrick William MacMahon, C.B., Commanding the 44th Regiment.

² Captain John Corbett, R.N., Commanding H.M.S. Scout, afterwards Vice-Admiral and C.B.

³ Lieutenant Richard Harrison, Royal Engineers, now General, K.C.B., and C.M.G., Inspector-General of Fortifications.

*“July 11, Wednesday.—*Got 200 men of the 44th at 5 o'clock this morning, and set them to work at this dam. I perceive, however, that the water is growing foul and full of weed, no doubt from the cattle being allowed to run about it. Went to Odin Bay and rode round the intrenchments: 150 Europeans and 150 coolies are employed, not half enough. Saw Brabazon,¹ who is making an extensive survey. He asserts that he saw Kin-chow, a large fortified town in the Gulf of Pe-chi-li; and that he made a charge on some ‘braves,’ who bravely ran away, leaving a spear of some sort as a trophy. Since this the whole town is said to have been evacuated.

*“July 12, Thursday.—*A heavy swell on, rolling the ships about in a way that must discompose Harrison on board the Scout. Showed Clements² the works. The dam is getting on capitally. I shall only want 50 men for it this afternoon; the remaining 150 may be employed at the pier. Rode over the works at Odin Bay, looking for water, &c.; called on the Brigadier and complained of the slaughter-ground being too near my camp. I hear a report that two fellows have been drowned, one of them Gordon³ of the Madras Engineers.

*“July 13, Friday.—*It appears true that Gordon is drowned. The other fellow was Lumsden,⁴ Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General to the 2nd Division, but he saved himself by swimming six hours (from 8 P.M. to 2 A.M.), getting ashore on the opposite side of the bay, and then paddling himself over in a sampan. Hard work for one's life! This was told

¹ Captain Luke Brabazon, Royal Artillery, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, treacherously captured and murdered by the Chinese.

² Lieutenant (now Colonel) Frederick W. R. Clements, R.E. (retired).

³ Lieutenant Henry J. G. Gordon, Madras Engineers.

⁴ Now General Sir Peter Stark Lumsden, G.C.B., C.S.I.

me by Brigadier Pattle¹ whilst waiting for Lord Elgin, who was coming with Sir Hope Grant and the French General to see our Cavalry and Armstrong guns. They were expected at 11 A.M., but arrived about 1 P.M. Lord Elgin, a little fat man with white hair and smooth face. I went round with the Staff, saw practice with Armstrong guns, afterwards tent-pegging, tilting, &c. . . .

"*July 14, Saturday.*—Rode over to Bustard Bay. Found the dam finished and acting capitally, the water having risen about a foot inside it; that on the other side, where the cattle water, is very bad—quite offensive. I took steps to have it purified and returned. I am reading daily a little of 'Frederick the Great.'

"*July 15, Sunday.*—Service at 6 A.M. Rode to Hand Bay with Hime. Saw Stewart, Filgate, Foord, Trail, Dakeyne, and Swanston of the Madras Engineers and Sappers and Miners. Harrison and Clements also there, having walked over, although the former is scarcely recovered. Returned by way of Bustard Bay. Very bad road. Here I found Captains Corbett and M'Guire,² who told me that my pier was not wanted, because the wind had been blowing south-west for the last two days. I accordingly ordered the whole detachment to be brought in to-morrow.

"*July 16, Monday.*—Last night we had a tremendous storm of rain with lightning, wetting everything in our tent. The detachment came in at 1 P.M., having waited to dry their tents, one of which was blown down by the storm last night. Heard that poor Gordon of Madras Engineers had had foul play, being forced to leave the boat by sailors.

¹ Colonel Thomas Pattle, C.B., 1st King's Dragoon Guards.

² Captain Rochfort M'Guire, R.N., Commanding H.M.S. Chesapeake.

“July 17, Tuesday.—Harrison went over to Hand Bay to attend Gordon’s sale and see athletic games. A number of Madras Sappers and Sikhs entered for the foot-races, but not one came in before the English soldiers. I remember a race in the Crimea with Piedmontese soldiers, who, like these natives, were all far behind our men. The General came over to see our lines. . . . Sir Hope Grant certainly seemed to take much more interest in the Cavalry and Artillery horses than in our lines, and no wonder! . . .

“July 20, Friday.—Yesterday our stores were shifted to the Imperatrice, and to-day I found the latter had gone when I wanted to get on board and ascertain about transport for our horses. The Chinese bring in to our market lots of bullocks, sheep, some poultry and eggs, also apricots and fish. This afternoon I rode out over the hills to the north side, and came into a pretty fertile valley, with villages running away to the sea-coast. Tried to bargain for a mule, which the proprietor, an old bearded Chinaman, wanted 60 dollars for. A crowd collected around us and took a great interest in my appearance.

“Some days ago Probyn,¹ with a lot of his Sikhs, paid a visit to an old mandarin, about 10 or 12 miles off. This old fellow, imagining him to be the General, returned the visit in a pony-carriage. I did not see him, but am told that he was anxious to know when we were going, in order that he may report to the Emperor that he has driven away the barbarians!

“July 21, Saturday.—Rode over to Hand Bay and saw Napier. He could give me no definite informa-

¹ Now General the Right Hon. Sir Dighton Macnaghten Probyn, V.C., G.C.V.O., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Keeper of the King’s Privy Purse.

tion of our embarking, but Lumsden (the hero of the drowning adventure) told me that we should be 30 officers (accommodation is for 12!), 280 of 44th, &c. I lunched with the Madras Engineers, after which I rode off into the country with Foord,¹ who was mounted on a Chinese pony. Trail² intended to have accompanied us on a mule with a Tatar saddle, but, unfortunately, was kicked off at starting. After riding about 4 miles through various villages, we got hold of an old fellow, who pulled out a paper, to which he seemed to attach great importance, being probably his diploma as mayor of the village. After long bargaining I bought a mare for \$47.

"*July 23, Monday.* — Cavalry and Artillery, the latter first, were all to embark to-day. Saw Ross³ and Mackenzie⁴ about my horses, but they can give me no definite information. The other day a General Order appeared sanctioning our purchasing baggage animals, and of course all who could bought some. Now the Admiral declares he can't find transport for them. . . . I saw the Commander of the *Hesper*, who will take us on board at 10 A.M. to-morrow and convey us to the *Imperatrice*.

"*July 24, Tuesday.* — Commenced sending off Park at 9.30 A.M., finally embarked at noon. Harrison went off with the horses and donkeys at 6 A.M. When we got to the *Imperatrice* I found there very little room for the horses and no accommodation at all. Actually the Captain (Sharp) told me that the Flag-captain

¹ Lieutenant M. Foord, Madras Infantry, attached to K Company Madras Sappers.

² Lieutenant (afterwards Colonel) David Henry Trail, Royal (late Madras) Engineers, who died in 1892.

³ Colonel Robert Lockhart Ross, C.B., Assistant Quartermaster-General.

⁴ Colonel Kenneth Douglas Mackenzie, C.B., Deputy Quartermaster-General.

(Willes)¹ had told him to take *no* horses. Such are our naval arrangements. They put Divisional and Brigade Staff and Royal Engineers in a ship which is to take no horses. However, Sharp took them to the number of 22 on his own responsibility, as he states. Then it was found that more troops were sent than the ship would hold, if they were to take the coolies as before. Accordingly the latter were sent away, after a long discussion with Captain John Borlase, R.N., of H.M.S. Pearl. Splendid saloon; capital dinner, and very fair cabin accommodation.

"*July 25, Wednesday.* — Bathed over the side. Read a little about batteries to refresh my memory. Played a little at chess. Reading 'Adam Bede.'

"*July 26, Thursday, Gulf of Pe-chi-li, s.s. Imperatrice.*—Steamed off this morning about 6.30 A.M. with the Miles Barton in tow. The wind being fair, we cast off our tow-rope as soon as clear of the Bay of Talienwan. We are sailing in six lines, and the number of ships under sail makes a splendid sight, sufficiently terrifying for the Celestials. I have had a talk with the General, who says that we are all to land on the north of the Peh-tang, so that there will be two rivers to pass and probably under fire! Got our scaling-ladders out and tested them by jumping on the rounds, &c. Found them all sound. Part of the French fleet seen hull down on our left, all in tow of steamers, so that they will probably get to the rendezvous first. General Napier gave me his report on the siege of Lucknow to read. I was struck by the fact that in all that great siege not a single officer or man of the Royal or Bengal

¹ Admiral Sir George Ommanney Willes, G.C.B., then Flag-captain to Sir James Hope, and Commanding the Imperieuse frigate. He died on the 18th February 1901.

Engineers was killed, except those blown up by accident; 13 men of the 24th Native Pioneers were killed—'looting,' Harrison says.

"*July 27, Friday.*—We were very near a collision with the Athlete this morning. About 5 A.M. we got orders to proceed at full speed to the rendezvous. At this time there was a light fair breeze, and about 70 ships in sight under full sail. The French had run by us in the night, and only two of them, towed by a steamer, to be seen. A beautiful day, and towards one o'clock we had passed every ship when a junk came quietly towards us, passing quite close. This seems cool, and shows considerable confidence on their part. The wind fell towards sundown, and at 10 o'clock there was a calm, so that we felt afraid our ships might not get to the rendezvous for some time.

"*July 28.*—Awoke at 6 o'clock to find ourselves at the rendezvous and a fair breeze blowing, promising to bring on the other ships speedily, and indeed the masts of some of them were already to be seen on the horizon. Towards 11 o'clock they came in thickly—a beautiful sight; the French are away to the south of us. Wirgman, the artist for the 'Illustrated London News,' is on board, but I never see him at work. This afternoon about 5 o'clock a gunboat came alongside with General Michel,¹ who hailed us and called for Sir Robert Napier to proceed on board the Grenada. This is, we suppose, for a council of war. Lumsden accompanied the general.

"*July 29, Sunday.*—This morning Lumsden told me that the 1st Division land on Tuesday, 2nd on Wednesday, on the south side of the Peh-tang forts.

¹ Field-Marshal the Right Hon. Sir John Michel, G.C.B., Colonel of the Royal Irish Rifles. Died in 1886.

A brigade will land and take the forts on the north side. As the ships can't come much within 13 miles of the coast, it will be a long business. . . . I hear that Fisher¹ has examined the rear of the Pei-ho forts, the Americans having given him the protection of their flag! It appears that we are waiting for the gunboats which were left to tow the 20 junks—a curious arrangement, as, of course, the gunboats would be first wanted, and there were all the steamers towing nothing. However, they arrived this afternoon, and immediately the 1st Division was ordered to proceed.

“July 30, Monday.—The 1st Division did not move yesterday, the wind being strong and the order late.

“11 A.M.—The whole of us are moving slowly on together in what may be meant for a line, but appears a jumble.

“What a wonderful knowledge of character is shown by the author of ‘Adam Bede’—real genius. Comparisons might be made between Hetty and Mrs Gaskell’s Ruth, two totally different characters, but both influenced by deep shame.

“July 31, Tuesday.—The 1st Division not going to disembark to-day. The Admiral² is said to oppose. . . .

“Aug. 1, Wednesday.—Dull rainy morning, and up to 8 o’clock no appearance of anything being intended to-day. By this time, however, gunboats are observed to be getting up steam; little despatch steamers rush feverishly about, paddle-box boats are

¹ Colonel Arthur à Court Fisher, C.B., R.E., then a Captain. He died in 1879.

² Vice-Admiral Sir James Hope, G.C.B., Commanding the Squadron, afterwards Admiral of the Fleet. He died in 1881.

got out, and by nine o'clock it is certain that to-day will see the first event of the campaign, the disembarkation of the 1st Division at the Peh-tang. We watch the men getting into the boats in their greatcoats, for it rains; then gunboats pass with a lot of boats in tow. It is quite fine about 11 o'clock, and now we see the French gunboats and small steamers with an astonishing number of boats and junks in tow. They make their navy do much more work than we do, for our gunboats did not tow anything like the French. There were all the French officers in full dress, looking very smart, guns, Shang-hai ponies, mules with pack-saddles on, &c.—everything complete. I doubt if our arrangements are so good. . . .

“About noon I went up with some others to the mast-head, whence we could see the land very well—a low coast with a few trees and houses. The forts were very distinct; those of the Pei-ho look like five detached mounds or bastions. All the afternoon we watched the fleet of boats growing smaller and smaller till the Admiral's boat, the *Coromandel*, was hull down (about 9 miles off), and, we conjectured, close to the forts. Still not a shot had been fired, nor was there, that we could see, the whole day. About 6 o'clock a very heavy shower came on which must have wetted the 1st Division, and at 7 o'clock we sat down to a capital dinner, with a selfish feeling of congratulation and a sense of being revenged on our friends for going before us. Greathed,¹ who went with the Commander-in-Chief, has not yet returned to report.

¹ Major-General William Wilberforce Harris Greathed, C.B., Royal (late Bengal) Engineers, then a Captain and Aide-de-Camp to Sir Robert Napier. He died in 1878.

“Aug. 2, Thursday.—Hot day, varied with thunder-showers. Heard that the troops only landed this morning about two o'clock at high water, owing to the delay in getting away yesterday. After all, we have only landed the 2nd Brigade and about 3 guns, when I am sure we might have landed the whole 1st Division. . . . Heard that our gunboats fired four or five guns at the forts but got no reply, and when we landed the Chinese retired. I also hear that the instructions to the gunboats were 'not to fire unless fired at.' The 1st Brigade is to land to-night.

“Aug. 3, Friday.—From 5 to 8.30 this morning a noise was heard like the slow, steady firing of distant artillery. Dillon¹ went aloft about 8 o'clock but saw and heard nothing, and came down with a theory that the noise came from the coal-bunkers. This hypothesis was upset by a gunboat coming alongside us about noon with Williams,² Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, bringing orders to prepare for disembarkation immediately after the Cavalry. Lumsden, our Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, went on board and saw Williams, who told him that early this morning we had thrown out a strong reconnoitring party of about 2000 (French and English), who were attacked by a mass of Tatar Horse, with whom the whole force had been engaged ever since. The French guns (Napoleon ones) were pop-guns. Greathed is wounded.

“Aug. 4, Saturday.—The General and his Staff went away in a gunboat this morning. Greathed came in to breakfast, slightly lame, having been struck by a spent

¹ General Sir Martin Dillon, K.C.B., C.S.I., Colonel of the West Yorkshire Regiment.

² Colonel Richard Llewellyn Williams, 1st Royals.

gingal-bullet. It appears that we drove the enemy out of their first position within 1100 yards of their second, which we did not attempt to force. Pritchard,¹ who came on board in the afternoon, tells us that the road to the Pei-ho is a raised one about 12 feet wide, with deep mud on either side, and the Tatars hold an intrenched position on the road, about 5 miles from Peh-tang. The town he describes as disgustingly dirty, and the French are behaving infamously to the inhabitants. I do not think we lose much by being on board ship instead of ashore, as we should be idle in either place, and here we are at least comfortable. I believe nothing will be done until the 2nd Division lands, when we shall all advance on that intrenched camp—an ugly place to take if only approached by this 12-foot road!

“*Aug. 5, Sunday again!*—Very wet morning. Those ashore can now collect rain water, as the rest they get is brackish. Mail arrived to-day, but I got no letters. I hear the Admiral (Sir James Hope) is a terribly hard-working man, writes everything himself. . . .

“Reading an account of the war of 1840 and 1841. The Chinese appear to have improved amazingly since then, at least in gunnery.

“*Aug. 6, Monday.*—Govan’s² Battery and the 67th Regiment appear to be disembarking, so, I suppose, our turn will come soon. Very hot day. About 8.30 P.M. a gunboat dropped anchor near us without speaking to us. Poor old Reeves³ (99th, and Brigadier) tumbled down a hatchway to-day and dislocated his arm.

¹ Lieut.-General Gordon Douglas Pritchard, C.B., R.E.

² Major-General Charles Maitland Govan, Royal Artillery (retired).

³ Major-General Marmaduke Reeves, C.B.

“*Aug. 7, Tuesday.*—Our orders have come at last in the shape of some Quartermaster-General’s memorandum brought by the Flamer gunboat at 7 o’clock this morning to land the Royal Engineers, &c., from the Imperatrice. The ‘et cetera’ was supposed to include the 44th and the two Brigadier-Generals, but poor old Reeves was not able to land, and Jephson¹ refused to acknowledge himself an ‘et cetera,’ so both were left behind. We did not get off till about 2 p.m., and took nearly four hours getting into Peh-tang. We saw nothing in approaching but the low line of mud bank, stretching from the Peh-tang to the south, where it terminated with the five high cavaliers of the Pei-ho. Coming nearer, we saw the north bank of the Peh-tang and above it, strewn with the carcasses of dead bullocks, horses, &c., that had been flung overboard and washed ashore: the odour borne on the breeze was but a slight foretaste of Peh-tang itself. The scene on landing defies description. The banks of the river are one mass of filth and offal, behind which are mud cottages and narrow streets in which a sanitary commissioner might find plenty of work. Now the narrow street alongside the banks of filth is crowded with a struggling mass of soldiers, coolies, guns, horses, kicking mules, stores of all descriptions, &c., &c., forming a babel of confusion, which, with the accompanying smells, far surpasses all I remember of Balaklava. But, after all, it is a healthy confusion, an energetic struggle with circumstances to get things right, which must ultimately succeed, and I was quite satisfied about 8 p.m., when I was shown two courtyards full of dirt, litter, broken furniture, &c., and quarters for myself and Company. We soon cleared the place out, the men lit a fire and made tea whilst we took our grub

¹ Major-General Stanhope William Jephson, C.B.

over to the other R.E.'s quarters, made a fair dinner, played Van Jahn, and went to bed.

"*Aug. 8, Wednesday.*—Was awakened from a pretty sound sleep by flies attacking me at daylight. Found that Hime and I had been sleeping very near a dead cat, a bit of putrid meat, and other horrors without being disturbed. Got up, saw about stores, water, &c., then walked through the French quarters to the fort. The General lives in one cavalier, some French Spahis in another, Fane's Horse below. The Chinese build capital forts. Mud, covered with a sort of dung plaster, seems to stand at any slope, and they are capitally drained with brick laid in cement. I could make out nothing of the country—all a dead level. Breakfasted and found Deane had got a capital room for me and made everything very neat and comfortable with Chinese arm-chairs, tables, mats, washing-stands, &c. I believe our quarter is one of the best in the town. It was given up by the commissariat for us. Got orders in the afternoon for our advance on the Tatars on Friday. Cavalry, Armstrong guns, Royals, and 31st. We are to be in reserve.

"*Aug. 9, Thursday.*—Making arrangements, such as drawing rations, filling powder-bags, &c., for our move to-morrow. Pritchard went out with a reconnaissance this morning when they turned the Tatars' camp at 1000 yards, and his report as to ground, water, &c., is favourable. At 11 A.M. I heard we are not to go to-morrow, a report afterwards confirmed, they say because the French are not prepared. Very heavy rain in the afternoon, converting the streets into filthy sewers knee-deep in *slush*. Mann gave me orders this evening for a working party to-morrow to mend the roads, &c.

"*Aug. 10, Friday.*—Raining again. The working party parades at 9 A.M. I rode out about 10 o'clock

along the filthy main street that divides us from the French, past the picket at the gate on the raised road to Tien-tsin. About a mile beyond the gate we are making a little ramp with fascines taken off the houses, so that the Artillery, &c., may at this point move off the crowded road and spread over the mud which is quite firm enough to bear. Indeed, I see now that this is a capital country for cavalry, and that we shall have very little difficulty in taking the intrenched position of the Tatars, if it really be intrenched. Grant says we shall take the whole of the Tatar cavalry prisoners if we can occupy the one bridge across the Pei-ho before them. We don't start to-morrow.

"*Aug. 11, Saturday.*—Started off again on my little mare with the Colonel early, to see what more could be done. Sent out working party again. Hime's horse broke loose and made a bobbery last night, but curiously enough did not touch my mare. Rode out again to see the road, which will do well enough if it does not rain heavily. Got orders in the afternoon for the march. We follow the Buffs and make a flank march. Parade at 4 A.M. to-morrow."

CHAPTER X.

CHINA CAMPAIGN—*continued.*

*“ Aug. 12, Sunday. Attack of Sin-ho.—*Awoke 3.30 A.M. No coolies arrived, did not get them till 4—time of parade. Got off at 5 after great struggling and confusion of coolies. Our column (2nd Division) moved slowly on, along Stewart’s road, over the causeway on to the mud. Here the guns began to stick, and limbers and guns were taken away separately, while the Infantry struggled on up to their ankles in thick mud, my men carrying tools (heavy work). Occasional halts for the guns, and one long halt on coming near the enemy at 9 A.M. We were then on a fine green plain rising slightly to the front, and on the ridge enemy’s Cavalry, waggons, &c., were seen moving to our left and towards a large fort with long, turreted, mud walls. Against this the 1st Division were advancing in a long column along the causeway. Again we advanced about a mile and a half, when we appeared about 800 yards from the Tatar Cavalry. Here the Armstrong guns (Milward’s¹ Battery) opened fire, making excellent practice among the Tatar cavaliers, who scampered away as the shell fell among them, giving a very weak fire in return, only one ginal-

¹ Colonel Thomas Walter Milward, C.B., A.D.C., Royal Artillery. Died in 1874.

ball (that I saw) falling near the battery. The 2nd Division Artillery were now engaged with the fort—far away on our left. Now the Tatars seemed to threaten our left flank, and I saw Probyn scampering after them. Soon a lot of them appeared in our rear, and about this time, I suppose, they made their charge on Stirling's¹ guns, when M'Gregor, of Probyn's Horse, charged them with 30 men, and got wounded in three places. I saw the 2nd Brigade (2nd Division) forming squares, and the Tatars standing stock-still looking at them under a heavy fire. I am told they carried off all their wounded. Our Brigade was now threatened on the left—that is, about 200 Tatars came in skirmishing order and looked at us, while we deployed and blazed away at them for about ten minutes (my company on the left of the Buffs), after which they appeared to have satisfied their curiosity. I am glad we did not kill many. The first corpse I saw was of a fine young man armed with a bow and arrows. Bows and arrows against Enfield rifles and Armstrong guns! I know nothing more of the fighting, as we then advanced into the Tatar camp without opposition. Heavy work for our men. I slept in the open air; the dew was very heavy, and I found myself this (*Aug. 13, Monday*) morning with a slight cold and sore throat. . . . Rode over to the village with some men to build a bridge. Harrison is sent to Peh-tang for stores. Moved our camp in the afternoon to the banks of the Pei-ho, a muddy, red-coloured, rapid stream. . . . Felt very seedy and tired with cold and fever. However, I had scarcely turned in when Mann awoke me to go with a party of 100 of the Royals to support an attack by French and English boats on some junks, lying about a mile and a half farther down (*i.e.*,

¹ Lieut.-General Sir William Stirling, K.C.B., R.A.

nearer the forts) on the opposite banks of the river. Well, I led the party out with considerable precaution, throwing out skirmishers and halting to reconnoitre occasionally, till after wading through a ditch we got to the place, having taken one prisoner (a poor boatman) on the road. About 1 A.M. a boat passed us and went silently away again. An hour afterwards it came again, followed by some others. These we found to be the French boats (four Chinese pattern, manned by 20 men, and commanded by Lieutenant Brown). After an hour (about 3 A.M.), our boats not arriving, the French went away. I went to find Mann and know what to do. However, I lost my way on the wide plain and spent a disagreeable hour or more wandering, sometimes knee-deep in mud, and pursued by imaginary Tatars. Got back to camp about 4.30 A.M.

“*Aug. 14, Tuesday. Capture of Tang-ku Fort.*—I never felt seedier than on the morning of this day of deeds (?). Half dead with fatigue, suffering from severe cold and fever, I was, nevertheless, in the saddle by six o'clock on the plain before our camp, where the Sapper storming party was mustering under Fisher, with ladders, pontoons, powder-bags, &c. On our left, and in advance of us, the Artillery and our columns of Infantry were drawn up; beyond them the French—a splendid sight. The Rifles (60th) were potting at a small earthwork on the other side which fired an occasional shot. The south forts fired occasionally, now pitching half-way into the river, and next shot going over our heads. The Chinese firing seems quite chance—the only good shot I saw was among the Rifles, though it wounded none. At last the 60th ran across the open in skirmishing order, occupied the small trench made by Mann (at

500 yards) last night, and opened a fire on the fort. Now the Artillery, who had advanced in line within about 1000 yards of the fort, opened fire. It was a beautiful sight, but not much of a fight, the poor Chinese firing away with great pluck and perseverance, but very irregularly, and without the slightest effect. They only answered us with about six guns, as far as I could see. Every embrasure or gun of theirs was picked out and made a mark of concentrated and unerring artillery. I watched one Chinese gun where there was a perfect breach of the parapet from the heavy fire on it, and noticed a Tatar coolie loading, and then running to the rear till another fired; this until he totally disappeared, and the gun was silenced. All their fire was soon silenced, and, as our guns continued advancing up to 400 yards, our Rifles crept round their left flank by the riverside to find the fort deserted. We got in about half an hour before the French, who had to make a bridge, by which they certainly got in their guns first, and then immediately 'boned' all the Chinese guns. This fort is of great extent, nearly a mile in diameter, and after passing through it, our troops (who kept pouring in rapidly from the rear) found another larger and stronger fort before them, before which the Tatar Cavalry were drawn up in skirmishing order. So having no artillery up we did not advance. I got into a house and fell fast asleep in spite of the biting flies. General Napier gave me some orders about works (a ditch for cavalry to lie in under cover—? under mud). . . . I had a bowl of soup and went to bed.

"*Aug. 15, Wednesday.* — Felt much better this morning, though very hoarse. Rode over with Lumsden, Mann, and Fisher to see all the works the General wants. Riding about all day making roads, bridges,

&c. Two derrick boats broke loose, which Clements brought back again under cover of two 9-pounder guns. The Tatars here sent out two flags of truce with letters for Lord Elgin and Baron de Gros. The Navy are going to interfere with our bridge across the Pei-ho—a great nuisance.

“*Aug. 16, Thursday.*—Beautiful morning. I took the breadth of the river, found it 200 yards. Lumsden says our General is a man of wonderful tenacity in his opinions—right or wrong, he sticks to them. Well, that is better than indecision, and, I think, is recommended by his namesake—the great Napier. The Tatars are very busy at their works on this side. Fired off all our loaded pieces at noon to-day by order. The Chinese must have thought the barbarians gone mad and fighting among themselves. I have lots of work, and am so hoarse with my cold I can scarcely speak. Bathed in the evening.

“*Aug. 17, Friday.*—This morning after working hours (*i.e.*, 7.30) I went out with a reconnoitring party towards the fort in front of us. To my great surprise we were allowed to go right up to the ditch without any further molestation than a couple of shells from a distant fort, which, by the way, burst very well (about 20 feet above the ground), though not near enough to hurt anybody. We merely found a turreted mud wall with a ditch in front, but all open on the right flank. A network of ditches runs between this work and our position, the principle of Chinese fortification seeming to be not to allow you to move anywhere except in front of their works without crossing a lot of ditches. We did see some Tatars, who were all collected in a little inner fort on their right flank, and although we stood for some time about 100 yards from them, they did not attempt to molest us. At 3 P.M. I began to

prepare a bridge to be taken out with the General in a reconnaissance at 4 P.M. I used two scaling-ladders (each in two lengths of 14 feet), to be set on end with planking across. The ladders answered capitally, but the planks were rotten, and I was terribly afraid lest the Commander-in-Chief or some other notable should tumble through. However, all went off well, and I was complimented on the bridge (see Appendix No. II.) I did not see much of the forts, as very few were permitted to go on in advance. They appeared, however, to be full of men. The nearest is said to have seventeen guns, seven of which bear on us. Rigaud¹ called while I was very busy, and I am afraid I appeared very neglectful of him, but I must make up another time. The Madras Engineers are nice fellows. . . . Sergeant Hanson worked capitally at the bridge.

“Aug. 18, *Saturday*.—We have got orders to prepare six bridges for passing heavy artillery to be ready to-night. Seven boats for the large bridge across the Pei-ho were taken up the river to the French junks last night, and ten more left at noon to-day. Stewart² is preparing the six trestle bridges for the attack on the North Forts. This afternoon about 150 French went over to the south side for a *reconnaissance de génie*. These were attacked by Tatars and walked into by gingals, so they sent over a couple of regiments to support them, and now they hold the village as a sort of *tête-de-pont*. We supported them with a couple of Armstrong guns, and I saw the whole affair very well from the top of our house: the firing, the advance of Tatars, their irresolute halt, decided into a retreat by a shell bursting over them. I rode over to

¹ Major-General Gibbes Rigaud, 60th Rifles.

² Major-General John Heron Maxwell Shaw-Stewart, Royal (late Madras) Engineers.

the place intended for the bridge with Fisher, meeting Napier, who is greatly annoyed with our dilatoriness in letting the French get over before us. About 7 P.M. a tremendous explosion on the south side, and several places seen on fire. Are they preparing to desert? They have sent in all their prisoners, including coolies (!).

"*Aug. 19, Sunday*, is our day of work, so in the afternoon about half the Royal Engineers, the 67th, and Armstrong guns moved out by the new sallyport about a mile and a half, taking up a position about 2000 yards from the North Ta-ku Fort (the nearest, that is). Now began our night-work, reminding me of trenches of yore. We had to make bridges and roads over the innumerable canals that intersect the country, making it like a Chinese puzzle, only easy to lose one's way in, as I did two or three times in the night. Fires seen burning in the town on the south side, and near us a Tatar encampment was in flames. I got a few hours' sleep on a waterproof sheet and a blanket.

"*Aug. 20, Monday*.—Got up at 5 o'clock, sent home the working parties, remaining myself with Sir Robert Napier, who wished to give me instructions about next night's batteries. Till near 10 o'clock I was riding over the ground with him and the Commander-in-Chief, &c. One of the things I did on this busy day was to take a flag of truce (my towel tied on to a bit of bamboo) to the nearest of the Ta-ku Forts, accompanied by Mr Parkes,¹ for the ostensible purpose of calling on them to surrender, but really to find out if any men were in the fort, and to take notice of their defences. This seems to me scarcely fair, but as every one else considered it all right, I determined to use all my powers

¹ Sir Harry Smith Parkes, K.C.B., of the Diplomatic Service, who died in 1885.

of observation. On approaching within fifty yards, by a narrow causeway, with water on either side, we were shouted at very energetically by a gentleman in blue cotton, who evidently wished us to stop or go by some other road. Parkes, however, continued advancing while answering and remonstrating, followed by me with the towel. He had a long argument, whilst I perceived there were two ditches, took mental notes of their width, of stakes, &c., and observed that every loophole was crowded with curious faces, the guns were masked, drawbridge up, &c. At last we retired, they using the *tsing-tsing-ah* (good-bye), varied with *chalo* (go away). This we did at last, and I made a sketch of what I saw for the information of Sir Robert Napier. Parkes had merely been told (in reply to his exordiums on the horrors of war) that they had no authority to treat with us. About 10 A.M. I felt awfully done, and (to my horror) Napier requested a sketch of the ground from memory, putting paper and pencil in my hand. Well, I ran off some lines for the canals; he seemed quite satisfied, and put in all his batteries on the sketch. We had an artillery duel with the North Fort. Six Armstrongs shut it up. The French made a reconnaissance on the south side. At last I got back, detailed working parties for the evening, got an hour's sleep, and went out again at 4 P.M. Hard work again all night, losing working parties, gone astray in the dark; old Mann losing himself and a whole party of sixty for some time; then, when placed, the men were lazy and did very little work. Altogether it is a fagging, tedious, anxious business Engineers' night work. I got nearly two hours' sleep, while Stewart relieved me.

“*Aug. 21, Tuesday.—Assault of the North Ta-ku Forts.*—Last night made five batteries and three

bridges, under occasional stray shots from the south side, and illuminated by beautiful bouquets of Roman candles, or some such fireworks, from the North Forts. At 4 this morning we were all on parade, and soon moving to the front, while the Tatar batteries opened on us before ours began to play. We soon replied, however, and now the battle became more general, the South joining in, and gunboats seen with steam up threateningly near them (though I think they never fired). I looked on at our beautiful practice against the wild meaningless shots of the poor enemy, who continued to blaze away with great pluck, when there was an immense explosion in the North Fort, which, I thought, had blown the whole thing up. It certainly must have dismounted nearly every gun and killed numbers, but before the cloud cleared away these Tatar devils were firing their gingals harder than ever. Shortly afterwards a still greater explosion took place in the farthest North Fort—a gigantic black cloud rising up an immense height with a stunning report. At last we advanced to the assault—skirmishers to the front, bridges, ladders. Now came our turn. The pontoons in two bridges of 5 and 8, led by Pritchard, and carried by Marines, moved painfully slowly when not under fire, and when they came in among the whizzing gingal-balls soon came to a dead halt. . . . At last with immense trouble and encouragement the bridge of 5 is got on to the causeway, about 40 yards from the fort. Here we stick. I go to the General (who stood the whole time under heavy fire). He says, 'Go on and make the bridge.' 'All right, General. Now, come on, my lads!' Again the best men rise and lift (Pritchard and I and the three Marine officers all lay hold). We struggle on a few yards. The shot rattle among the pontoons; men fall

away hit, skulking or slipping in the mud; the few remaining cannot pass the entire load, and the whole comes to a halt. About this time I got shot in my leg (right thigh), the ball burying itself in the flesh without cutting the thick serge trousers! I limped to my horse and mounted. He, too, had been struck, poor animal, on the right flank. Shortly afterwards, while standing near the General, a shot hit my horse just over the eye; he reared right on end, and I thought would go over. At that instant Brooke¹ (48th), Aide-de-Camp to Sir Robert Napier, got shot in the thigh, and he had previously had a bullet pass through his hat. Now the French Infantry had crossed at a place I had noticed when with the flag of truce (between the broad moat and river's bank). They had crossed the ditches by ladders, were collected in the berm, and had, indeed, a lot of scaling-ladders placed against the parapet; but the Tatars fought as fiercely as ever, threw out round-shot and fired gingals. A Frenchman has the Tricolor ready in his hand and is half-way up; a Tatar belabours him on the head with a long stick from above, so he subsides. At last one of them gets up and waves his hat. Immediately after (some say sooner) an English soldier or officer shows himself on the ramparts, where the Union is planted before the Tricolor. Chaplin² and Burslem³ of 67th were, I believe, the first up. The former will probably get the V.C. Both were wounded. I now returned to camp slowly on my horse. When I dismounted at the Park I found my leg so stiff and painful as to be quite useless, so I lay down, and shortly afterwards was

¹ Major Henry Francis Brooke, afterwards of the 94th Foot.

² Colonel John Worthy Chaplin, V.C., C.B.

³ Lieutenant Nathaniel Burslem.

carried into Tang-ku on a stretcher. I was taken to General Napier's Headquarters, now made a temporary hospital. Here I wrote a report of my proceedings. In the evening I moved again into my old quarters, where, to my surprise, I found all the other fellows. They told me that the Tatars had made no resistance to our taking the other North Fort, and that we were even occupying one of the South Forts. So all is over, and the rain has come again."

Mr C. R. Low, in the 'Army and Navy Gazette' of 2nd September 1882, relates the following anecdote about Graham at the storm of the Ta-ku Forts, told him, he says, by Lord Wolseley, who was a Lieutenant-Colonel and Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General on Sir Hope Grant's Staff in the China expedition:—

"At the storm of the Ta-ku Forts on August 21 Graham led the Sappers, whose duty it was to lay the pontoon bridge across the wet ditch surrounding the great northern fort. While superintending this operation he was on horseback, and being almost the only mounted officer present, afforded an easy mark to the Chinese matchlockmen, who had already picked off fifteen of his Sappers. During the height of the uproar caused by the fire of the great guns and small-arms, Lieut.-Colonel Wolseley, who was standing by Major Graham, having some remark to make, placed his hand on that officer's thigh to draw his attention. 'Don't put your hand there!' exclaimed Graham, wincing under the pain. 'There's a gingal-ball lodged in my leg.' It was the first notice he had taken of the wound."

It does not appear that Lord Wolseley was aware that Graham had mounted his horse *after* being wounded, so that he might continue to direct his men,

in spite of the greater risk he ran of being hit ; this is, however, clear from the official report (see Appendix I.) of the commanding Royal Engineer, Colonel Gotther Mann, as well as from his own account.

“*Aug. 22, Wednesday.*—Slept very well. My leg is not painful unless I move, but it is tedious lying always on my back. The Rev. Mr Jacobs called and told us that the viceroy had surrendered all the South Forts with guns, &c. So this pigeon is over. In the afternoon I was carried on board the Cooper (Broad), expecting to be taken out at once to the hospital ship, Mauritius. I was, however, put into the saloon on a very short sofa bed, and soon the saloon was filled with wounded men, so that I regret the privacy and comfort of the room I left, near my own comrades.

“*Aug. 23, Thursday.*—Slept middling. Spoke to Dr Morgan about getting me on board the Mauritius or else back again on shore. Gunboats pass by my window. How tedious being on one’s back when all about is stirring activity and so much to be seen ! Yesterday my dear old horse had a bullet extracted from over his eye, flattened against the bone. Half an inch lower and it would have gone through his eye into his brain. Was moved this morning in a gunboat to the Mauritius, where I had a comfortable cabin made over to me.

“*Aug. 24, Friday.*—Moved on deck with the help of a pair of crutches. Burslem, Chaplin, and Miller¹ of the 67th came on board, though I did not see the two latter. Talked of the capital behaviour of the coolies bringing up ammunition under fire, French ladders, &c. The coolies actually made bridges with the latter by standing in the ditches and holding them

¹ Captain Dugald Stewart Miller.

up. Burslem told me of a man (now adjutant of the 18th) who got the V.C. for carrying in a man on his back who was riddled with shot by the time he got into the trench.

"*Aug. 25, Saturday.*—Beautiful day—on deck—writing to Joanna—reading 'Monarchs retired from Business' and 'Raikes's Journal,' both gossipy but interesting works.

"*Aug. 27, Monday.*—This morning got a memorandum from Courtney¹ desiring me, by order of Major-General Napier, to report on the cause of the pontoons not advancing farther, as a question had arisen, whether the men *could* not advance, or that they were ordered to halt. I thought it rather strange and unfriendly that not a line of private information accompanied this official note from Courtney, as I should have liked to know the account of the Marines and of Pritchard. However, I reported immediately to Mann that the final halt of the pontoons was without my orders, though I did not enter into particulars, as I should have had to condemn the conduct of the men. I am afraid this will always be a disagreeable affair, and that I shall get little credit for my share in the assault. Those confounded pontoons! Mail-bag made up at noon. Assistant-Surgeon Edmond Hoile, attached to the Royal Engineers, who was on board yesterday, told me we march to Tien-tsin to-day. Wrote to Barker,² now on the Sir W. Peel; he was with the 2nd pontoons, and says the men could not get on with them, having to carry packs and arms.

"*Aug. 28, Tuesday.*—Beautiful day again. There is

¹ Major-General Edward Henry Courtney, R.E.

² Lieutenant Walter Julius Barker, Royal Marine Light Infantry. Retired as a Major in 1879.

a parrot on board which, when excited, does nothing but imitate the steward's consumptive *cough* — an accomplishment (!) Poll is very proud of.

“*Aug. 29, Wednesday.*—The spring-tides are now set in, and with the ebb an immense amount of soil is carried from the interior to the sea and deposits near the mouth of the large rivers. In this way the Gulf of Pe-chi-li is gradually filling up. To-day the water is of a thick, red-mud colour up to about four miles from the coast, where it meets abruptly with the green sea-water, marking a strong line. It strikes me forcibly and pleasantly, on reading of the enormous armament and expenditure proposed for the national defences, that we shall all be ordered home and employed on them.

“*Aug. 30, Thursday.*—I amuse myself by thinking of a new style of fortification, founded on Choumara's principles. Got my letters at last enclosed in one from Harrison, who tells me that Pritchard and I are mentioned in despatches. . . .

“*Aug. 31, Friday.*—I hear a Division is to be left here to winter, but I don't believe more than a regiment and some Artillery will be left in the South Fort. News of disturbances at Shang-hai arrived. . . .

“*Sept. 1, Saturday.*—Read ‘The Monk,’ by Lewis, a tale of the Reynolds style—but famous in its day—hence *Monk* Lewis. Another mail in yesterday, but I suppose we shan't get our letters until they have been sorted at Tien-tsin. Saw the ‘Mail’ of July 10. A splendid thing that volunteer review and rifle match. These things make one proud of England. I see Ernest Jones, the Chartist, who sacrificed a fortune to his principles, the writer of poetry that was favourably mentioned by the ‘Saturday Review,’

is coming out with great success at the bar. I remember the time when Ernest Jones was to Joanna and me the type of a vulgar demagogue.

"*Sept. 3, Monday.*—Leg very much better. Able to walk about with a stick.

"*Sept. 4, Tuesday.*—Heavy rain in the morning. The Cooper (Broad) left for Tien-tsin this morning, taking Drake¹ and Minney.² I would have gone too, but I am anxious to see the forts first and to get Choumara out of my baggage now in South Fort. I find there is a boat starts to-morrow morning at 3 o'clock, which I shall go by.

"*Sept. 5, Wednesday.*—Got up at 2.45, and started at 3.30 A.M. Arrived at South Fort at 6 A.M. Passed the remains of the boom, one raft of four which lay across the river connected by chains. This raft was of heavy timber, and had three large floating drums, between which came long heavy trees with iron points for ships to run on. I cannot imagine a more formidable boom. The fort itself was interesting. I was astonished at the size of the magnificent brass guns, which are now equally shared by us and the French. There are three high bastions mounting 3 guns each and connected by long 'curtains' with guns in casemates (*not* bomb-proof). These casemates extend all along the curtain, and make very good barracks, the flat roof forming a terreplein and banquette. We noticed baskets of stones at intervals along the parapets, ready to be hurled on the assailants. Lime was also there for blinding them, but the barbarians (*we*, I mean) have used this for sanitary purposes. The gorge has no guns, but is protected by a parados.

¹ Captain John C. T. Drake, 2nd Queen's.

² Senior Purveyor Charles John Minney.

There were a number of sham guns (wooden) all in piles! The South Fort could easily have been taken from the land side, but it was *madness* attacking them from the front as we did last year. We saw some field artillery, very rough carriages with two little iron guns on each. The Chinese use no tangent sights, and have only a lot of rough wedges to elevate and depress their guns, which fully accounts for their bad practice against our field guns when the range was unknown. I saw Colonel Sargent,¹ who expects to command there during the winter. He lives in Sangko-lin-sin's hut, a very good one in the same pattern as the rest, one worthy of our imitation. In this hut was found a placard giving a description of an invention to destroy the barbarians by sending bulls amongst them with infernal machines. . . . The Madras Engineers are all in the adjacent fort. Got back to the ship by 10 P.M., after a tedious journey of 3½ hours. If a *civil* Frenchman had not given us a lift at starting we should not have got in till morning, for the crew were too sulky to pull well and the wind dead against us.

"Sept. 9, *Sunday*.—Fisher came on board looking very ill; his liver is affected, poor fellow. He tells me that the Chinese Prime Minister has refused to sign the treaty, so that Lord Elgin takes up two batteries of Artillery, and a force is to follow on Wednesday next. I hope to march with this force.

"Sept. 10, *Monday*.—Went ashore with Captain Roderick Dew,² R.N. . . . I noticed to-day that the Chinese have a capstan on each side of the rear of

¹ Lieut.-General John Neptune Sargent, C.B., Colonel of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers.

² Commanding H.M.S. Encounter.

their heavy guns, so they can draw in the muzzles and load under cover. They are mounted on slide carriages which pivot on a wooden pin, which also takes all the recoil, and I suppose soon gets broken. The merlons are built nearly perpendicular with a combination of timber, mud, and hemp."

CHAPTER XI.

CHINA CAMPAIGN—*continued.*

"Sept. 11, Tuesday.—I came ashore yesterday, meaning to get some things out of my baggage and to get into the Cooper as she passed here this morning. The Admiral refuses, however, to stop the Cooper for me, although I have twice been to him, last time with a request from Sargent (Colonel Commanding 3rd Buffs). Determined not to be done, I took possession of a Chinese sanpan, got myself and baggage floated up to the Chusan, opposite the fort we took, and asked as a favour to be put on board the Cooper, which would pass about 2 P.M. This was readily promised and easily executed. So *me voilà* in the Cooper steaming up the Pei-ho with a flood-tide in defiance of all wooden-headed admirals. A very winding river and muddy; pretty, fertile country, quite flat, full of orchards; along the bank millet growing 10 and 12 feet high, and sometimes fields of barley and rye; plenty of populous villages; maize drying on the roofs of the mud cottages; inhabitants stare at us and grin as the waves dash on the banks behind the steamer; cold night.

"Sept. 12, Wednesday.—Beautiful fresh morning. Tide running down till noon, when we weighed. Passed some batteries no gunboat could have silenced.

Got to our moorings between two forts, the French occupying the north side. I walked up to camp and saw General Napier. The 1st Division marched at 2 P.M. We march on Friday. Got up my baggage and felt very tired. Night very cold.

"*Sept. 13, Thursday.*—Heard that the wall round Tien-tsin is 15 miles long and cost fifteen-pence a foot. Gibson, the Interpreter, 2nd Division, says there are no troops between this and Pekin; that Sang-ko-lin-sin passed rapidly on horseback and alone through a village on the Tien-tsin road, about 20 miles from South Fort on 21st inst., and passed through Tien-tsin on the 22nd on the road to Pekin. He is said to be very popular, and to have the character of an able, energetic man; he restrains his troops from pillage, and Gibson says that nearly all the men in the North Ta-ku Fort that we took were Chinese and not Tatars. The horsemen we met the first day's march were Tatars. Rode with Stewart into the town. Streets broader than Canton, but houses and shops very inferior—the best of the latter were certainly shut up. We can't march to-morrow for want of transport. Why don't we seize all the Chinese carts, wheelbarrows, mules, &c.? I met a Chinaman to-day driving tandem with two mules.

"*Sept. 14, Friday.*—Lumsden says we have to give all our transport, even hospital, to the 1st Division. Our ponies are all carrying forage for the King's Dragoon Guards. We can get water transport, however, and Napier is anxious to get on but must wait orders. This morning we saw a sedan-chair come in surrounded by our redcoats, a few Sikh Cavalry leading the way; behind came a couple more sedan-chairs. This was the prefect, the chief officer of the province now that the Viceroy Hung

has gone away. Yesterday he had been invited to visit the General, who is not satisfied with the way the supplies come in. As he did not accept the invitation, he had to be brought by force this morning. He is very angry and obstinate, and refuses to send for his servants or bed; says that he will lie on his back, wants nothing but a bottle of samchow and a pipe; that, according to all rules of China, he should have cut his throat long ago, and will now feel much obliged to any one who will do it for him. Rode into town, bought a mattress and basin. A great many shops were shut up—no valuables left. Crowds of people collected about the prefect's house and the gates. Still they looked quiet and respectable, and turned their stolid round faces towards me without any expression of dislike.

"Sept. 15, Saturday.—Very cold night. General Napier told me that a Tatar prince met Lord Elgin with 3000 cavalry. When asked by Parkes, 'Why so many?' he replied, 'I was just going to ask you the same question.' 'Oh, we find it necessary.' 'So do I.' The French wanted the ambassadors to take only 100 men, as 1000 men were too few to fight and too many to be compromised. He supposes the French to wish to get rid of both ambassadors to leave the road open to the military. The prefect is coming round; he accepted blankets yesterday and took cocoa this morning. I inquired of Dillon if I am commanding Engineer here. He says 'Yes'; however, Stewart objects, so it is referred to the General.

"This morning, while the buying and selling, with 'How much?' was going on with great vigour, a Chinaman, dressed in white (perhaps he was in mourning), appeared in the market-place, held up

his hand to command attention, and then spoke a few words, on which all the natives cut away with their goods, not even waiting to be paid. Very shortly afterwards, however, a Chinese official came to the General, assured him that he had no connection with the man in white, whom he would endeavour to secure, and that he had already sent the people back to the market, which was true. It is a pity the Provost's orderly, who was there, did not arrest the man in white. 'How much?' is all the English the natives about here have acquired, and they make a universal use of it, as the 'Bono Johnny' in Turkey. As you walk through the market, every native having anything to sell shouts out 'How much?' Men coming about the camp hawk their goods in the same way, and 'How much?' here is as common as 'Ole clo'' in some parts of London. A boy shouted 'How much?' at me as a sort of nickname when I rode through the town yesterday.

"*Sept. 16, Sunday.*—Service at 7 A.M. Stewart had got permission to go to Pekin. *Now* he has got orders to accompany the siege-train with 25 Sappers. I have written to Mann about getting to the front. Amused myself with drawing a front of fortifications.

"*Sept. 17, Monday.*—Nothing to do. I am reading Merkes 'On Redoubts,' but cannot take much interest in it. The days are very hot and the nights very cold. It is extraordinary to see the quantity of ice we can get here. Coolies carry huge lumps of it about in the blazing sun, and one of them just now passed me *eating* a large slice—like bread and butter. They use it for cooking their samchow, &c. . . .

"*Sept. 18, Tuesday.*—Stewart left us this morning in a cart with 4 Sappers. Filgate¹ is to accompany the

¹ Colonel Alexander J. Filgate, Royal (late Bengal) Engineers.

siege-train. Got an 'invite' to dine with Napier to-morrow.

"*Sept. 19, Wednesday.*—Cloudy day; took a long walk in the morning to the forts. Rode out in the afternoon, crossing the river to the north side, where I saw the French camp. It is in beautiful garden country and among trees. Dined with the General. Got the news of 'peace' through the Chinese. This was politely circulated by General Napier.

"*Sept. 20, Thursday.*—Gibson's 'Tien-tsin Gazette' announces that the villagers of Chang-chia-wan fired upon a foraging party of ours; that we brought up guns(?), upon which Sang-ko-lin-sin, the invincible, advanced to the rescue, got licked and retreated, we taking 18 guns(!). This happened 10 *li* (over three miles) from Tang-chow. Dull life this in camp. Napier and Buckle dined with me.

"*Sept. 21, Friday.*—Smart, a Commissariat officer, had his tent cleaned out last night and lost \$200. About 4 P.M. I was sent for by the General, and on reaching headquarters I heard there had been an action in the front, that we had killed 700 and lost 20(!). Here was news! I got orders to take up all the necessary stores and proceed with half my company to Ho-si-wu by water. Ten minutes afterwards I was galloping towards the fort with a letter to Young for stores. I got nearly all my stores to the fort, and was to have loaded the boats to-night, but finding that impossible, I returned and reported so.

"*Sept. 22, Saturday.*—Up about 4.30 and packed. I send my horses with Headquarters, who are to march 20 miles to-day. The 31st and 67th march at 6 A.M. Owing to the naval arrangements we did not get up until 1 o'clock, although my party was quite ready at 9 A.M.! This system of mixing us up

with naval people is very annoying, and works badly.

“Old Colonel Day,¹ who accompanied us (but not on duty), told me that the affair in the front was thus: Mr Parkes, a Frenchman, Colonel Walker,² and some Sikh Horse (with them, I suppose, were Brabazon and the ‘Times’ correspondent, Mr Bowlby) rode on to Tang-chow to inform the Commissioners that Lord Elgin would be there next day. Then returning, they found their road interrupted by an immense body of cavalry, who told them they must be detained. The French officer here said or did something which made the Tatars immediately knock him down and kill him (!). Walker and the rest (?) then cut their way through and escaped. Parkes had previously ridden back to see the Commissioners. In the meantime, wondering at their absence, Sir Hope Grant sent out Anderson³ with 16 Horse to find them, and he has not since been heard of, nor his party (!). The General then sent to say that if any prisoner was hurt he would sack and burn Pekin. This flag of truce was fired on, so the disposable force (?) was moved on and an action was the result, when the Tatars (or Chinese) were tremendously pounded, and we took 80 (? 18) guns.⁴

“*Sept. 23, Sunday.*—Cold morning, so I got out and walked. The 67th passed us. I got some Sikhs out to tow the boats. The villages seem nearly deserted. Got half my men to march, and half the Sikhs with arms.

“*Sept. 24, Monday.*—Halted on the north bank at 8 A.M. before a large village, Yang-tsun (?). On the

¹ Lieut.-Colonel Henry James Day, Commanding 99th Foot.

² Lieut.-General Sir Charles P. Beauchamp Walker, K.C.B., Colonel of the 2nd Dragoon Guards.

³ Lieutenant Anderson died of ill-treatment by the Chinese.

⁴ Action of Chang-chia-wan on 18th September 1860.

farther side of this place we came to the camp of the 31st and 67th. Two companies of the 31st remain here, the rest marched this morning; the 67th are so tired with their long march of yesterday (18 miles) that they do not move before 2 P.M., and then march only 8 miles. We shall thus get to Ho-si-wu about the same time they do. A detachment of Fane's Horse is left here under Pakenham, who undertook to send M'Gregor on, so the latter left me. This is a pleasant way of travelling,—we get out and walk when we like. The only object we passed worth looking at to-day was a very handsome marble tombstone, curiously carved and surrounded by a granite rampart wall.

“*Sept. 25, Tuesday.*—The Chinese toil along, but make slow progress in towing us against the strong ebb. . . . After breakfast I made the whole of the men march, leaving only one in each boat.

“This afternoon about 5 o'clock we arrived at Ho-si-wu, a small village 45 miles from Tien-tsin. The 31st and half Stirling's Battery under Talbot¹ are here; 67th move on to-morrow. I called on Colonel Spence,² who commands the troops here, and he told me we could go on to Tang-chow by water. There appears to have been another fight on the 21st.

“*Sept. 26, Wednesday.*—Oldham's servant has been missing all day. Passed the siege-train at 8 P.M. Filgate appears very fatigued and says he has to work night and day, cutting channels, &c. I gave him 10 shovels and a bottle of brandy.

¹ Lieutenant (afterwards Major-General) Fitzroy Somerset Talbot, Royal Artillery.

² Major-General Frederick Spence, C.B., then Lieut.-Colonel Commanding the 31st Regiment.

"*Memo.*—At last halt (6 P.M.) there was an alarm of Tatars. I went out with some Sikhs but could see none. Kept half the men under arms and had a guard at night. Sentry fired at something.

"*Sept. 27, Thursday.*—A Sikh reported missing. Oldham went with 12 men into a village near which he was last seen, but found it deserted.

"12 noon.—Another man (Punjabi) is now reported missing, and Oldham's servant has not returned! I have given the strictest orders against straggling, and keep a guard in rear to pick up stray men. Yet Drake saw a store-cart on the road without escort, and sailors run over the country untouched. For the last few days the country has been more undulating, and to-day we see blue hills and jagged tops to northward.

"*Sept. 28, Friday.*—Undulating country with the mountains in the distance, sandy soil. About 9 o'clock we saw a large tower or pagoda, which was either Tang-chow or Peking—opinions seem divided. Halted at 10 A.M. Sergeant Foster came in with his party from marching and told me that in making a detour to cross a canal he had to go three miles into the country, when he came upon an old intrenched camp and saw a number of dead Chinese, gun-platforms, &c., then came on a walled town (Chang-chia-wan), which he walked through as it was quite deserted! This must be the scene of the action of the 18th, when the Tatars received a punishment for their meditated treachery. They had 76 guns in position with which to sweep the place they had pointed out for our camping-ground. They have played a deep game. The day after this, or probably the same day, news was circulated in Tien-tsin by the Chinese that peace was declared and the treaty

signed, giving full particulars. Probably, too, they have something to do with our sending the 44th to Shang-hai. But we are still too strong for them, as they shall find. About 4 P.M. we came into Tang-chow. The Royal Marines are here and showed themselves very hospitable and obliging. We only took the gates of Tang-chow this morning, the guard offering no resistance but looking very sleepy.

"*Sept. 29, Saturday, Tang-chow.*—Rained all last night and nearly all day. I rode over to camp, getting wet through. Saw Mann, Courtney, &c. Papillon¹ has dysentery and goes off home to-day. I join them on Monday, the day we march. Pretty country with nice little groves and country houses. Lord John Hay² tells me that Lord Elgin has threatened the head mandarin (the brother of the Emperor) to turn out his brother.

"*Sept. 30, Sunday.*—Reported to Dillon on the loss of the men of the 8th Punjab Native Infantry. Walked round the walls with Shaw³ and Filgate. The houses are very poor and seem mostly deserted. Have got a cold and feel seedy. . . .

"*Oct. 1, Monday.*—Twenty carts arrived under Captain D., who had orders to report himself to me. I accordingly put my park stores into them and proceeded to camp, ordering the men to follow. I found we had to go to the depot along the stone road—a villainously bad road, and yet Mr Ward, the Yankee ambassador, reports the existence of a fine paved road from Tien-tsin to Peking. I passed a white-buttoned mandarin with a flag of truce. It rained

¹ Lieutenant John Ashton Papillon, R.E., afterwards Colonel, died in 1891.

² Captain Lord John Hay, C.B., R.N., Commanding the *Odin* frigate, afterwards Admiral of the Fleet and G.C.B.

³ Lieutenant George Kennedy Shaw, 60th Rifles.

heavily last night; this, I suppose, indicates the break up of the warm weather. I pitched the camp and park inside a walled enclosure under trees (the next enclosure contains some very handsome marble tombs).

"Oct. 2, *Tuesday*.—Rode over to camp and saw Mann. The 60th Rifles, siege-guns (which came with my park), and another battery are here, also Filgate with 25 Madras Sappers. Terribly cold north wind all last night and this morning, but went down in the afternoon. Rode over to Tang-chow. Old Gascoine¹ does not seem to care about my assistance in making defences. . . . The General came here in the evening, shook hands with me, but said I must take my tents outside the enclosure.

"Oct. 3, *Wednesday*.—Every one seems moving. The 1st Division got here by 8 o'clock. Rifles and Queens shift their camp; so, I suppose, we shall too. There has been a letter received written by Parkes in Chinese, and signed by Loch,² asking for warm clothing, and recommending us to make peace. Over this, written in Hindustani in English characters by Loch, is, 'This is by order of the Government.' North wind blowing again. The 2nd Division came here in the afternoon, and I shifted my camp to the outside. We don't march to-morrow, as the French are not ready. Charlie Gordon³ arrived with Hime and the remainder of the Madras Engineers. He is still brimful of energy, but has sobered down into a more

¹ General John Hawkins Gascoine, C.B., then Commanding a Battalion of the Royal Marine Light Infantry, now deceased.

² Henry Brougham, 1st Baron Loch, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., then Secretary to Lord Elgin's Mission. He was treacherously seized and ill-treated by the Chinese.

³ Captain Charles George Gordon, afterwards Major-General and C.B., the Hero of Khartoum.

reflective character. He is really a remarkably fine fellow. At 12 last night two companies of the 8th Punjab Native Infantry were ordered out to burn Ma-tow, a village about 18 miles off, whence two sowars reported themselves to have been fired on. This is a bad deed.

"Oct. 4, *Thursday*.—Very busy all day making field-works for a large enclosure to hold all baggage animals, &c., as pointed out by Sir Robert Napier. I got an order from Napier to take all my ladders to-morrow.

"Oct. 5, *Friday*.—Got off by 6 o'clock. Marched over stiff sharp stubble (like that which lamed my pony yesterday). Halted at noon at the Lime-kilns, a distance of about 4 miles; an amazingly strong position if intrenched. From the top of one of the kilns I saw the pagodas of Pekin, marking, I suppose, the gates. They look much larger than those of Canton. The French make a depot here. We were put up in an enclosure pretty comfortably, all my men being under cover.

"Oct. 6, *Saturday*.—Started again about 6 A.M., defiling down a narrow road; very slow work. Halted opposite the Tatar intrenched camp about 9 A.M., after about 3 (?) miles' march. From here we see dimly the Great Wall winding over the hills behind Pekin. Broiling hot sun. We move on again slowly about 10.30. I followed General Napier up to the top of the so-called intrenched camp, which is an old earth rampart extending many miles on the north side of Pekin. It is about 40 feet high, narrow at top, with little bastionets here and there, said by Gibson to have been made in the twelfth century. We learnt from a peasant that Sang-ko-lin-sin had been here last night, and had moved his headquarters to a temple six li

(2 miles) farther on the road we were marching. The 8th Punjabis constantly falling out and looting fowls, Brownlow once chased them back with his whip. We halted at a village in rear of the great ramparts on the road to the North Gate, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 miles from it. Country prettily wooded, fertile, and studded with villages. These were mostly deserted, but in one village a great number of people collected and gazed quite fearlessly on us marching through. The women are generally in great alarm, but here they don't kill themselves as at Peh-tang, Tang-chow, &c.; the old ones march out boldly, and the younger ones in some cases blacken their faces to disfigure themselves.

• “We have lost our cavalry, and we have lost the French also. Orders have been given to fire a royal salute to-morrow to inform them where we are. Bonfires are blazing along the heights, and all the bands are out playing different tunes; an infernal din—picturesque sight, though. The Sikhs have got a tremendous bonfire.

“*Oct. 7, Sunday* again! Went out with Charlie Gordon within a few hundred yards of the walls, which seem just like those of Canton. The suburbs seem to run close up to the foot of them and are full of people, but no troops nor guns can be seen. Our Cavalry are by the Summer Palace, and the French are in it getting no end of loot!

“*Oct. 8, Monday*.—Went out for a reconnaissance. Napier, Royal Artillery, and Royal Engineers. We were accompanied by two companies of Sikhs, and went close to the wall at the north-east gate. The defences of Pekin are nothing—high walls with little square bastions. I proposed to mine them, but I suppose they will be breached, if indeed we have to take

Pekin. Coming back, we saw a great Buddhist temple. Lama very civil. After breakfast I went to see the Buddhist monastery at headquarters and brought away a couple of little carved gods.

"In the course of the day I rode over to the Summer Palace, meeting on the road an immense quantity of loot, chiefly silks brought in carts, trains of coolies, Pekin mob, &c. A troop of Probyn's Horse passed us, each man having a pile of plunder before him. At the palace the scene was one of wonderful confusion—silks strewn about, broken furniture, clocks, vases, &c., all thrown in heaps and trampled down. Beautiful carved ebony in the throne-room. The French found a treasure and were allowed to fill their pockets, while not even an English officer was allowed inside! Colonel Foley¹ was standing by, too. Parkes, Loch, and a few sowars were sent in this evening. They have been very badly treated; a Frenchman, who was with them, had been kept bound the whole time. Brabazon, Bowlby,² and the rest, numbering thirty, are not in Pekin, but have been either killed or taken into Tartary. I had never believed they would dare to treat them badly.

"*Oct. 9, Tuesday.*—The order is for the loot to be given into Headquarters and sold publicly. This creates a great deal of grumbling amongst those who have got loot. What guarantee is there that every one will do so? Should not the French and the Sikh Horse do so too?

"This afternoon an order appeared by the Commander-in-Chief, putting it on honour for every

¹ Colonel the Hon. St George Gerald Foley, British Commissioner at the French Headquarters, afterwards General and K.C.B., and Colonel of the 2nd Battalion South Staffordshire Regiment.

² Mr Bowlby was the 'Times' correspondent.

officer to give back his property, so everything of ours was given up. I walked over to the French camp, but bought nothing.

“*Oct. 10, Wednesday.*—Made a reconnaissance with all the swells—French and English. After a great deal of humbugging and arguing, the spot was fixed on that Napier had already chosen for a breaching battery—viz., the enclosure of the Temple of the Earth. Got in just in time for dinner and then marched everything down to the temple. Got pretty good quarters in a joss-house amid dusty silks and bronze vases. . . .

“*Oct. 11, Thursday.*—Making battery for siege-guns. Sale of prize things to-day. I could not attend, but sent Hime. The Chinese allow us to go outside and pick up vegetables; but they have put up two little brass guns just opposite us.

“*Oct. 12, Friday.*—As we do not open fire to-day, I went over to see the sale. Things are going at a tremendous price, so I rode over to the French coolie camp and bought some things there. . . . Unmasked the battery by night.

“*Oct. 13, Saturday.*—The French have been working day and night about 100 yards from the wall on our left. They are said to have made a mine under the wall last night—what Gordon and I wanted to do. Mann wants 9th and 10th Companies to have the assaulting party. As it is a 2nd Division affair, I think my Company ought to assist, and will speak to Napier about it. I can count three small brass guns immediately opposite to us, but none in the gate. I hear some prisoners came in this morning, who state that Anderson and De Norman¹ died in prison, suffering and bound. About 12 (the

¹ Mr De Norman was on Lord Elgin's Staff.

time we were to open fire) Colonel Stephenson¹ galloped up to General Napier with orders to send 500 men immediately to occupy the gate the Chinese had given up. The Punjabis were immediately ordered in, and I doubled in with 20 Sappers I took off from working on the advanced trench. On entering the outer gate we found ourselves in a large enclosed space similar to, but larger than, those of Canton, and on passing through the inner gate we were in a street about 25 yards wide, filled with a staring, grinning Chinese mob, who were kept back by officials rushing about with long whips. We ascended the long ramp leading up to the terreplein, whence we got a better view of the wide street, filled with a mass of Chinese, equal in number, perhaps, to our whole army. Parkes was very busy talking with red-buttoned mandarins, who were particularly civil in their gesticulations, repeatedly bowing and pressing their knuckles together. The French Commandant was very angry at our getting in before him and putting our flag up first, but after a time the 'Crinoms' came in with band playing and cheering to the great edification of the Chinese mob. The houses of Peking appear very inferior to those of Canton, and I believe the wide streets are only those from the gates. I returned to my quarters about 3 P.M.

"Oct. 14, *Sunday*.—Service at 8 A.M. Rode over to the French camp. They have very few things left, and those they charge for! Rigaud paid me a visit this morning, and I showed him the works.

"Oct. 15, *Monday*.—Walked over to the gate; we

¹ General Sir Frederick C. A. Stephenson, G.C.B., Colonel of the Coldstream Guards and Constable of the Tower of London, who was Deputy Adjutant-General to the Force in China.

are still working at that traverse or battery across the terreplein. Dull, cold day. My men are washing their clothes—not before needed. Took a walk on the ramparts beyond our advanced sentries. No Chinese soldiers to be seen. Returning, I saw some Gunners amusing themselves by dropping pieces of newspaper in the crowd beneath, who scrambled eagerly for them, and after curious investigation, guarded them as carefully as bank-notes.

“Some dead bodies have been sent in to-day. Bowlby’s has been identified. Why do we not go in and sack the palace?”

“*Oct. 16, Tuesday.*—It snowed last night on the hills, but with us it rained heavily. Moved the Company to Divisional Headquarters, leaving Sergeant Hanson and 20 men with Stewart for works at the gate. Got into some quarters vacated by the 8th Punjabis—very dirty, but when cleaned out very superior to our old ones. Mann came to me in the evening to consult about carrying and lowering the coffins of the four dead men—De Norman, Anderson, and two others—who are to be buried to-morrow.

“*Oct. 17, Wednesday.*—At 7 A.M. I rode off with Stephenson and Mann to see the Russian cemetery, measure the doorways, &c., for the coffins to pass through. Very cold raw day; snow seen on the hills. I went to the cemetery about 12 o’clock, before the procession, which started from the Great Lama temple. . . . I ran back again against the biting N.E. wind and joined the procession. The slow step made it a bitterly cold march to us, who were in regimentals without greatcoats. Lord Elgin had prudently put on a thick peacoat and long boots; besides, he got under the lee of a wall during the service, and, except having his bald round head ex-

posed, looked very comfortable. The Rev. Robert M'Gee, Chaplain to the Forces, tried to edge in behind the wall, but did not succeed. Some French officers and Russian Attachés were present; the Ruski priest held up an elaborate cross during the whole service! This would not do at St George's-in-the-East.

"Went into the city gate and bought some fowls and eggs. Napier is having some absurdly permanent works constructed—i.e., stone steps down the wall, permanent magazine, &c., which will be finished by the time we go.

"Oct. 18, *Thursday*.—Fine day, and warm compared to yesterday. The 1st Division marched off this morning to burn the Summer Palace, the scene of the sufferings of our prisoners. I hear that we have imposed a fine of £10,000 for each officer or gentleman and £1000 for each soldier, dead or undelivered, and have given them only three days to pay it in. This is right, if three days is time enough to allow of some more being given up.

"Oct. 19, *Friday*.—Started off to the Summer Palace about 10.30 A.M. with Kempson,¹ &c., after some delays. We were guided by the smoke. On arriving at the nearest entrance, the east gate, I went in, followed by Lamprey.² We were an hour too late for loot; the Sikhs had been before us, and all the palaces were in flames—a fine sight. The bright sun gleamed through the smoke like a moon. Went off to an island in a boat with Lamprey, who was very fidgety and anxious to join the main body. I bought some enamelled bronzes from the Sikhs and returned.

"Oct. 20, *Saturday*.—Last night at 12 o'clock I was aroused by Mann bringing the orders for the assault

¹ Captain William John Kempson, 99th Foot.

² Assistant-Surgeon Jones Lamprey, M.B., 67th Foot.

of the palace. Harrison, Stewart, and Dakeyne¹ were to have been with the leading columns, but all was countermanded at 9 A.M. They say that Prince Kung professes himself willing to pay the fine for the prisoners, and that the French agreement was to give them to the 23rd, so that everything is deferred to that day. Lumsden tells me that we have heard this morning of the fate of Brabazon. It appears that on the 18th he was taken before the Tatar second in command, who had just been mortally wounded in the action with us. By his orders Brabazon and the French abbé were immediately put to death. . . .

“Oct. 21, *Sunday*.—A very raw cold morning. I did not attend church. . . . The siege-guns leave this to-morrow.

“Oct. 22, *Monday*.—Very cold morning; last night it froze hard. I joined a party to go out to the Summer Palace, but the escort was countermanded on account of Sang-ko-lin-sin, who is said to be in the neighbourhood. 200 King's Dragoon Guards were sent out to look for him. I hear that one Company of the Royal Engineers is to go home at once. Stephenson says the 10th, because it has been out the longest. But he has been misinformed; . . . the 10th left home in October 1857, whereas the 23rd left home in March 1857, and is therefore clearly first for home service. I will take care Stephenson understands this. Reading ‘Adam Bede’ again. This is a charming book; one seems to live in it while reading. How intensely English—*rural* English—in its character. Now Miss Brontë's novels are somewhat tinged with French melodrama. . . .

¹ Captain Dakeyne of the Madras Infantry, Commanding “A” Company of the Madras Sappers.

"Oct. 23, *Tuesday*.—Fine, cold, bracing weather. To-morrow Lord Elgin and Sir Hope Grant go into the city to sign the treaty; the 2nd Division act as a guard to keep the streets. Napier still suspects treachery, and has ordered me to send down some tools and powder-bags to the An-ting gate ready for to-morrow. Heard from Stephenson that my Company is to go home. Very glad to hear it. Charlie Gordon dined with us. He says the Russians have got two batteries of Armstrong guns!

"Oct. 24, *Wednesday*. *Signing the Treaty*.—We paraded at 11.30, and marched to the An-ting gate. I rode with General Napier. It was about 2 P.M. before the procession appeared—100 Cavalry and 400 Infantry, with bands playing. Lord Elgin in his chair, carried by coolies in red shirts. He was followed by the diplomats and officers on leave from the 1st Division, some in red with cocked hats, some in blue, and others in plain clothes—a motley crew. The 2nd Division followed in rear of all, keeping the road open by posting detachments at cross streets, lining them along the road. A few mandarins with attendants, all mounted on rough ponies, had come to meet Lord Elgin at the gate, and Napier seemed anxious not to let them go out of his sight. The streets were lined with a dirty mob, among whom the usual ragged Chinese official with the long whip was very busy. Some, more respectably dressed, had come in their carts. There were lots of ugly old women, and occasionally, on the skirts of the crowd, might be seen a round-faced Chinese beauty with an old wrinkled duenna, ready to hurry her away if looked at. The street we went along was wide but terribly dusty; the houses are small and mean. Occasionally a handsomely carved and gilded shop-

front is seen, and through a cross street to our right we catch a glimpse of the high wall enclosing the palace. We pass two or three large dilapidated entrances to nice shady-looking courtyards, said to be Government buildings. At last we arrive at the place where the treaty is being signed. Here Napier goes in with his Aides-de-Camp, and, as I can't enter, I retire with Pritchard and discuss bread and hard eggs, watched by a small mob with great interest. We were afterwards allowed to enter the hall of audience. It was nothing very grand. A Chinese mob on one side in embroidered gowns, a red-coated mob on the other, with busy civilians in court dresses going between and handing papers from Lord Elgin to Prince Kung, who sat in chairs some distance from one another. The Punjabis thought it a miserable durbar, and that the Chinamen looked like a parcel of old women with no hair on their faces. I believe the Chinamen had purposely omitted to get up themselves or the room very magnificently. I wonder what the Chinamen thought of Signor Beato's¹ curtained camera when first brought to bear on them! At the end a photograph was taken of the whole group, Crealock² with great assurance sticking himself in the centre. Prince Kung's long, sallow, sour, hairless face was in a strong light, and he sat immovably. Then he got up and chin-chin'd with his knuckles slightly without moving a muscle of his sad, sour-looking countenance, advanced a few paces, chin-chin'd again to the public, and that was the last I saw of the Emperor's brother. Then came the march home—

¹ Signor Beato, who took photographs in the Crimea, was especially allowed to accompany the expedition as photographer.

² Lieut.-Colonel H. Hope Crealock, Military Secretary to H.B.M.'s Special Embassy to China, afterwards a Lieut.-General, C.B., and C.M.G., who died in May 1891.

three miles in the dusk of the evening through the streets, still crowded by the Chinese, and in a thick cloud of choking dust. I dined with General Napier.

“*Oct. 25, Thursday.*—The photograph has turned out a failure, and I am afraid Prince Kung won’t sit for another.

“*Oct. 26, Friday.*—Rode out to the Summer Palace with General Michel, &c., and escort. We went on to the White Pagoda, two or three miles beyond the palace the French looted. Had a magnificent view from the top of the pagoda, which is about 150 feet high. On one side the bare black hills, on which we could see the buildings of the State Prisons and the wall enclosing the Emperor’s deer-park (the same we mistook for the Great Wall on the march); on the other side, immediately at our feet, was a great lake with two palace-islands and strange ‘willow-pattern’ Chinese bridges; beyond, the wooded country around Peking, which was dimly seen through the haze. It rained as we were returning. Our extra park, stores, baggage, and ammunition went off this morning to Tang-chow, and Pritchard’s Company escorts the boat convoy to Tien-tsin. Gordon stops here with 20 men.

“*Oct. 27, Saturday.*—Rode into Peking. Charlie was to have come, but would not, and with his usual candour told Hime the reason, that he did not like one of the party. We rode right through the Tatar and Chinese quarter and saw two large temples (one with blue-tiled roof), had some chow-chow at an eating-shop (grease, garlic, and no bread), and have unanimously come to the conclusion that Peking is a wretched town, inferior to Tien-tsin. From the large uninhabited spaces in the interior I should think the population has been greatly *over-estimated*. In

one of the streets of the Tatar city we saw some Tatar tents with stands of spears (said to be merely those of the city police). The inhabitants were tolerably civil, but the juvenile population in the Chinese quarter would run after us shouting, and once pelting dry mud at us.

"Oct. 28, *Sunday*.—Breakfasted with Gordon. Read divine service regimentally at 11 A.M. The French funeral of deceased prisoners took place to-day. They were buried in the Jesuits' Cathedral in Pekin, which I have not seen. I rode into Pekin with Charlie on my pony and bought a small enamel. Did not feel very well.

"Oct. 29, *Monday*.—Raw, wet day. I kept my room, being laid up with one of my fever-colds. Reading 'Adam Bede' and 'Coast Defences,' and writing out monthly reports.

"Oct. 30, *Tuesday*.—Rained heavily all last night, and the ducks came knocking at my door with their bills to get shelter. Fine, sunshiny, cold day, snow seen on the hills. Rigaud paid me a visit. I rode out with him and Charlie Gordon to the West angle, and it appears to me that my plan of Pekin is right and the Russian one wrong. Rigaud told me that ponies had been bought at Japan and taken to Shanghai at a cost of £54,000. The Admiral refused to give them transport here, so they have been sold for *nothing* at Shang-hai. Balaklava again! . . .

"Oct. 31, *Wednesday*.—Rode into Pekin and bought a fur coat for \$9. I had a fireplace begun this morning about 9.30 A.M., and found a bright wood-fire burning on my return at 5 P.M. (muster parade). But, alas! this evening a memorandum came to warn us to be in readiness to move to An-ting gate to-morrow.

"*Nov. 1, Thursday.*—Moved to quarters in the suburb outside the An-ting gate at 2 P.M.

"*Nov. 2, Friday.*—Mann goes off to-morrow, leaving me Commanding Royal Engineer. He goes to Hong-kong to build barracks at Kow-loon.

"*Nov. 4, Sunday.*—Service in the Temple of the Earth at 10 A.M. Rode into the city with Charlie. We went on the wall of the south side of the Chinese city, which is not more than 26 feet high and 16 thick. On returning found orders to march to-morrow with the 67th.

"*Nov. 5, Monday.*—Very cold morning. Therm. 26° Fahr. at 8 A.M. Marched at 9 with the 67th. Charlie came to see us off. Beautiful day for marching, bright sky, and keen, bracing air. We got to the stone bridge, our first halt, at about 3 P.M., 13½ miles. Put up in a room next to Colonels Knox¹ and Thomas.² We found a stove and some little balls of coal, which we lit, shutting the doors before we went to bed. . . .

"*Nov. 6, Tuesday.*— . . . Passed near Chang-chia-wan, a little walled town, which was thoroughly looted after the affair of the 18th September. Beyond this we passed where the Chinese guns (76 of them) had been placed by the bank of a stream or canal, also remnants of stockades, &c. We reached Ma-tow about 2.30 P.M. I was quartered in some houses outside the town, and quite destitute of doors and windows. One wing of the 67th was left at a village three miles behind, but the other and Headquarters found pretty good shelter at the farther end of the town, which is otherwise all in ruins, having been burnt by order on

¹ Colonel Thomas Edmond Knox, C.B., Commanding 67th Foot, afterwards a Lieut.-General.

² Lieut.-Colonel John Wellesley Thomas, C.B., 67th Foot, afterwards a Lieut.-General.

the 3rd ult. Two of the 67th were lost here on their way up. We slept very well, using our waterproof sheets for shutters.

"*Nov. 7, Wednesday.*—Ram-Sami (my boy) suffers from the cold. No wonder, for he has sent the fur coat I bought him on to Tien-tsin with the heavy baggage. We got to Ho-si-wu by 1 P.M. (12 miles). Colonel Spence, Commanding 31st Regiment, told us off to capital quarters. There is also a very good market here, and K. was sent to lay in supplies.

"*Nov. 8, Thursday.*—Marched at 8.30 A.M.—a very long march, about 19 miles—to a town called Yang-tse, where two companies of the 31st are stationed. We did not get in until near 4 o'clock.

"*Mem.*—I think Tyler's¹ counterscarp theory is borrowed from Choumara's interior glacis, though unacknowledged. Jervois² has admittedly taken from Choumara the principle of the independence of the parapet and escarp. I have, therefore (since reading the Royal Engineers Professional Papers last night), no motive for introducing Choumara's system in any new form.

"*Nov. 9, Friday.*—Marched at 9 A.M. Corporal Hollis and some men are footsore with yesterday's march. Mild, cloudy day. The climate or weather is milder as we get farther from the hills. Halted at a village about 10 miles from Tien-tsin, after a twelve-mile march. Half the Company put under canvas, including officers, and all the 67th except two companies.

"*Nov. 10, Saturday.*—This morning I found my cap frozen to the table in the tent. Marched into Tien-tsin through crowded suburbs and narrow, dirty streets.

¹ Captain Sir Henry W. Tyler, Royal Engineers.

² Lieut.-General Sir William F. Drummond Jervois, G.C.M.G., C.B., Royal Engineers, who died in 1897.

The streets show much more life than those in Pekin, and the shops seem better. The selling of old clothes is conducted with remarkable vigour. One man throws each article from a large heap over to another man, spreading them out in the air with great dexterity, each of them all the time shouting with remarkable energy, sometimes in the form of a song, and again in a series of interjections delivered alternately, which seem like a running fire of jokes. I called on Colonel Mackenzie, Deputy Quartermaster-General, who says we are to go in the Adventure with the Marines, and may expect to leave this about the 15th or 16th.

"Nov. 11, *Sunday*.—Pritchard showed me his stables which he made contracts for. They are lean-to sheds for 400 horses at \$16 for 20 feet. The Chinese work capitally. How superior they are to the Indians!

"Nov. 12, *Monday*.—The Royals went off this morning. Madras Sappers arrived, and leave early to-morrow, so I dismissed my faithful Ram-Sami.

"Nov. 13, *Tuesday*.—Madras Sappers went off early. I got orders at 5 P.M. to start to-morrow. This is very sudden, but not altogether unexpected.

"Nov. 14, *Wednesday*.—I was told yesterday by Mackenzie and Willes to embark in the Dove at 10 A.M. This I accordingly did, and was congratulating myself on getting settled down and having a pleasant commander, when Wolseley¹ and Willes told me to take everything out and put it in the Flamer. This I did with some remonstrance. We got no farther than the flats off Tien-tsin Forts that evening.

"The next morning (Nov. 15, *Thursday*) we joined the 19th Punjab Native Infantry fellows, who were in comparative comfort in a shed on the junk, sheltered

¹ Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley, K.P., &c., then a Lieut.-Colonel and Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General.

from the cutting wind and able to get any amount of cooking done at the sailors' fire. It came on to blow very hard from the north during the night; terribly cold for our poor fellows outside.

"*Nov. 16, Friday.*—We got off the Ta-ku Forts early this morning, but owing to the wind and sea outside we did not cross the bar but lay inside. I drew an extra ration of rum for the men, and got an awning put up in the evening. We put off Pritchard to the forts at an early hour this morning to bring in the baggage.

"*Nov. 17, Saturday.*—Fine morning. We got out to the fleet, put the Punjabis on the Edith Moore, and came on to the Adventure. Had a good breakfast, and a wash with a limited amount of water. The Marines arrived just before us. Pritchard came with the baggage all right. He and I are in the same cabin. All are very much crowded. Came on to blow again in the afternoon, but the wind is much milder than on shore.

"*Nov. 19, Monday.*—Captain Lacy says he is waiting for half of the 8th Company. I suppose they could not come out to-day on account of the strong wind and sea, and are now lying inside the bar.

"*Nov. 22, Thursday.*—Harrison arrived with half the 8th Company, and we started about 5 P.M."

CHAPTER XII.

HONG-KONG, THE CAPE, AND HOME.

GRAHAM with his Company reached Hong-kong on the 2nd December, and disembarked and encamped at Kow-loon on the following day. About a fortnight later intelligence came that the 23rd Company with Graham in command was to return to England. It was more than a month later, however, before he embarked, and in the meantime he amused himself when off duty by taking long walks and exploring the island. One day he climbed to the top of Victoria Peak to see the beautiful view of the harbour and islands, and found a very well-informed signalman who lived all alone in a little look-out house, but had all the latest papers, and was quite happy. Another day he went to Pok-shun to bathe in some glorious big pools of fresh water. Then he visited a French wreck, *Les Deux Jumeaux*, where he met an amusing Franco-Chinese comprador, who spoke three words of French, and told him that "Englishman no savay Flancyman, Chinaman he savay Flancyman and Englishman."

He read some novels, and, as usual, commented on them in his diary, from which the following extracts are made, beginning with the New Year, and narrating his departure and voyage to the Cape.

"*Jan. 1, 1861, Tuesday.*—The non-commissioned officers had a convivial meeting in the evening; Harrison and I attended, he singing 'Billy Barlow.' We had our healths drunk with great enthusiasm.

"*Jan. 6, Sunday.*— . . . I am reading 'Wearing the Willows,' by the author of 'The Nut-Brown Maid,' a quaint and rather sad book, but beautifully written, and with great apparent fidelity of description. It is clearly by a woman's hand, and all the sorrows are woman's sorrows.

"*Jan. 8, Tuesday.*— . . . Read an old-fashioned story, 'The Depraved,' one of 'Two Old Men's Tales.' How unlike what we write nowadays. I suppose it is because we are so much more practical now that we could not stand the dramatic improbabilities of these stories.

"*Jan. 10, 11, and 12.*—Reading Choumara, Zastrov, and Montalembert. Rained heavily.

"*Jan. 17, Thursday.*—Our orders are out to embark on Saturday. On the same day the promontory of Kow-loon is to be formally given over to us by the mandarins.

"*Jan. 19, Saturday.*—Got into some Commissariat boats at 7 A.M., and so on board the good ship Adelaide. Capital cabin accommodation. There will be only 24 officers to 20 cabins and splendid saloon and poop. Went over to Kow-loon and saw the troops march past—the 44th, 21st Madras Native Infantry, and some detachments that were brought by the White Star. This was the ceremony of taking over Kow-loon. Lots of ladies present, and a great many salutes were fired.

"*Jan. 20, Sunday.*—Went to church on shore. The Imperieuse has come in with 130 cases of smallpox. She lies near us under the yellow flag. . . .

“Jan. 22, Tuesday.— . . . We got under weigh about 1.30 P.M., and were greatly cheered by a neighbouring ship. As we passed the Imperieuse the men crowded the bulwarks, and we interchanged salutes with old Jones [the Rear-Admiral] and the officers on the poop, while their band played ‘Home, Sweet Home!’ They, poor fellows! have to go to the Bogue Forts and remain in quarantine until they can be pronounced healthy. We went out by the Lye-moon Pass. . . . A man tumbled overboard, but was picked up again. . . .

*“Jan. 29, Tuesday.—*For the last two mornings I have got up about 6.30 A.M., gone under a canvas shower-bath, and then walked the wet decks in my pyjamas and practised club-exercise, in which I am improving. Saw two or three islands this morning, one of them a remarkably sharp-pointed mountain. A school of porpoises seen in the distance looking strangely vivacious in the flat desert of water. Oh! happy living things merrily dancing. I wonder if they were ever mistaken for mermaids by some ancient mariner? . . . Got to our anchorage, about three miles off Singapore, between 8 and 9 P.M.

*“Jan. 30, Wednesday, Singapore.—*The Adventure got here on Saturday morning, thus making the journey in a day less than we have. She left again this morning. The captain went away early for orders. A number of Malay, Chinese, and Hindustani boats came off to us with monkeys, shells, fruit, &c. One of the monkeys, from some cause unknown to us, repeatedly endeavoured to commit suicide by jumping overboard, but was always hauled back by his rope and punished by his proprietor. At last he untied his rope or got loose somehow, jumped overboard, and swam away with his head under water!

The boat was, however, put in pursuit and picked him up. Went ashore. Had a drive of about four miles to the town. Much amused by the little Malay boys, who ran by the side of the carriage, keeping up an extraordinary rapping noise by striking their arms and hands against their bodies. They all seemed in capital hard condition. The country is beautifully green here, with hedges, reminding one of England. The palm-trees don't. Dined on shore at the Hôtel de l'Espérance, played bowls and returned. Hot night.

"*Jan. 31, Thursday.*—Went ashore again and saw a great Chinese sing-song pigeon. They say this place is healthy in spite of the stinking drains and swamps, constant rain, and thermometer averaging 82° (I should have thought more). It is certainly a better place than Hong-kong.

"*Feb. 1, Friday.*—A great nuisance our not starting to-day. Still lying in this narrow creek, excluded from sea-breezes. I remained on board and the day passed very dully. Hot muggy day with occasional heavy showers of rain. Reading 'A Life for a Life'—a remarkable book, though written very quietly and in the undramatic form of letters and diary. The author must be a very good man with a high idea of love and duty. That scene where Theodora with brave humility declares she will never leave him affected me strangely.

"*Feb. 2, Saturday.*—Started about 9.30 A.M. Passed through thickly wooded islands where Malay rajahs hold their court—at least so Mr Mansel said, who comes about thirty miles with us to a place called Rio, a Dutch settlement. We put him in his boat after dinner and he left us cheering. Some of these islands are mere rocks about 20 yards broad, but

even these have trees on them. Continual heavy showers.

"*Feb. 4, Monday.*—We lay at anchor all last night in the Straits of Banka about ten miles off Sumatra—low shore covered with trees. We noticed an extraordinary difference in the colour of the water from green to mud colour, the boundary clearly defined by a thin line of foam. Our wake in the dirty water is shown by the light green water, which, I suppose, is brought up by the screw, the dirt being only on the surface. . . .

"*Feb. 6, Wednesday.*—Got in sight of Java about 2 P.M., after passing a number of little islands covered with trees like fairy kingdoms. The Java coast is high and very beautiful, green fields and trees sloping down to the sea. We lay a few miles off Anger, a small Dutch settlement, of which we could see the white houses with red-tiled roofs among the green trees. A small earth battery could also be seen. Boats came off with fruit, monkeys, Java sparrows (pretty birds with white cheeks and red bills), parrots, turtles, &c. The Dutch harbour-master came off to see us. At 4 P.M. we steamed on again and soon found ourselves in the swell of the Indian Ocean.

"*Feb. 8, Friday.*—Read 'The Head of a Family.' I like it even better than 'A Life for a Life': there is more plot and character and an equally high, perhaps higher, standard of love and duty. We ought to get the trades to-morrow, being in 10° S. lat. . . .

"*Feb. 15, Friday.*—The weather must be getting cooler, as I could sit in my cabin to-day without getting faint. I devoted myself to fortification, and am well pleased with my little system. I wonder if any one else will be. 'Our little systems have their day,' &c. Will mine? To-day we got the first of the

long-expected trade wind from E.N.E., instead of S.E. We knocked off steaming and disconnected our screw, and I bet the captain a bottle of champagne that he would not 'make' 1000 miles by sailing in the week. . . .

"*Feb. 19, Tuesday.*—All day yesterday we were repairing the air-pump of the steam-engine, which was not ready before 2 A.M. to-day. We then got under steam, wind being too much ahead, and we may have to run to Mauritius. Did five pages of Italian this morning. Beautiful weather. This afternoon we passed the trail of a whale (so 'tis said), a broad, oily-looking track, like the newly made wake of a ship, stretching far away at right angles to our course, fringed by the light ripple on the calm surface of the sea.

"*Feb. 20, Wednesday.*— . . . I now read four or five pages of 'I promessi Sposi' every morning before breakfast. With this and my fortification I employ myself pretty agreeably. I am reading G. H. Lewes's 'Studies of Animal Life' out of the 'Cornhill.' How remarkably clear and interesting.

"*Feb. 26, Tuesday.*—Got to Port Louis, Mauritius, about 5 P.M., lying off Fort George. Crozier¹ and Paterson² came off to see us.

"*Feb. 27, Wednesday.*—I went ashore at 6 A.M. Walked over the fort with Lloyd.³ Fortifications on Caponier principle. Called on Colonel Burgmann,⁴ and on the Browns. Dined with 5th Regiment.

¹ Major-General Henry Darley Crozier, then a subaltern of Royal Engineers.

² Lieutenant John Brand Paterson, Royal Engineers, who died at Mauritius the same year.

³ Major-General Edward F. S. Lloyd, then a subaltern of Royal Engineers.

⁴ Major-General George H. Burgmann, Commanding Royal Engineer, who died in 1867.

"*Feb. 28, Thursday.*—Took a drive into the country in Paterson's dogcart in the rain. Pretty scenery—Pieter Both and Pouce Hills. Very verdant landscape. Visited a sugar-planter. Dined with Colonel Burgmann. . . .

"*March 2, Saturday.*—Dined last night with Marindin.¹ Started about noon, blowing great guns. . . .

"*March 16, Saturday.*— . . . I am deeply interested in the 'Life of Charlotte Brontë.' It is a wonderful tale. She is a heroine for every Englishman to be proud of; a character, I should say, singularly un-Irish, although she had an Irish father. The night is dark, and the phosphorescence of the water has an extraordinary appearance all around us. Waves breaking in sheets of white light, a most weird, spectral scene.

"*March 18, Monday.*—Came into Simon's Bay this morning about 8.30; blowing a south-easter. A high rock-bound coast. Went ashore and took a cart to Cape Town, a barren, sandy tract of country to Rathfelders, where I left a note for Mr van Rees Hoets (a friend of Reginald, who had sent an invitation to me). After leaving Rathfelders the country is woody and pretty up to the base of the great Table Mountain, a continuation of the range of hills from Simon's Bay. Here the road becomes bare again and uninteresting, but for the number of crinolines we met. We entered the dusty straggling Cape Town with its little white houses and put up at the Masonic. Took a walk on the promenade, &c. . . .

"*March 19, Tuesday.*—Pritchard and I were awakened a little after 5 A.M., as agreed, to go up the

¹ Major Sir Francis Arthur Marindin, K.C.M.G., Royal Engineers, Chief Inspector of Railways, Board of Trade, then a subaltern. He died in 1900.

Table Mountain. We were joined by Galbraith of the Queen,, and after waiting till half-past six for a guide we started, taking a coolie, who professed to know the road well, to carry our grub. We scrambled along over big stones and burnt bush up to the shoulder of the hill, when we found it impossible to proceed, and our 'guide' told us with great candour that he had never been up before. It was tremendously hot under a blazing sun. Galbraith and I climbed about 300 feet up the rocks, and then we all descended, losing our guide on the way, so that we got to our hotel very tired and hungry about noon. . . . Took a stroll in the Botanical Gardens in the afternoon.

"March 20, Wednesday.—Called on Colonels White¹ and Gordon,² R.E. I took leave of Smith³ (Lt., R.E.), who seems to be, as reported, an excellent officer. I got to Rathfelders (per mail-cart) about 3.30 P.M. Mr Hoets was at his farm, busy in the vintage, so I did not see him until 6.30. He is a very keen-looking and keen-sighted man, and possesses a vast deal of general information—altogether a most agreeable companion, as I might have expected from a Cambridge friend of Reginald. At dinner we had a Mr Gotobed, another friend of Reginald (a small-faced, short-sighted, but intelligent man), a Mr Holding (who manages Mr Hoets's farm and is a great naturalist), and a young man in the mixed commission, formerly secretary to Sir E. L. Bulwer-Lytton.

"March 21, Thursday.—Mr Hoets took me over

¹ Major-General Henry A. White, Royal Engineers, then a Lieut.-Colonel. He died in 1888.

² Major-General Alexander Gordon, then a Colonel, and Commanding Royal Engineer. He died in 1863.

³ Major-General Percy G. L. Smith, Director of Works at the Admiralty, who died in 1893.

his farm; he has about 40 acres of vineyard besides grazing-ground, house, and two other farms. He wants to sell up, as wine-growing is now unprofitable, owing to the blight and the alteration of tariff. This blight, it appears, commenced in a hothouse near Hampstead in 1847, whence it has spread over France and Germany, and last year showed itself at the Cape! Was it brought by the wind, or, as seems more likely, in the clothes of some German vine-trainers lately come over? The only known remedy is flowers of sulphur. We went on to the famed Constantia vineyards. Here the soil is higher than Mr Hoets's land and a mixture of clay and quartz. Old Mr Cloetë told me that his vines begin to ripen some weeks earlier than the others, and thus get much sweeter. The dry wines are allowed to ferment longer than the sweet, whose fermentation is stopped by the fumes of burning sulphur. I tasted the wines. The dry Pontac is particularly nice; but there is in all this wine (like the Crimean) a sickly perfume (of muscatel?) which I find monotonous. We then went to Mr van Reenan's farm, where we had luncheon. He is a fine old fellow, and gave me a *kerri* or Kaffir life-preserver. Rode back fast to Rathfelders to catch the mail-cart at 3.30. Every one of our party nearly were in it, so I took leave of Mr Hoets, who will perhaps pay me a visit on Monday. As we approached the coast the S.E. wind blew strongly and very cold, and on getting to Simon's Bay we found that we could not get off to our ship, so we all slept at the hotel.

"*March 22, Friday.*—Got on board this morning."

Here the book ends, and no more diary can be found for many years. He arrived in England on

the 24th of May. For his services in China he was mentioned in despatches (see 'London Gazette,' 4th November 1860), received the war medal with two clasps and a brevet lieutenant-colonelcy, to which he was gazetted on the 15th of February 1861, while on his voyage home.

CHAPTER XIII.

HOME AND CANADIAN SERVICE—FOREIGN MANŒUVRES.

WITH his return from China, the first phase of Graham's service was over. He was indeed only a captain of Royal Engineers of seven years' service, but he was a lieutenant-colonel in the army, had been thrice wounded, had no small experience in war, and his breast was covered with medals and decorated with the Victoria Cross. He might well have expected active employment on the first occasion that offered. But the authorities thought otherwise. No opportunity was given to him, and for the next twenty years of his life he was doing very useful, if prosaic, work, in looking after the engineering and barrack services of military districts. For a few years he was quartered at Shorncliffe and Brighton in charge of Engineer Sub-districts of the South-Eastern Military District, the Headquarters of which are at Dover. At Brighton he was Commanding Royal Engineer until 1865, when he was appointed Commanding Royal Engineer at Aldershot.

In the meantime an important event in his private life had occurred. On the 29th April 1862, he married in London, at St Peter's Church, Eaton Square, Jane Dinah, widow of the Rev. Valentine Samuel Barry Blacker, who died in 1858, rector of

East and West Rudham, Norfolk. She was the daughter of George Durrant, who died in January 1877, aged 83 years, of South Elmham Hall in Suffolk, and of his wife Esther Payne, who died in 1873, aged 76 years, daughter of John Norman of Suffold, Suffolk. It will be remembered that Graham's sister, Joanna, married the Rev. Reginald Durrant, a son of George Durrant, so that the families were doubly allied. Mrs Graham had already two children (twins) by Mr Blacker, a daughter, Emma, and a son, Edwin, a confirmed invalid from childhood, who died in 1875 at the age of twenty-two years.

At the end of May 1866, Graham and his wife embarked for Canada, where for over three years he was Commanding Royal Engineer at Montreal. During his first Canadian winter he wrote to his brother-in-law, the Rev. Reginald Durrant :—

“ We like the winter here better than the summer, though we have not yet had many of those glorious, bright, windless, frosty days when the thermometer is about minus 30° Fahr. and yet you don't feel it cold—days which people at home are led to suppose to be the staple winter weather in Canada. We find many windy days, snowy days, dull foggy days, when the frost hangs on the hair in long icicles, or powders it with rime. However, there is a good deal of enjoyable weather too—rarely warm enough for sleigh-driving with comfort ; pleasant, however, for snow-shoeing, which Jane [his wife] took to with ease, or for tobogganing, which Gerald [his eldest son, born in 1863] delights in—though in the most primitive manner. We go also to the skating-rink occasionally, and I have conceived a great liking for the noble game of curling, which I think you would like too, as it resembles quoits in requiring a combination of eye

and hand with a vast deal more play. . . . I think this is the most expensive country for outfit in the inhabited globe, and living is quite as dear as in England. I never told you how much we liked 'Ecce Homo'; it lasted us for many Sunday readings. We are all well now, but have had great anxiety about the children."

While he thus pleasantly describes his recreations his official life in Canada was very uneventful, being the ordinary routine work of a Commanding Royal Engineer in a large District; but there were several Fenian scares, which, although they added greatly to the worry and the work—camps for troops having to be formed at out-of-the-way places—never came to anything serious. On the 30th March 1867 he was made a Companion of the Bath, Military Division, for his war services, and on the 15th February 1869 was promoted to be brevet-colonel.

Returning home from Canada at the end of October 1869, he was stationed for a year at Chatham, and for another year at Manchester, at that time the Headquarters of the then undivided and unwieldy Northern Military District. In October 1871 he was sent to York, where he remained for six years in Engineer charge of a very large and important Sub-district.

A letter from York, to his brother-in-law, in August 1874, gives us a glimpse of him away for a holiday with his children, and also of his work at home:—

"Just returned from Saltburn, a lovely little watering-place near Redcar, which combines the sea and splendid sands with delightful walks—a very unusual combination on this bleak, northern coast. Every morning I would take Gerald and Franky (ages eleven and eight respectively) a walk

in the sands, which are firm enough to allow of our doing a little Euclid and arithmetic on them on the way. Then choosing a secluded spot, we would bathe. Gerald, though not yet taught to swim, will face the biggest wave, holding my hand and enjoying it immensely. In the meantime Jany (age nine) would be bathing with her nurse, and the others digging, or in the gardens.

"Gerald and Franky go to school within about 200 yards of our house, and Jany takes lessons in French and music. Emmy [his step-daughter] is now on a visit to the Akers¹ at Weymouth. The baby, when you saw us at Llanddulas, is now a sturdy little fellow of four and a half, and replaced by another baby.

"My inspections of classes under the Science and Art Department at South Kensington are all over. Have you none near you? Clergymen, and sometimes lawyers and doctors, are generally the most active members of Science and Art Committees, notwithstanding their having so much else to do. My inspections of these classes are voluntary and do not form part of my usual work. Another voluntary piece of work I have undertaken is that of Examiner in Fortification at the periodical examinations of cadets at Woolwich. Otherwise my regular work is the charge of the York Royal Engineer Division, including all the War Department works and property, and the defences of the Humber.

"Cardwell's Brigade Centres, of which you have of course heard, give me plenty of work, seven of them falling to my share. This involves selecting and

¹ The family of Lieut.-Colonel (afterwards Major-General) Charles Style Akers, then Commanding Royal Engineer at Weymouth, a very intimate friend of Graham. He died in 1887.

reporting on land for sites (no end of correspondence), preparing designs for barracks with gas, water, and drainage, and when approved, carrying them into execution. Beside my office work I have a great deal of travelling about in my Division, sometimes more than Jane and I like."

The experience he had gained during many years in the construction and maintenance of barracks marked him out as a suitable officer for the post of Assistant-Director of Works for Barracks at the War Office, and on a vacancy occurring he was appointed to fill it on the 18th December 1877, having been promoted to a regimental lieutenant-colonelcy on the 27th of September 1876.

Before, however, he quitted York and the Northern Military District he was selected with officers of other arms to accompany General Lord Airey¹ to the German army manœuvres in the autumn of 1877.

Arriving at Düsseldorf on the 1st of September, he attended on the 3rd the inspection of the Seventh Army Corps by the German Emperor, when the Crown Princess (now the Empress Frederick) was present in hussar dress. He notes that "the men marched past splendidly and looked thoroughly efficient, parade step absurd, horses good. There were twenty-six battalions of about 500 men marched past in open column in thirty-three minutes, and in contiguous battalion column of double companies in seventeen minutes. The cavalry were 2000 strong, the artillery had fourteen field batteries and three troops of horse artillery of four guns each. Five men only ride in field batteries and six march." He was honoured with an invitation to dine at a great banquet at Benrath, where he was pre-

¹ First and only Baron Airey, died in 1881.

sented to the Emperor and to the Crown Prince and Princess.

On the 4th he notes: "Manœuvres with skeleton enemy. Tactics queer. Volley-firing without any enemy in sight. Guns of defence retained in position until enemy's infantry were within 50 yards. Cavalry massed under fire of both infantry and artillery. We were told to reserve our opinion until we had seen real manœuvres on Friday." After a long journey by train, he was present in the rain at the "real" manœuvres on the 7th, and observes "much to criticise." He dined again with the Emperor at Benrath, where he got into an argument about shelter trenches with a German general, who became quite angry. "I shouldn't argue with these people," he says. He made the acquaintance of von Moltke, and was presented to the Red Prince and Prince Wied.

On the 8th, in going and returning from the manœuvres, the attentions of the ladies were almost embarrassing. "In Walfrath three pretty girls threw us some flowers, and on our return from the operations we got pelted with a vengeance. At Homburg I had a bouquet thrown hard in my face, and another cut my lips, and W. got one in his eye. Not very pleasant these rough salutations of the white-robed maidens. At dinner *much trinquant* of glasses, &c. Lord Airey proposed the Emperor's health very neatly in French."

On the 9th, Sunday, "Went to Church with C.; small attendance. Sermon on 'Take no thought for to-morrow.' Collection for Madras famine. Off to Cologne by train. Paid visits of ceremony; then dinner, a tremendously long business, 5 to 8.30 P.M.!

"Sept. 10th.—Review of the 8th Army Corps by the Emperor—fine sight. Lord Airey got a kick on

the shin from a piebald horse. Dinner with the Emperor, when I heard a telegram read of the Russian success at Plevna. The Crown Princess told me she sympathised with the Turks and with the poor sufferers from the Madras famine. She said, 'It is sad to think how human life is sacrificed.' The Kaiserin also expressed great commiseration, and thought every feeling heart should wish the war to be stopped. Kind-hearted woman, she was very sorry for Lord Airey. The Crown Prince asked me about my V.C., wondered how old I was, and when I told him forty-six years, 'Exactly my age,' said the Prince.

"Sept. 11th.—Lord Airey is better and going to the manœuvres to-day. I got him to let me off, and went to see about leave to visit fortifications. All very polite, but said I must get permission from the War Minister. Went to see the Cathedral—a splendid pile—and in the evening with W. to the opera 'Martha.'"

After some more days of manœuvres in the same neighbourhood with very little variety, and imperial dinners in the evening, Graham went on the 16th September to Carlsruhe, which he found *en fête*; the next day he attended a review of the troops. He was much struck with the appearance of the bodyguard of Grenadiers. "The Emperor," he remarks, "rode past at the head of a dragoon regiment, and the Grand Duke, a fine-looking man, rode well." He dined at the palace, and was presented to the Grand Duchess, the daughter of the Emperor, "a fine, stately, most agreeable woman—talked to every one." He sat next D., who told him of his presentation as a little boy of three years old to Bernadotte; he had just been reading the fable of the frog and the ox, and when Bernadotte asked him what he would like to be, he

answered, "An ox"; he remembered the displeasure of his father, who would have liked him to say "A soldier," or "A general"; but Bernadotte laughed heartily. Graham having made an awkward remark on the profusion of medals given for nothing, D. told him that during a visit to England he danced on one occasion with a daughter of Sir James Graham; she inquired in what battles he had got his medals; he had to reply that he had never been in a battle, that the King of Holland had given him some, and so on; but he felt so ashamed that he did not dance again with her, although a very agreeable young lady. Graham attended a gala performance of "Undine" at the theatre, where the Grand Duchess looked very well in her jewels.

On the 18th of September he notes with delight, for the weather had been generally wet: "Lovely day, with fine fresh air from the hills; capital field-day with intrenchments. My horse went well, but D. came to grief."

Next day he visited Baden, and on his return attended a State concert at the palace, where "Bianchi was delightful in her first song with sweet modulated head-notes like a sparkling stream."

On the 20th, General von Kameke, German war minister, told him it would be all right about seeing the fortifications, and at dinner that day, after the manœuvres, Lord Airey entertained him with an account of the battle of the Alma, which so greatly resembled Kinglake's that Graham was astonished to find that Lord Airey had not read the book.

As the 21st was too wet for manœuvres, Graham went out to see the barracks of the 21st Regiment. The officers' mess, he says, looked "a barren place," as the officers all live in lodgings. The men were

crowded together in unventilated rooms, and the stables were very rough.

On the 22nd, the manœuvres took place near Rastadt, and the Emperor and the Crown Prince said good-bye. In the evening Graham was informed that he would be allowed to see all the defences and barracks, on the understanding that nothing should be published. Graham had made a very favourable impression on the German Staff, and as he spoke German well, was a general favourite. They used to joke him about his *wasser-proofe*, which he never went without.

On the 23rd he said his good-byes and went off to Strassburg. He jots down: "Quaint old town—bad smells. Went up to the top of the tower. My Alsatian orderly volunteered, so as not to go to Silesia; he returns to France after completing his three years' service. Great alterations to fortifications." On the following day he called at the Fortification Bureau, where he found a "Captain D., very civil: showed me all the plans, &c., of the siege, but not of fortifications now in progress. Regret I did not get permission to see Strassburg. Went with D. to see Lunette No. 44, where the French held out so gallantly. Saw the 'Casino' for all the officers of the garrison, a good arrangement."

At Metz on the 25th, after making calls of ceremony, an orderly conducted him to the Fortification Bureau, where Captain R., "a very nice fellow," gave him every information. Old General von Schwerin sent for Graham, and was "very civil, but evidently suspicious." Next day the weather was splendid, and in company with General von Schwerin and others, Graham drove to the battlefields. "The General," he notes, "is determined that I shall see

as little as possible. 'Mustn't draw or take dimensions,' he says. A good old fellow though, and very popular. He exercises quite a parental authority over his subordinates; called his driver 'Junge' and 'Mein Sohn,' pitching into him though occasionally. He asked some French boys from Gravelotte what they were doing. 'Getting butter,' they answered. 'What! have you no butter at Gorze, and don't you learn German?' &c. He told me a great deal about the fights in which he commanded a brigade of the 5th Division—the battles of Vionville and Rezonville, &c., and how the Emperor shook his hand and said he would never forget it. The whole country is like a vast cemetery. Bazaine made a great blunder in not using the Guards to resist the attack of the Saxons on Roncourt."

On the 27th he again drove with the Governor, visiting St Quentin and Plappeville. There was, however, "no taking notes or anything with the Governor present." Graham was "amused at his familiar way with the soldiers—'Why, my lad, that must be your Sunday coat' (a particularly dirty one), putting his hand on the man's shoulder and then stroking his face. He likes them to answer him loud, sharp, and quick, and they all evidently like him. Got away after luncheon to Fort Kameke, where I met a nice fellow and got lots of information."

After visiting Forts St Julien, Les Bordes, and Queleu with another "very nice fellow," who let him see everything he wanted in spite of a disagreeable "sub," who at St Julien's would inspect his drawing, he said good-bye to the hospitable Governor and went to Mainz. There on the 30th September he found a very pleasant and com-

municative Major A., a friend and correspondent of Colonel Wilbraham Lennox,¹ and drove with him round the defences. Next day he sailed down the Rhine to Coblenz. He looked over Ehrenbreitstein on the 1st October, visited Forts Alexander and Constantine, and then returned to England, where he reported himself to the Inspector-General of Fortifications, General (now Field-Marshal) Sir Lintorn Simmons. That distinguished officer took a lively interest in his doings, catechised him on the German manœuvres and the fortifications he had seen, and seemed much pleased with the information he had collected.

He writes to his brother-in-law, the Rev. Reginald Durrant, shortly after his return to York :—

“I have only lately returned from Germany, where I had a most interesting and instructive tour. I witnessed the manœuvres of three army corps and then proceeded to inspect the chief frontier fortresses, having previously obtained special permission from the Minister of War, General von Kameke—a remarkably nice fellow, by the way. I saw a good deal of the Crown Prince and Princess and of the Emperor ; the Court generally included the great von Moltke. I am much impressed with the completeness of the German organisation, the great forethought shown in every detail : but this is a great subject.

“I must tell you that we are about to move southwards, as I have just accepted an appointment in the War Office. I have unfortunately got a house on my hands here which I must try and get rid of before taking Jane and family to London.” . . .

His wife also writes to her brother on the 8th December 1877, from the house they were leaving—
34 Bootham, York :—

¹ General Sir Wilbraham Oates Lennox, V.C., K.C.B., Royal Engineers, who died in 1897.

"We are delighted with the selection Gerald has made for us in the way of a house and the situation of it. It is a semi-detached house at Barnes, near Richmond—only $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Hyde Park Corner, yet nicely out of London. The fare by railway is a trifle only into Town, and we shall have charming country about us. A private road within a quarter of a mile of our house—Worlabye House (a pleasantly odd name)—will take us into Richmond Park, which Gerald tells me is beautiful. He had never seen it before, and is amazed at so much real country beauty so near London. . . . We hope to be ready to go on Wednesday week, taking Frank with us from Scarborough, where we have placed him for the benefit of sea-air at a nice school kept by a clergyman. Gerald will come to us from Cheltenham on the 21st, if all be well. Both dear boys have been going on very satisfactorily, and our dear little ones are all well, also dear Emmy.

"Gerald is busy, now that the house-hunt is over, with the Woolwich examinations; but we hope to see him back on Monday night, though he will have some papers to get through after he comes home. He works immensely hard. Lately he was occupied in a confidential report, with plans, of the Rhine fortifications, in which I did amanuensis for him. We retired for ten days to Scarborough in order to secure the time to get through a portion of it. When complete with all the plans it made a grand packet!

"We have recently seen Holman Hunt's great picture of the Shadow of the Cross. It is wonderfully painted, but I do not like the grand figure quite as I should like to do. The attitude of the mother is beautiful and full of expression—startled out of her tender wistful gaze into the treasures presented by the Magi by the terrible shadow and its awful sug-

gestions. The eyes alone please me in the Saviour, and even they do not satisfy me." . . .

So they went to London and settled down in the house with the "pleasantly odd name" in the Upper Richmond Road, Graham going up daily to the War Office. In the autumn of 1879 he was again selected to attend Continental army manœuvres, and this time he went to see the work of the Swiss army, and had a very enjoyable tour. Besides the official report which he wrote on his return, he contributed to vol. iv. of the 'Professional Papers of the Corps of Royal Engineers,' for 1880, a valuable article entitled, "Remarks on the Military Institutions of Switzerland, and Observations on the Different Arms." In the summer of 1880 he was one of the two chief umpires at the very important experiments with submarine mines carried out at Portsmouth.

He and his wife went this summer to see Lady Butler's and M. de Neuville's pictures of the defence of Rorke's Drift. They thought de Neuville's a very spirited composition with great merits besides, but that Lady Butler's was the more beautiful. "She never sacrifices any higher quality to that of mere dash, which French artists not unfrequently do—even good ones."

Graham was not able to complete the usual term of five years in his appointment at the War Office, for his early brevet promotions had given him army precedence over no less than fifty officers to whom he was junior in the corps of Royal Engineers, and as promotion to the rank of major-general is by army rank, his promotion to that rank on the 19th October 1881 placed him over their heads, and at the same time removed him to the unemployed list.

CHAPTER XIV.

EGYPT—CAMPAIGN OF 1882.

EARLY in 1882 the state of affairs in Egypt, where Arabi Pasha, a colonel of the Egyptian army, had been forced upon the Khedive as Minister of War, and was practically governor of the country, led the British Government to prepare for intervention. Every effort to induce the French Government to join them in upholding the Khedive by force of arms having failed, owing to an adverse vote of the French Assembly, arrangements were made for a British naval and military *coup* in Egypt. The land forces of the expedition were to be furnished from home and from India. In July events had so far developed that an advanced force from the Mediterranean garrisons was ordered to Egypt. It did not arrive until the 17th of that month, and in the meantime the refusal of Arabi Pasha to discontinue the work of strengthening and arming the sea-defences of Alexandria had been followed by the bombardment of those fortifications on the 11th by the British fleet, the subsequent retreat of Arabi and his army to Kafr-ed-Dowar, sixteen miles away, and the burning and plunder of the city by the riffraff of the population.

On the 21st July it was decided to send two Divisions from England and a Contingent from India,

Sir Garnet (now Viscount) Wolseley, Commanding-in-Chief.

Sir Garnet bethought himself of his old comrade of Crimean and China days, and gave him his opportunity. He selected Graham for the command of the 2nd Infantry Brigade of the 1st Division commanded by Lieut. - General G. H. S. Willis, C.B.¹ Graham lost no time in preparations, and, accompanied by his Aide-de-Camp, Brevet-Major R. C. Hart,² V.C., R.E., proceeded overland and by Peninsular and Oriental steamship Surat to Alexandria, where Sir Archibald Alison, Commander of the 1st Brigade of the 2nd Division, was in command of the advanced force. Graham's diary contains the following notes:—

“*Aug. 3, 1882, Thursday. Alexandria.*—Disembarked at 6 A.M. Dressed at the Peninsular and Oriental Company's office, and breakfasted at the hotel with Principal Veterinary-Surgeon J. J. Meyrick and Captain G. S. Clarke,³ R.E. Sir Archibald Alison received me very kindly, but had had no notice of my coming and no letter by the mail which brought me, so he telegraphed home for instructions. He expects I am to take on the 71st Regiment and the battalion of Marines to Ismailia; great chance! Major-General Sir Frederick Goldsmid next—fine, courteous old gentleman, head of the Intelligence Department—promised an interpreter, and gave us one, Joseph, at once, who seems a capital fellow. We then went to the Khedive's palace, where we found among lazy Court officials Zohrab Bey,⁴ Aide-de-Camp, an Armenian, who looks like an Austrian cavalry officer;

¹ Afterwards General and G.C.B. He died in November 1900.

² Now Brigadier-General Commanding the Quetta District in India, and K.C.B.

³ Now Colonel and K.C.M.G., Superintendent of the Royal Carriage Department, Woolwich Arsenal.

⁴ Now Major-General Sir E. H. Zohrab Pasha, K.C.M.G., C.B., Under-Secretary of State for War in Egypt.

M. d'Ornstein from Buda-Pesth, private secretary, who talks English very well—indeed, so does Zohrab; an Egyptian Cavalry officer; the Colonel, grave and squinting, who brought in the Khedive: all were courteous and let us choose five horses. We went back to lunch off fruit and bread and then returned to the Khedive, who had appointed to see me at 4 P.M. We were introduced at once, for he has not many visitors, and an English general is somebody! A good-looking man is the Khedive, in the prime of life, with aquiline nose, and eyes dark and good-humoured. He seemed always striving to make light of his position, and joked about Arabi as 'the destroyer before the prophet prophesied.' I said, 'Gordon should be here.' *Khedive*. 'If he were here he would talk a great deal about the Soudan.' I. 'But he knows the country so well.' *Khedive*. 'There are Colonel Zohrab and M. d'Ornstein—they know Egypt, but Colonel Gordon knows very little of it; he only knows the Soudan.' Evidently he doesn't like him. The Khedive was very polite, and before quitting his presence the audacious Hart pressed d'Ornstein about a big horse for me, and actually got his Highness to promise one of his own stud! We left our interpreter to look for grooms and got off to Ramleh to see the reconnaissance Sir Archibald Alison had told us about. We went up to the intrenchments and saw the reconnoitring party on the dry bed of the lake away on our left. We also saw the Egyptian position in a clump of trees by the railway. Arabi's line of communications might be threatened so as to make him withdraw. We then got back and dined at the hotel with Floyer.¹ . . .

"Aug. 4, *Friday*.—After breakfast we met Principal Veterinary-Surgeon Meyrick and took him with us to Ras-el-Tin, where we tried horses. Havelock

Mr E. A. Floyer, Director-General of Telegraphs in Egypt.

[Sir Henry Havelock-Allan] appeared and galloped wildly. He seems a capital rider. . . . We selected two of the Khedive's bodyguard horses besides the five already chosen. While waiting for horses I was introduced to the Khedive's brother, Hassan Pasha, a rather weak-looking but pleasant fellow, who told me he was in the Infantry and educated at Cairo, 'in my poor military school.' He did not think much of the Egyptian soldiers, and when I observed that they had fought well here, replied, 'Yes, the Artillery is good.' He had seen Woolwich and spoke of his brother Ibrahim, who had been through the Royal Military Academy, and of two more in the Cavalry. I remarked that they were quite a military family, at which he seemed pleased. I left Hart still trying horses and went to the General's to luncheon. Then came a telegram from England in cipher to employ me for a month to the best advantage. Sir Archibald offered me Alexandria or Ramleh, and I chose the latter of course. . . .

"*Aug. 5, Saturday.*—I sent Hart off with three horses and returned to Ras-el-Tin. I showed the General a telegram, 'Return at once,' signed A. S. A. It is not understood. I can't make out who sent it. How dear Jane would rejoice were I to return at once! The General told me to be in no hurry about taking up quarters at Ramleh, so I sent Hart on to arrange about it and took luncheon with Sir Auckland Colvin, Floyer, and Walton.¹ On my way to call on the Admiral Commanding-in-Chief² I met Havelock, who told me there was to be a reconnaissance that afternoon and that I was to command the left. As I had heard

¹ Brevet Lieut.-Colonel W. M. B. Walton, Royal Artillery, afterwards Major-General and C.B., who died in 1888.

² Sir F. Beauchamp Seymour, G.C.B., afterwards first Baron Alcester.

nothing of it from General Alison I did not believe it, and finding the Admiral had gone to Pharos I drove there and met him with Hotham¹ and another. . . . He asked me to reconnoitre Fort Aboukir on Monday and dine with him to-morrow. I went over Pharos and found great damage done in casemates of 8-inch smooth-bore guns, the masonry being about nine feet thick. On the ramparts the 10-inch guns had been destroyed by gun-cotton, the guns being tamped at the muzzles. The guns fired through embrasures with flaring cheeks. At Fort Adda the crater of the magazine was fifty feet in diameter and twenty feet deep. On my return I heard of an action at Ramleh at which an officer had been killed. Dined with Gibson of the Intelligence Department, specials coming in later with great accounts of the battle of Ramleh! As I walked to the hotel I heard a piano playing operatic airs—yet murder and hate seem to be in the air! Went to bed and about midnight in came Hart and Havelock. . . . Hart told me of the engagement, which seems to have resulted in nothing. First advancing, then retiring with some loss on our side. . . . The enemy behaved well, and there was no skulking. . . .

“*Aug. 6, Sunday.*—Off to Ramleh on horseback with Hart. Went round outposts with Thackwell,² which took about three hours in the heat of the sun. I thought the positions too extensive. . . . On our way back we stopped at the cemetery for the funeral of the officer and men killed yesterday—poor Wise of the Mounted Infantry. Sir Archibald seems quite satisfied with the reconnaissance, and says he found out all he wanted—viz., that Arabi isn't going to

¹ Admiral Sir Charles F. Hotham, K.C.B., Naval Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth.

² Lieut.-Colonel W. de W. R. Thackwell, Commanding 1st South Staffordshire Regiment, afterwards Major-General and C.B.

retire. . . . He told me I may yet be ordered out to Ismailia with the 71st. I hope so. I dined with Sir Beauchamp Seymour, who had a pleasant party on board the Helicon. He wants me to report on the feasibility of a combined attack on the Aboukir Forts. . . .

"Aug. 7, Monday.—I was in the gunboat Cygnet all day tossing about in a rough sea examining the Aboukir Forts. . . . We made out that there were rifled guns in embrasures faced with masonry. The forts could be silenced in detail. On my return I saw Seymour and then went on to the General, who was at Ramleh, and wrote report.

"Aug. 8, Tuesday.—Saw the General, and then sent my report to the Admiral and got out to Ramleh, where I inspected the new post on the right—200 Infantry, 70 Royal Artillery and guns, which ought to be an outpost of Alexandria. Dined with the 38th Regiment.

"Aug. 9, Wednesday.—Breakfasted with the Mounted Infantry and then visited the 46th Regiment. Richardson¹ advanced left in the morning, and in the afternoon established a new post in support on the right. . . . I wrote to Alison proposing a reconnaissance and the capture of the new work! He telephoned that Sir John Adye will arrive to-night and that my reconnaissance must be postponed.

"Aug. 10, Thursday.—Inspected the 1st South Staffordshire at 6 A.M., a fine regiment, and after breakfast rode out with Thackwell to the extreme front on the left and discussed a reconnaissance in that direction. . . . In the afternoon rode out to the right front and withdrew a picket.

"Aug. 11, Friday.—Inspected the 2nd battalion of

¹ Major-General W. S. Richardson, C.B., then Commanding the 2nd Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry.

the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry (46th). Made them a speech. . . . Sir John Adye¹ and Staff arrived at 4 P.M., and I took them on the Water Tower and Red House, from which there are good views of Arabi's encampment. . . .

"*Aug. 12, Saturday.*—Inspected the 60th, King's Royal Rifle Corps (Ashburnham),² a very nice battalion, everything ship-shape and soldierlike. Then went to Alexandria with Parr,³ who wants Sir John to let him reconnoitre the Lybian Desert. I saw Alison, who says he is still commanding the troops in front at Sir John's wish.

"The Guards are coming out to Ramleh, and the Duke of Connaught is to hold an independent command. Alison thinks that his reconnaissance has drawn Arabi and that we shall now lick him easily. . . . I returned to Ramleh and saw the Guards arrive. They all went to the wrong station, so Staff-officers did not meet them. Had a good view of Arabi's camp, which he is intrenching strongly. Met the Duke of Connaught with the Guards. He was very cheery and greeted me as an old acquaintance.

"*Aug. 13, Sunday.*—Bathed in the sea. Church parade was at 11.30, and I had the Chaplain, the Rev. Mr O'Neill, and Dr Clarke to luncheon, after which I rode out to the Brigade of Guards and saw Philip Smith,⁴ who commands the Grenadiers, a fine-looking man, tall and active, with guardsman's cool indifference. Saw the Duke and went round outposts; he is very keen for duty.

¹ General Sir John Miller Adye, G.C.B., Colonel Commandant of the Royal Artillery, who died in 1900. He was Chief of the Staff to the Expedition.

² Major-General Sir Cromer Ashburnham, K.C.B.

³ Captain H. H. Parr, 13th Foot, now Major-General, Commanding at Shorncliffe, C.B. and C.M.G.

⁴ Afterwards Major-General and C.B., now deceased.

"*Aug. 14, Monday.*—Met the Duke . . . and arranged for patrols of Guards, &c. H.R.H. was very friendly. . . . Called on the sailors and the Royal Artillery in camp on my way back. A message arrived that Sir John Adye would be at the station at half-past three and wanted three ponies. Alison and Dormer¹ drove. Alison wants the Guards to make a reconnaissance of the bed of Lake Aboukir, &c., before Wolseley arrives. He evidently wishes him to engage Arabi from here. . . . My back was very tired with my long morning's ride, and Adye wanted to ride fast to see the Prince; so I was quite crippled with pain, and had to halt and tell him. Sent Hart on with him to the Prince's house, and followed slowly. H.R.H. was exceedingly kind when I came, and insisted on my sitting down and having something. He afterwards asked me in the most brotherly fashion to make any use of him I would if I felt seedy. I wish I had not told Adye anything about my back."

At this time Graham was suffering from lumbago, which gave him severe pain, and was greatly intensified by over-fatigue, so much so that at times during the campaign he was obliged to resort to morphia injections to enable him to carry on. On the 15th August Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived at Alexandria, and Graham, who was a little better after the application of mustard leaves, met him on the 16th; and on the 17th, having got his orders to move, he rode out in the afternoon to meet him again with the Duke of Teck, when Sir A. Alison told him that the 1st Division was to go to Aboukir and there disembark, while Alison's Division co-operated from Alexandria. "I can't quite credit this," writes Graham.

¹ Major-General the Hon. J. C. Dormer, C.B., then Deputy Adjutant-General.

"Is Sir Garnet humbugging Alison?" After a sleepless night he got on board the *Caledonia* on the 18th, and steamed off at noon on the 19th. He then notes in his diary, "Supposed bombardment and landing at Aboukir is humbug." The fleet of eight ironclads and seventeen transports anchored in Aboukir Bay at 4 P.M., to feign an attack on the Aboukir Forts. At nightfall small craft were sent close in-shore and opened fire while the rest of the fleet steamed off to Port Said, which was reached soon after sunrise on the 20th. It was not possible at once to enter the canal, because three English steamers stopped the way. Graham, with 600 men, was therefore transhipped into a torpedo-boat, which was able to pass these steamers, and as soon as they were passed he and his men were transhipped into the gunboat *Falcon*, and landed at Ismailia at 10 P.M. Arabi had been completely surprised, and the next day saw not only the whole canal in our hands, but all our transports from Alexandria in it.

Sir Garnet Wolseley's plans had been settled before he left England. He had arranged to seize the canal and to advance from Ismailia on Cairo. He expected Arabi to make a stand in the neighbourhood of Tel-el-Kebir, and he hoped to crush him there. On his arrival he at once discussed all the details of his plan with the Admiral, Sir Beauchamp Seymour, and receiving hearty co-operation from the navy, lost no time in putting them into execution.

Sir Archibald Alison and the advanced troops, who had arrived at Alexandria on the 17th July, had made the place secure against any attack likely to be attempted, had provided against internal disorder by efficient military police arrangements, and had seized and intrenched the forward position of the ridge at Ramleh which included the waterworks. Sir Garnet

Wolseley's plan was to induce Arabi to believe that the expedition from England was to reinforce the garrison of Alexandria and Ramleh, and that his scheme of operations contemplated a direct attack on Arabi's position at Kafr-ed-Dowar. Alison was therefore instructed to keep Arabi constantly alarmed. M. de Lesseps gave unintentional assistance by assuring Arabi, when he heard of his proposal to destroy the canal, that if it were left intact neither France nor Italy would intervene, and that England would not dare to invade neutral territory. After Sir Garnet's arrival orders were issued to prepare for the bombardment and attack of Aboukir, to be supported by a movement of troops from Alexandria. Thus when the troops embarked on the 18th, it was under the supposition that they were going to the attack of Aboukir, and not even Sir Edward Hamley,¹ who was to command the troops left in Alexandria, knew to the contrary, until on the morning of the 20th, on opening a sealed packet left with him by Sir Garnet, he found the real destination of the fleet and of the military forces to be the canal. Hamley was instructed to tell no one, and to occupy Arabi with as much shell-fire as possible. The ruse proved absolutely successful.

On arrival at Port Said Sir Garnet selected Graham to lead the advance. He had to push to the front as rapidly as possible without encumbrances, and to seize first the railway and telegraph-station at Nefiché, and then the dam at El-Magfar on the Sweet-water Canal, constructed by the enemy to stop the water-supply.

The desert between Ismailia and El-Magfar is soft

¹ Lieut.-General Sir Edward Bruce Hamley, K.C.M.G., Commanding the 2nd Division, afterwards General, Colonel Commandant of the Royal Artillery, and K.C.B. He died in 1893.

and bad marching ground, and banks of very heavy sand have to be crossed. No time was given for proper arrangements for supplies, and with two days' rations in their haversacks Graham's small force trudged along, cheating the burning sun by early morning and by evening marches; but there was no escape throughout the day, for they had no tents, and no cover was to be had.

El - Magfar having been occupied, the low-lying country was in our hands; but the reported construction of another dam at Tel-el-Mahuta, and the necessity of seizing it as well as the important locks and bridge at Kassassin, made a still further rapid advance imperative; and as the vanguard advanced farther from its base, where troops and stores were being landed unintermittently from transports and pushed forward as fast as could be managed, the difficulty at first experienced of supplying it with provisions and ammunition was great.

The troops started from Ismailia with a few days' rations, partly carried in their haversacks and partly by the regimental transport which accompanied them, but the ground was so difficult for draught that the wheeled transport could not be depended upon. To enable the regimental transport to reach the troops at all before the bivouac, provisions of all sorts and ammunition had to be thrown out, and lay strewn with the wrecks of broken-down carts upon the line of march. Steam-launches and towing-cutters had to be borrowed from the navy to send supplies along the canal. Two hundred yards of railway had been broken in front of Magfar, and up to that point loads of stores had to be dragged in trucks by mules along the railway until the engines could be brought up from the base. So that although the commissariat supplies

landed at the base were actually in excess of the immediate requirements of the troops, the vanguard was short of food because the transport was insufficient for the rapid advance.

Every endeavour was made to cope with the difficulty, but in view of the circumstances it was perhaps unavoidable. So we find Graham nibbling a biscuit after a hard day's work on the 25th, and on the 27th complaining that his men were without food, while on the 28th the battle of Kassassin had to be fought on empty stomachs. It was in such dark straits that Graham shone. When holding the post of honour in advance of the army on the Sweet-water Canal, he sat down among the men, much to their delight, and shared their biscuit, and bully-beef if there were any.

At the action of El-Magfar Lieut.-General Willis was in command and Sir Garnet Wolseley was also present, but at the first battle of Kassassin on the 28th August they had both returned to the base and Graham was in independent command. On that day, with about 1900 hungry men, and two guns (afterwards increased to four) short of ammunition, with a Krupp gun taken from the enemy at Masamah, Graham held his own all day against a force of 9000 men with twelve guns well supplied with ammunition, and then taking the offensive, during which he was reinforced by the Marines, he drove the enemy steadily back, and the Cavalry joining in completed a great victory. Graham's patient firmness and cautious pluck were evident to all, and it is no small testimony to his merits that the officers serving under him considered that it was due to the qualities of their commander that their small force was not smashed up.

The following are extracts from Graham's notebook from the 20th to the 28th August :—

"*Aug. 20, Sunday.*—Off Port Said. Torpedo-boat sent for me to go on to Ismailia with 600 men of the 46th and 84th. Saw Rear-Admiral Hoskins,¹ who gave us luncheon, and Sir Beauchamp Seymour. Wolseley told me to push on to Nefiché as soon as possible. Got a gunboat—the Falcon. Got to Ismailia about 10 P.M. Found Captain Fitzroy,² R.N., H.M.S. Orion, in command. . . . Met Fraser,³ who lent me a pony surrendered by the Egyptian Chief of the Staff, who had come over to us. As my back is still troubling me this pony is a godsend. Slept on the sand under the sky.

"*Aug. 21, Monday.*—Advanced on Nefiché ; delayed till 8 A.M. by the York and Lancasters' breakfasts, &c. Deployed in order of attack, right refused. Gatlings on left by canal. Heat intense. Many men fell out. Received at Nefiché by an old woman with a white flag, who described shelling by the fleet very forcibly ; how Egyptians all ran away. Found a refreshment-room at station intact ; old man in charge. Heat, dust, and crowd very oppressive. Wolseley came, also Adye.

"*Aug. 23, Wednesday.*—Marched out from Nefiché yesterday on the road to Suez, and to-day reconnoitred four miles on to El-Magfar ; exchanged shots with pickets, taking two arms. Arranged for reconnaissance to-morrow with the Cavalry. Injection of morphia in back. Sleepless night.

"*Aug. 24, Thursday. Action of Tel-el-Mahuta.*—Marched out at 5 A.M. Wolseley and Willis both

¹ Now Admiral Sir Anthony Hiley Hoskins, G.C.B.

² Vice-Admiral Sir Robert O'Brien Fitzroy, K.C.B., now deceased.

³ Now Major-General Sir Thomas Fraser, K.C.B., C.M.G., Royal Engineers, Commanding the Thames Military District.

coming. I had 1000 infantry—York and Lancaster, Royal Marine Artillery, Royal Marine Light Infantry, and two Royal Horse Artillery guns. The Cavalry were under Drury-Lowe.¹ Saw cavalry working rapidly on horizon, then about 9 A.M. heard firing in front. Message for guns and infantry to move up. Cavalry and Mounted Infantry stopped. Found Wolseley and Willis behind a mound with two guns in position. Enemy dropped a shell, killing a horse of the battery just in rear. I got troops in position. York and Lancaster on left front, advanced on dam and between battery and canal, Royal Marine Artillery and Royal Marine Light Infantry on right. The York and Lancaster were under musketry-fire, and bullets passed close between Wilson² and me; so were the mounted infantry, who had Parr and Melgund³ hit. Wolseley made light of it at first, and then sent for the Guards, 46th and 60th, and a lot of guns. They will have to march through the heat of the day. . . . Before sundown a strong attack was made on our left. . . . I sent off Gillespie⁴ for 46th, which had come up. Put Royal Marine Artillery into gap left by York and Lancaster, and ordered up the Guards in support. . . . Suddenly enemy's attack collapsed, and all became quiet. . . . I felt dead tired, and fell asleep on the sandbank after a bit of biscuit and chocolate. About 1 A.M. awoke with cold; servants then came up, and I got a rug.

¹ Lieut.-General Sir D. C. Drury-Lowe, G.C.B., Colonel of the 17th Lancers.

² Lieut.-Colonel F. E. E. Wilson, Commanding York and Lancaster Regiment, afterwards Major-General and C.B.

³ Captain Viscount Melgund, attached to the Mounted Infantry, now fourth Earl of Minto and Governor-General of Canada.

⁴ Colonel Robert Rollo Gillespie, Assistant Adjutant-General, 1st Division, afterwards Major-General and C.B.

“*Aug. 25, Friday. Affair of Masamah.*—Advanced on Mahuta in order of attack, but found it evacuated. . . . Heard of cavalry action at Masamah, and was ordered out to support Lowe. Saw Shaw-Hellier¹ come in with his weary, worn-out horses, and gave him and those about him tea and water. There were wounded officers in the tent he had to pass round. Marched off to Masamah at 5 P.M. A delightful and romantic march by moonlight. Saw a jerboa. Arrived at Masamah and found Drury-Lowe glad to see me, for he had been getting anxious. Brought 850 Royal Marine Light Infantry and 350 Royal Marine Artillery. Slept in a first-class carriage. . . .

“*Aug. 26, Saturday.*—Beastly place Masamah. A lot of dead bodies about. Ordered to occupy Kassassin, so I moved out at 5 P.M. Getting there at 6.30, I took possession of a nice little villa with verandah. Found locks and bridge in good order.

“*Aug. 27, Sunday.*—Very hard-up for food. Sent into Ouady to try and buy something. Made arrangements in case of attack. Ought to have the Cavalry nearer.

“*Aug. 28, Monday. First action at Kassassin.*—Heliographed ‘Troops suffering from want of food.’ At 9.30 A.M. strong body of cavalry seen coming over the hill. Heliographed to Lowe for the Cavalry. Got troops in position. Enemy showed infantry and brought out artillery, but at long range. I had only two guns, R.H.A., with 30 rounds, under Lieutenant F. E. A. Hunter, R.A., who fired three rounds off at cavalry skirmishers before I could stop him. . . . I found Lowe had stopped the provision train on account of my telegram, as if his Brigade

¹ Colonel T. B. Shaw-Hellier, Commanding 4th Royal Irish Dragoon Guards.

were not sufficient escort for the train. At 4.30 P.M. the enemy came on in earnest before the men had time to get their dinners. Got all out in position, and stood his pounding for some time, then advanced line, led on Marines."

On the 29th August Lord Wolseley telegraphed home a short account of Graham's victory, in which he observed :—

"General Graham's dispositions were all that they should have been, and his operations were carried out with that coolness for which he has always been well known."

The success of the action was of great importance. In spite of his previous defeats and the capture of his camp at Masamah, Arabi was still acting on the offensive, was himself in the field during the action, and had managed to carry off his guns during the night. Although Graham had beaten back a foe five times his own strength, that foe was by no means demoralised, and was likely to exert himself to recover the ground he had lost. It served, therefore, as an encouragement to the General Commanding by showing him of what efforts his generals and troops were capable, and as a warning against thinking too lightly of his enemy.

Graham's diaries seldom contain many details of events in which he himself played an important part, and respecting this battle of Kassassin on the 28th August they contain only what has been quoted above. His despatch, however, supplies particulars. It was published in the 'London Gazette' of the 19th September 1882, and forms Appendix III. of this volume.

Sir Garnet Wolseley forwarded Graham's despatch to the Secretary of State for War under cover of a

despatch dated from Ismailia, 4th September, from which the following extracts are made:—

“The operations of the Cavalry were so distinct from those of the Infantry that I venture to forward also a copy of the report from Major-General Drury-Lowe, C.B., although that officer is junior to Major-General Graham, and acted under his orders during the day. . . .

“The dispositions made by Major-General Graham, V.C., C.B., during the action at Kassassin were all that they should have been; and his steady advance upon the enemy, when he showed a disposition to drive his attack home, was well conceived and well executed.”

It was not until the despatches, published in the ‘London Gazette’ of the 19th September, were received in Egypt, that Graham was aware of the contents of Major-General Drury-Lowe’s despatch. This officer had addressed his report to Lieut.-General Willis, commanding the 1st Division, and not to the officer under whose orders he was acting during the day, and to Graham’s astonishment he found it stated in the report that he had sent a message to Drury-Lowe “that he was only just able to hold his own and wished him to attack the left of the Infantry skirmishers.” As he had never sent such a message, and had never been in such a position, but, on the contrary, having held the enemy in check all day, was able to assume the offensive in the evening, when he wanted the co-operation of the Cavalry, he was naturally very indignant. It appeared that the galloper who carried the message (unfortunately a verbal one) was a young and inexperienced Cavalry officer, who delivered, in addition to the actual message sent, consisting of the words, “To take the

Cavalry round by our right under cover of the hill, and attack the left flank of the enemy's skirmishers," his own views of the situation. The matter was put right by a further despatch from Sir Garnet Wolseley, dated Cairo, 3rd October, and published in the 'London Gazette' of the 6th November 1882, from which the following extracts are taken:—

"General Graham states, in the most emphatic manner, that no message was sent by him about being 'only just able to hold his own,' an expression for which Lieutenant Pirie¹ is solely responsible. That officer, it would seem, mixed up his own views on the position with the real message he was sent to deliver. . . .

"General Graham, far from being in the position that Lieutenant Pirie represented to General Lowe, assumed the offensive towards the evening, and advanced along the railway, driving the enemy before him for some two or three miles before the Cavalry had charged at all.

"The charge made by General Lowe was skilfully conducted and most gallantly carried out, but, in justice to General Graham, it is essential you should know that the enemy were retreating at the time when the charge took place, a fact which General Lowe is well aware of, and reported to me the next day."

The action at Kassassin on the 28th August was succeeded by a lull in active operations, during which the main body of the army and supplies of all kinds had to be brought up to Kassassin camp, and the supply service hospitals and lines of communication organised on an efficient basis.

¹ Lieutenant D. V. Pirie, 4th Royal Irish Dragoon Guards, now a Captain and M.P. for Aberdeen, was Extra Aide-de-Camp to General Graham.

The following notes are all that are given in the diary to the end of the campaign:—

“*Aug. 29, Tuesday.*—Sir Garnet, Willis, Sir John Adye—all the world, in fact—at my quarters; house filled with sick and wounded. Returned from early ride over battlefield in search of *Lowe's guns*¹ to find all the hubbub. Sir Garnet very civil. . . .

“*Aug. 30, Wednesday, to Sept. 8, Friday.*—Camp growing. General Willis arrived on 6th, but leaves me in command of the camp. A very nice, quiet old fellow. I can look back thirty years and see him at that picnic at Hurst Castle.”

Arabi Pasha now began to realise that if he intended another attack he had better make it before the British force at Kassassin was increased any further.

“*Sept. 9, Saturday. Second action at Kassassin.*—Beginning to arrange my kit as on the 28th, when the Philistines are on us! Are they mad? In five minutes my dispositions are made, and in twenty minutes the troops are out in line of battle. Heavy artillery-fire from enemy as before, but our guns advance with the Infantry, and before 9 A.M. the enemy are in full retreat. Egyptian officer tried to run away, was pursued by several, tried to draw a revolver on Morice Bey, who fired on him, but missed. He was caught, and his revolver fell to me. Got just up to extreme range of Tel-el-Kebir guns—5000 to 6000 yards. Retired 1.30 P.M. Posting pickets in evening. Sent telegram to dear J. [his wife], ‘All right.’”

¹ The Cavalry charge by moonlight on the previous evening swept through a battery of seven or nine guns belonging to the enemy, but the guns could not afterwards be found.

Sir Garnet's despatch of the 10th September stated that the enemy made a combined attack on the Kassassin position on the morning of the 9th, one column advancing from the north from the Salahieh direction, the other from Tel-el-Kebir. Arabi was on the ground, but the troops were commanded by Ali Fehmi Pasha. The enemy's force was about thirty guns (of which four were captured), seventeen battalions of infantry, several squadrons of cavalry, and a few thousand Bedouins. The British troops, under the command of Lieut.-General Willis, Commanding the 1st Division, drove back the enemy, who retired with loss within the lines of Tel-el-Kebir. Major-General Graham especially brought to Sir Garnet's notice the dashing manner in which two Krupp guns were taken by the Royal Marine Light Infantry.

A Staff-officer who was with Graham from day-break, watching the enemy's advance as it gradually developed and message after message came from the outposts to announce more and more Egyptian regiments in sight, says, "It was charming to see his grim delight as he exclaimed, 'Got them within reach at last.'"

The last entry in Graham's diary in this campaign is :—

"*Sept. 10, Sunday.* — Fog in morning. Hottest day we've had—96° Fahr. in the shade. Busy with my despatch. Hart was up till past one o'clock this morning writing notes for it. . . . Twenty-seven years ago the last assault on Sebastopol, September 9. Wolseley tells me that he doesn't mean to let Arabi escape him next time, that he means to smash him altogether, and relies on *me* to do it. He doesn't mean him to escape into the Delta, where he can't

get at him. I expect to have to hold him to his works by assaulting in front."

On the 12th September he wrote to his sister from Kassassin: "Thanks for your card. The Cavalry action of the 28th August was perhaps more showy, but our men deserved most credit for their long endurance when actually suffering from want of food! The 46th actually got nothing to eat till supper that night, yet they responded gallantly when called on to advance. We have our most serious work before us now. I trust to get through with life and honour."

The whole army was only assembled at Kassassin by the 12th September, the 1st Royal Irish Fusiliers being the last to arrive, and the same evening the force prepared for a night march on Tel-el-Kebir lines. Graham's Brigade then consisted of the 2nd Royal Irish, 1st Royal Irish Fusiliers, a battalion of Royal Marine Light Infantry, and the 2nd York and Lancaster, the 1st West Kent having been left to guard the camp, and the battalion of Marines substituted.

At half-past one in the morning of the 13th September the march began. The 1st and 2nd Divisions, with the Artillery between them, advanced simultaneously. The 1st Division was on the right of the line, with the 2nd Brigade (Graham's) in front, the 1st Brigade (Guards) acting as a reserve for the Division. Between 3 and 4 A.M. General Willis directed the 2nd Brigade to be deployed into line, as he considered it might at any minute be under fire. It advanced in line, however, with so much difficulty and so many delays, that after a time, at Graham's suggestion, the advance was continued by fours from the right of companies.

For several reasons the advanced Brigade of the

2nd Division—*i.e.*, the Highland Brigade—was the first to reach the lines—about 5 A.M. Shots from the sentries close upon the works gave the alarm, and a blaze of fire burst from the whole line of parapet. Graham's Brigade, which was some ten minutes later in reaching the lines, had therefore a deeper zone of fire to cross than the Highland Brigade, and made the assault in attack formation. Sir Garnet Wolseley's despatch of 16th September says: "Major-General Graham reports, 'The steadiness of the advance of the 2nd Brigade under what appeared to be an overwhelming fire of musketry and artillery will remain a proud remembrance.'" "About the time," says the official account, "that the Highlanders were beginning to push on to the interior retrenchments the 2nd Brigade, belonging to General Willis's Division, carried, almost in a rush, the line of works opposed to them, General Graham, with his accustomed gallantry, personally leading the men over the ditch." The enemy, unbroken, fell back, stubbornly resisting, but the Cavalry had by this time passed the line of intrenchments, and swung round on the left rear of the enemy. By half-past five Graham's Brigade had pushed forward on the formed masses of the enemy beyond, which soon became a stream of fugitives. Graham then re-formed his Brigade, and advanced in close order over the higher ground towards the bridge.

"I have seldom been so much affected by anything," writes an officer, "as I was when galloping through the lines we saw Graham's reception by his already re-formed Brigade. The enthusiasm of the men was unbounded. The hearty cheers with which they greeted him as he went from regiment to regiment were glorious to hear. They were the outcome of

the respect and love which all who fought under him felt for one who, while stern as to discipline, was, they knew, ever mindful of their comfort and watchful for their safety, and was, they believed, always certain to lead them to victory."

The enemy's rout was complete. The Cavalry were ordered to continue their pursuit, and advance on Cairo, sixty-five miles off, with all haste. Captain (now Colonel) C. M. Watson, R.E., accompanied them, and to him, with 200 troopers, fell the honour of capturing the citadel of Cairo, with a garrison of 5000 men, on the night of the 14th September; 10,000 men at the Abbasseyeh Barracks surrendered to Major-General Drury-Lowe; Arabi Pasha came in, and the rebellion was at an end. Graham's Brigade remained at Tel-el-Kebir for a time, and then moved to Cairo, into which the Khedive made a triumphant entry on the 25th, the British troops lining the streets, and on the 30th a grand parade of the British army was held before him.

In Sir Garnet Wolseley's despatch of the 24th September 1882, he wrote: "The brunt of the fighting throughout the campaign fell to the lot of Major-General G. Graham, V.C., C.B., Commanding the 2nd Brigade, and it could not have been in better hands. To that coolness and gallantry in action for which he has always been well known he adds the power of leading and commanding others."

For his services in this short campaign he was no less than five times mentioned in despatches (see 'London Gazette,' 8th, 19th, and 26th September, 6th October, and 2nd November 1882), was thanked by both Houses of Parliament, received the medal and clasp, the bronze star, the second class of the Medjidie, and was made a K.C.B. on the 18th November 1882.

On the 22nd September the officers of R.E., mustering some forty-five, or rather more than half the total number employed in the campaign, dined together at Shepherd's Hotel, Cairo, Graham presiding. He was supported by Brigadier-General (afterwards Sir) Charles H. Nugent, C.R.E., and Colonel (afterwards Sir) James Browne, C.R.E., of the Indian Contingent, both since gone to their rest.

Sir Garnet Wolseley left Egypt on the 21st October, and the expeditionary army having been broken up, it was decided to retain in Egypt a force of 10,000 men under Sir Archibald Alison as an army of occupation; and Graham remained at Cairo in command of an infantry brigade.

At a banquet of the Institution of Civil Engineers on the 4th December 1882, Lord Wolseley said, "The Brigade to which fell the brunt of all the fighting—'the fighting brigade,' I might call it—was commanded by an Engineer, General Graham, a very old friend of mine, a man with the heart of a lion and the modesty of a young girl."

Graham, being in Egypt, was unable to be present at the dinner given on the 15th December at the mess of the Royal Engineers at Chatham to the officers of the Corps who had served in the campaign; but he was not forgotten. Sir Lintorn Simmons,¹ in an interesting speech detailing Graham's services in the campaign, speaking of Tel-el-Kebir, said, "I heard a Marine officer of rank who was present say that Graham 'led in a manner which entirely gained the confidence of all the officers and men in his Brigade, who would have followed him anywhere.'"

¹ Field-Marshal Sir John Lintorn Arabin Simmons, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Colonel Commandant of the Royal Engineers.

The 1st Newcastle-on-Tyne and Durham Engineer Volunteers also, to whom Graham had been well known for many years as their inspecting officer in the Northern Military District, remembered him at their annual dinner on the 1st February 1883, and telegraphed to Egypt, "We drink your health and safe return."

CHAPTER XV.

EGYPT AND GENERAL GORDON.

AT Cairo the climate was pleasant, the season more than usually bright and gay after the war, and the society included many distinguished visitors. Graham's time seems to have been divided between routine duties of drills and inspections, &c., studying Arabic with a Copt, and the claims of society. On the 21st February 1883 he presented medals to the Cameron Highlanders, Sir Archibald Alison being ill. At the parade Lord and Lady Dufferin, Field-Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala, and the *elite* of Cairo society were present, and in spite of some nervous anticipation of failure, Graham's address on the occasion was considered a success.

He frequently went to Abbasseyeh to see parades of the Egyptian troops at the request of their commanding officers, and took great interest in the work of training them carried on by British officers and non-commissioned officers under Sir Evelyn Wood,—how successfully has been shown in the recent Soudan campaigns under Lord Kitchener, when they proved themselves worthy to fight alongside our own men.

On the 2nd March Graham records that Lord Napier of Magdala presented a man with a Victoria

Cross at a parade, and spoke very nicely. How true, he says, was his remark that the soldier lived, as it were, under a microscope.

So the days passed, and early in June he managed with some difficulty to get two months' leave, and lost no time in coming to England. While at home he went to Windsor, attended a State ball at Buckingham Palace and other vanities, and was entertained by his brother officers at Chatham at the dinner given on the 26th July to Lord Napier of Magdala on his promotion to be a field-marshal, when H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, as Colonel of the Corps of Royal Engineers, presided. Lord Napier of Magdala, after returning thanks for the honour done to himself, in a short felicitous speech proposed the toast of Sir Gerald Graham, and in the course of the evening both the Field-Marshal and Graham received the perilous honour of being triumphantly carried aloft on the shoulders of the younger officers round the anteroom. Before leaving England again for Egypt, Graham had the honour of dining with Queen Victoria at Osborne on the 31st July. He left on the 3rd August, and on arriving at Port Said received orders to go on to Suez, where there had been a good deal of cholera. He spent some three weeks in selecting new sites for camps and in seeing that the men were located in the most sanitary places available, and then went to Cairo.

In the autumn of 1883 a political cloud, which had arisen two years back in the Soudan, became dark and threatening. All eyes were directed to the coming storm.

As early as August 1881 the fanatic Muhammad Ahmed had declared himself in the Soudan to be the expected Mahdi of Moslem prophecy. He had since

that time rapidly developed into a considerable power, and the successes he had met with in subjugating Egyptian territory and the Arab tribes of the Soudan culminated in the defeat and annihilation of the army of Hicks Pasha, sent against him by the Khedive. This took place at Kasghil, in Kordofan, in October 1883, and at once placed the whole country south of Khartoum at the mercy of the Mahdi.

The only army which Egypt had possessed had been destroyed, and the reconquest of the fallen provinces meant military operations on a large scale, for which Egypt was altogether unequal, and which the British Government declined to undertake. A policy of withdrawal was therefore decided upon. Weak counsels always entail a thousandfold more difficulties of every kind than strong, and so it proved in this case. But the Government selected a strong man to carry out their weak policy, and Major-General Charles George Gordon, accompanied by Lieut.-Colonel Donald Stewart, left London for Khartoum on 18th January 1884.

Little more than four years had elapsed since Gordon left Cairo after a stormy interview with Egyptian officials, at which he emphatically warned them that the return to the old system of oppression would result in a revolt in the Soudan. He had then resolved never again to set foot in Cairo or enter into relations with Egyptian officials. He therefore now contemplated going to Khartoum *via* Suakin and Berber.

Graham and Gordon were old friends, had been together in their young days at the Royal Military Academy and at Chatham, had been comrades in the Crimea and in China, and had since those days corresponded and met from time to time. It was

now, however, some four years since they had seen one another; and hearing of Gordon's intention to avoid Egypt and go to Khartoum *viâ* Suakin, Graham wrote the following letter to persuade him to change his mind and go to Khartoum *viâ* Cairo and the Nile:—

“SHEPHERD'S HOTEL, CAIRO, 23rd January 1884.

“MY DEAR CHARLIE,—Do come to Cairo. Wood¹ will tell you, much better than I, why. Throw over all personal feeling, if you have any, and act like yourself with straightforward directness. You have no personal aims in this matter, and therefore no personal feelings must be allowed to interfere.

“Your object, I assume, is to get to Khartoum, and if so, Cairo is the route, not Suakin. By coming here you will see Baring² and Nubar,³ and make all arrangements to facilitate your great enterprise, in which we all so earnestly wish you success. I shall be delighted to see you again, if only for a few minutes.—Sincerely yours, GERALD GRAHAM.”

Sir Evelyn Wood personally delivered this letter to Gordon at Port Said. It had the desired effect, and Sir Evelyn carried Gordon off to be his guest at Cairo, where they arrived late on the 24th January 1884.

The following quotations from Graham's diary at this time are of especial interest:—

“*Jan. 24, 1884, Thursday. Charlie Gordon's arrival.*—I had my R.E. dinner-party. There were

¹ General Sir H. Evelyn Wood, V.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Adjutant-General to the Forces, then a Major-General and in command of the Egyptian army.

² Lord Cromer.

³ Nubar Pasha, the Egyptian statesman.

Scott-Moncrieff,¹ Ardagh,² Todd,³ Green,⁴ &c. During dinner two telegrams from Floyer came, giving progress of Charlie's train, and about pudding-time he (Floyer) appeared himself and carried off me and Ardagh. We arrived just in time. Charlie looked greyer, but strong and well; seemed *really* glad to see me; wanted to walk home, but Wood was hungry, so I drove with him as he told me all his story. I got back to my R.E.'s, drank his health, and we passed a pleasant evening together. . . .

"*Jan. 25, Friday.*—Before I was out of bed Charlie's voice was calling me, so I hurried up, and he talked for an hour—the Soudan question, policy of evacuation, anarchy and slave-trade, his interview with Wolseley and Ministers, his acceptance of the mission, his views of the rebellion, no religious element in it, Mahdi not able to advance beyond the frontier of the tribes under him, Abyssinians no use as allies, won't fight in plain, &c. Two of his old Soudan officers who had joined Arabi and were in exile from Cairo he hopes to take with him. Hopes to attack slavery from the Congo. I don't like his programme, and wrote a letter to give him had he to go to-night. Want to ask him to take me to Assouan.

"*Jan. 26, Saturday.*—Visit to Charlie about 8 A.M. . . . Says he is delighted I am going with him. I only take my Aide-de-Camp and another fellow. . . .

¹ Colonel Sir Colin Campbell Scott-Moncrieff, K.C.M.G., C.S.I., Royal Engineers, Under-Secretary of State for Scotland, then in the Egyptian Civil Service.

² Major-General Sir J. C. Ardagh, K.C.I.E., C.B., Royal Engineers, Director of Military Intelligence, then a Lieut.-Colonel, and Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.

³ Major (afterwards Colonel) K. R. Todd, Royal Engineers.

⁴ Captain (afterwards Colonel) A. O. Green, Royal Engineers.

Decided to go on to Korosko. Got off by half-past nine in the evening. Nubar Pasha, Wood, the Khedive's chamberlain, &c., were at the station. The Sultan of Darfour and his ugly wives caused some delay. I had a long talk with Charlie, who insisted on there being no alternative between the assumption of the government of the Soudan by England and the evacuation of the country. I said, 'Put in capable Englishmen as governors under Egyptian Government.' He replied, 'You could not get them,' that Baker Pasha had refused, &c. I asked him to read his own opinion as to evacuation in the 'Pall Mall Gazette'; but he said he wouldn't, so we said 'Good night.' It was bitterly cold, and I found out afterwards he had no wraps. Why did not I or some one find this out before?

"*Jan. 27, Sunday.*—Arrived at Assiout about nine. Conference on 'tarbush' *versus* 'hat.' Colonel Stewart was strongly for 'hat,' and said that Wood and Watson had both recommended it. I was for the tarbush, and so was Ibrahim Bey Fawzi, and it was settled to wear it. At Assiout his Majesty of Darfour came out in a gorgeous uniform with the grand cordon of the Medjidie, which kept slipping off. The poor negro looked ridiculous in his finery. His brother in a turban had a far more dignified appearance. His Majesty took no notice of Gordon, but fussed about his wives and baggage. He wanted to be provided with food, but Gordon said he had £2000 and should provide himself. This sultan was a pensioner of the Egyptian Government on £2000 a-year, and Gordon had insisted he should be sent to Darfour. His father was killed by Zebahr. Gordon's instructions from Baring are—(1) To protect the lives and properties of the Europeans and native Christians;

(2) to withdraw the troops from the Soudan; (3) to form a federation of native potentates. A credit of £100,000 has been opened for the purpose, and more will be given if required. Discretionary powers are given to Gordon, and a reasonable time will be allowed before withdrawal. After breakfast Gordon sent for the Sultan and his brothers, treating them with civility, but as inferiors and with no ceremony, telling them to sit down, and dismissing them when done with. He talked Arabic utterly regardless of grammar, as he does French, but he rarely seems at a loss for a word—when he is he refers to his interpreter—and he always seems to make himself understood. He told the Sultan not to go about in his uniform and finery until he had got his throne; that he must leave his family at Dongola, get some chiefs to join him, and attach himself to Slatin Bey, &c.

“Gordon’s telegram to Khartoum yesterday was, ‘Don’t be panic-stricken; you are men, not women; I am coming.’ He promised me to get a good escort from Korosko, a point I feel anxious about, and not to take the specie on with him. He did not like my hinting that he would be responsible for any disaster in the Soudan consequent on the withdrawal.

“*Jan. 28, Monday.*—Steamed until midnight. Found Gordon ready for me in the morning with maps of Palestine, and had a long dissertation. He coughed badly during the night, but declares he is quite well this morning. Near dinner-time he got up and said he must write to Baring to give Stewart a commission in case anything happened to him. He gave me a full description of the Coco-de-Mer and of the Seychelle Islands. Talked a great deal about the holy places at Jerusalem. We got to Kenh about half-past six P.M.

"*Jan. 29, Tuesday.*—A lovely cold morning, but clear and bright; the usual scenery, with high cliffs more or less distant, and strips of cultivated delta, palm-trees, &c., in the foreground. Gordon drew out a plan of campaign, beginning by smashing the Hadendowas who are blocking Suakin. He also wants five officers from England. I suggested B. as one, but tried to dissuade him from sending his plan of operations to Cairo. Stewart unluckily agreed with me, saying, 'Speech is silver; silence is golden.' This annoyed Gordon, whose nerves are irritable, and he said he would write it out himself. . . . After the plan of campaign discussion he was full of the importance of relieving Slatin Bey. . . . At luncheon he reappeared in much better temper, saying he had written a letter to the Mahdi. Then he proposed I should go to Wady Halfa and report to him as to financial reductions that might be made. I agreed if he got General Stephenson's¹ permission. He left table immediately, wrote me a letter of instructions and a telegram to Baring. Afterwards engaged on a new plan. . . . Very impulsive. M. Marquet, a French merchant from Khartoum, came on board. He had left Khartoum about the middle of December, and had crossed the desert from Abu Hamed with two servants and four camels in six days, meeting no one. There was a great panic at Khartoum when he left. He reported that grain and bread could be got at Berber. . . . He said that when Gordon left the Soudan there would be civil war and the wolves would eat the sheep. Gordon said they were all wolves, and went off. . . .

"*Jan. 30, Wednesday.*—The day was cold with a

¹ Lieut.-General F. C. A. Stephenson had succeeded Sir Archibald Alison in command of the British army of occupation in May 1883.

strong west wind and dust-storms. Gordon was more amiable, and told me all about the Congo. He felt very much the want of a flag and of well-defined frontiers, and were it not that he was pledged to the King of the Belgians, he would be inclined to quit the expedition. He said he would appoint Walad Kerim as first man or Prime Vizier. We arrived at Assouan about 6 P.M.—a pretty place with granite rocks in the stream, green islets, and rugged sandhills crowned with old ruins. Gordon got a warm reception from the population, who want him to let them keep their mudir or headman. The mudir seemed to be a superior sort of fellow. Walked with Gordon to the railway station. Nubar telegraphs to Gordon that Stephenson doesn't want me to go to Wady Halfa. Gordon gave an account of how he thought Hicks Pasha should have advanced on Obeid—viz., in five marches from the north-east, making an intrenched camp with zeriba at each stage, always reconnoitring carefully and making good his new position before moving his baggage out of the old.

"*Jan. 31, Thursday.*—Left Assouan about 8.30 by rail to Philæ. Met Mr James O'Kelly the Home-ruler. The Bishop of Philæ had no desire to become a martyr to Bisharyeh Arabs. Fine scenery, ruins, rocks, and palms, with flowing river.

"Gordon gave us an account of work in Gondokoro. Last night he had a telegram from Hassein Halifa, Mudir of Berber, very hopeful. A good-looking sturdy young black, one of his sons, goes with Gordon, who means to try and construct a government of Soudanese with Fawzi to look after the soldiers (the Egyptians) and Mahmoud Said after the Soudanese. His last letter to Baring is extremely hopeful. Gordon talked of his Congo scheme, and told us he

means to take the Bahr-el-Gazelle and Equatorial Provinces, now under Emin Bey and Lupton Bey, and that he would write to the King of the Belgians to-morrow.

"*Feb. 1, Friday.*—By 8.30 A.M. Charlie had written his letter to the King of the Belgians proposing to take over the Bahr-el-Gazelle and Equatorial Provinces, and appended to it a neat plan. I talked with Gordon about my son Frank, and he strongly recommended me to make a doctor of him, and send him to St George's Hospital, and wrote a letter to his brother, Sir Henry Gordon, about him. He told me to tell Mrs A. that he was sorry not to have seen her children, and to tell Baring that his greatest pleasure in Cairo had been his introduction to his little boys. He also spoke of his great pleasure in my company, and gave me a letter to enclose to my wife. We reached Korosko about 7 P.M. Mr Bavia, manager of railways at Wady Halfa, came on board with his wife. He had been eight years there. Last year there were only eight trips on the Wady Halfa railroad, and the dead loss financially was large. . . .

"*Feb. 2, Saturday.*—Breakfast at 7 A.M. Gordon cheerful, and rallying Scott [the aide-de-camp] about his report. After breakfast talked with me alone on the deck. He spoke of the misery of the natives, which had sometimes moved him to tears. He told me to tell Baring that he meant first to dismiss the Egyptian divan and then the minor Egyptian officials, replacing them by natives. He would then form a Soudanese army. In due course the time would come for sending back the Egyptian troops, when he would produce the Khedive's firman of severance and give the troops their choice of going back to Egypt or staying in the Soudan, but no longer under Egyptian

rule. He means at once to write to the King of the Belgians to propose that the Soudan be incorporated with the proposed Congo State, his Majesty paying £100,000, to be administered by Gordon as ruler of the Soudan and Congo under the King of the Belgians. The question is: If the King of the Belgians agrees, will the British Government raise any objection? The arrangement would give some permanency and cohesion to the federation of sultans Gordon intends to form, as when he is there as supreme dictator they may be kept in order."

Graham much appreciated this week of companionship with Gordon. There were on board the steamer besides themselves only two other Englishmen—Lieut.-Colonel Donald Stewart, who was accompanying Gordon to Khartoum, and Lieutenant W. A. Scott of the Cameron Highlanders, who was Graham's Aide-de-Camp, so that there was plenty of opportunity for confidential talk. Gordon's birthday, the 28th January, occurred during the voyage, and Graham writes, "This is Gordon's birthday, and we drank his health, wishing him many happy returns." Alas!

The following is Graham's description of his parting with his friend:—

"About eight o'clock he mounted his camel and said 'Good-bye,' but I walked beside him, and he shortly after got down and walked with me. At last I left him, saying 'Good-bye' and 'God bless you.' Then he mounted again, and a handsome young Arab, Ahmed, son of the Sheikh of Berber, rode beside him on a beautiful white camel. At the head of the caravan rode Ahmed's brother, both armed with the great cross-hilted swords and shields of rhinoceros hide which Soudan warfare has made so familiar. These swords, together with a couple of very old

double-barrelled pistols with flintlocks, made up the Arab armament. Gordon carried no arms, but Stewart had a revolver. Before Gordon left he gave me a long, heavy, silver-mounted kourbash, or Soudan riding-whip, of rhinoceros hide, and told me to say that was a token that the reign of the kourbash in the Soudan was over. In exchange he took my white umbrella, having lost his own.

"The place where I last saw Gordon is wild and desolate. The desert there is covered with a series of volcanic hills, 'looking,' Scott said, 'like a miniature Switzerland.' But here were no fertile valleys, no bright snow-clad peaks, no thriving population — nothing between the hills but black basins, or ravines, dry, dark, and destitute of all vegetation, looking like separate entrances to the pit where those who entered might leave hope behind. I thought of Hicks with his doomed army coming into such a ravine after forty days in the wilderness, utterly spent and worn out, then finding the dark crests of the surrounding heights lined with a fierce, exultant enemy, and of the sickening feeling he must have had that all was lost for him and those he had led there. I climbed up the highest of these hills with Scott, and through a glass watched Gordon and the small caravan as his camels threaded their way along a sandy valley, hoping that he would turn round that I might give him one more sign; but he rode on until he turned the dark side of one of the hills, and I saw him no more. Sadly we returned to our steamer, and I felt a gloomy foreboding that I should never see Gordon again."

An account of this all too brief glimpse of Gordon on his way to Khartoum, from which the above description is taken, was contributed by Graham some

years later to a Review, and afterwards reprinted in book-form. I know of no more simple and touching narrative than is contained in that little work, 'Last Words with Gordon.' In drawing with such loving hand this picture of his friend, Graham unconsciously discloses those qualities of heart and head for which we admire him and cherish his memory.

Having taken leave of Gordon, Graham started at once on his return journey, stopping to see the interesting ruins at Kalabsheh and at Philæ. The latter he thought over-estimated, and that the builders of the time of Cæsar Augustus had made a bad mixture of Egyptian, Greek, and bastard Egyptian styles. "The real Egyptian," he observes, "alone is true and beautiful." He called on the head of the Roman Catholic Mission, Monsignore François Sogaro, and gives the following account of his visit:—

"*Feb. 3, Sunday.* — Monsignore François Sogaro showed me some letters from Obeid, written, some on linen and some on thin paper, in pale ink in Italian. These letters told of dreadful sufferings on the part of the eleven survivors—five are dead—of the mission. The men suffered death, the women slavery, if they refused to turn Muhamadan. They had been tortured by exposure to the sun for three days at a time and by deprivation of food. They begged for aid and money. A brave native woman aged thirty, a pupil (*élève*) of this mission, had brought these letters, and had set off on a return journey carrying £250 in dollars! It seems incredible, but monsignore assured me that the brave woman had all and more than the strength and courage of a man. He intends to communicate with the Mahdi, now in Dongola, proposing to ransom the prisoners. He told me there were some Frenchmen in Govern-

ment employment—clerks and telegraph men—who were renegades with the Mahdi. Hassein, the present Governor-General, had actually imprisoned their brave and faithful emissary on her return journey, but the Austrian consul had procured her release. Monsignore's manner did not inspire me with confidence. He has a shifty evasive eye and timid outlook. He said that Hicks Pasha was kept purposely in the dark by the Soudan Governor, and had often to come to him for information. He fears the Bisharyeh Arabs, and says that the Hadendowa are a branch. He thinks, however, that Hassein Halifa is a trustworthy and powerful sheikh, and takes credit for assisting in his appointment to the governorship of Berber.

“The Sultan of Darfour at Philæ is preparing to move off. He seemed much smarter, but I don't think him friendly to us.”

At Edfu he was delighted with the ruins, and considered the temple the finest in Egypt. He saw also the half-buried temple at Esneh, and admired the massive columns with leafy capitals springing from reeds cut in the shaft. While here on the 8th February a boat came in with the news of the defeat of Baker Pasha and Morice Bey near Suakin, and at Assiout on the 14th he received telegrams informing him of his appointment to command an expedition to Suakin and of Gordon's safe arrival at Berber.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE EXPEDITION TO SUAKIN, 1884.

As recently as the 19th January 1900 there was surrounded and captured at Jebel Warriba in the hills beyond Tokar, and brought a prisoner to Suakin, the notorious Osman Digna. This man belonged to the Hadendowa tribe of the Eastern Soudan, and at one time carried on a thriving business as a dealer in European merchandise, ostrich feathers, and slaves. He had his headquarters at Suakin, where his brother managed the business, while he travelled far and wide over the Soudan. Serious losses befell the firm; their slave cargoes were captured by a British cruiser, and the Anglo - Egyptian Slave Convention threatened their ruin. Osman Digna visited the Mahdi in 1882, threw in his lot with him, and became one of his most influential followers. In the spring of 1883 he was appointed "Emir," or deputy of the Mahdi, in the Eastern Soudan. Eventually all the tribes in the Eastern Soudan gave in their allegiance to him.

Towards the end of the year 1883, Osman Digna having met with several important successes in the neighbourhood of Sinkat and Suakin, Lieut.-General Valentine Baker Pasha was sent from Cairo on 19th December to crush him. Baker arrived at Suakin on

the 23rd December, and was invested with supreme civil and military command in the Eastern Soudan. Leaving a force to garrison Suakin, Baker, with some 4000 men, disembarked on the 2nd February 1884 at Trinkitat for the relief of Tokar. Two days later his force was cut to pieces near El Teb, his Egyptians being completely demoralised.

The news of this disaster, following so closely on the annihilation of the army of Hicks Pasha, and succeeded by the fall of Sinkat, produced a painful impression in England, and induced the British Government to undertake the defence of Suakin and the relief of Tokar. Orders were telegraphed to Lieut. - General Stephenson, commanding in Egypt, to organise an expedition, and to select his three best battalions for the purpose. He was informed that Sir Gerald Graham would command it, and that Colonels Herbert Stewart and Sir Redvers Buller had been selected to command respectively a cavalry and an infantry brigade, and Captain (afterwards Major - General) A. G. Wauchope, lately killed at Majesfontein, in South Africa, was to be Deputy-Assistant Adjutant-General. All other Staff officers were to be selected as required in Egypt. The force was to be augmented by a battalion of Marines and by the troops on the way home from India in the Jumna.

As we have already seen, Graham received the news of Baker's catastrophe on the 8th February on his way down the Nile, and on reaching Assiout on the 14th he heard of his own appointment to command the expedition to Suakin. He reached Cairo the next day, and was at once busy arranging with Lieut.-General Stephenson about Staff appointments and other urgent matters, and the following day many of his troops embarked for Suakin.

Graham himself left Cairo on the 17th February, and, arriving at Suakin on the 22nd, proceeded the following day to Trinkitat. By the 25th he had landed there the greater part of his force, which consisted of a Naval Brigade, 10th Hussars, 19th Hussars, 6th and M Batteries, 1st Brigade, Royal Artillery, 26th Company, Royal Engineers, Mounted Infantry, and two Infantry Brigades; the 1st Brigade, commanded by Sir Redvers Buller,¹ comprised the 2nd Royal Irish Fusiliers, 1st Gordon Highlanders, and 3rd King's Royal Rifles (1700 men); the 2nd, commanded by Major-General Davis,² was composed of the 1st Black Watch, the 1st York and Lancaster, and the Royal Marines (1480 men). The total force numbered about 4000 men, eight 7-pr. guns, and six machine-guns.

While on board ship Graham thought out his formation for attack, and on the 21st February the following

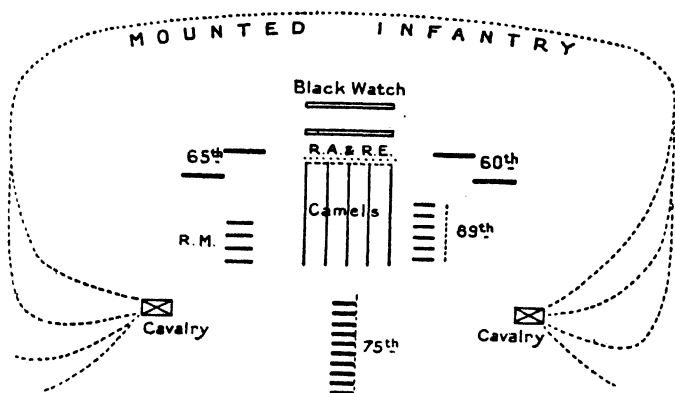


diagram appears in his diary, with the words, "The

¹ General the Right Hon. Sir Redvers H. Buller, V.C., G.C.B., K.C.M.G., Colonel Commandant King's Royal Rifles, now Commanding the Aldershot Division.

² General Sir John Davis, K.C.B.

above gives my fighting formation," written underneath.

News had arrived of the fall of Tokar before the troops disembarked at Trinkitat. On the 26th February Graham was instructed that, in the event of Tokar having fallen, the main object would be to protect Suakin. He considered that Suakin would be best protected by attacking the Arabs, and decided to push on to Tokar. On the 28th he marched his force to Fort Baker, the redoubt built on the land side of the morass which separates Trinkitat Harbour from the mainland.

Battle of El Teb.—On the following day (29th February) Graham advanced from Fort Baker on El Teb in a rectangular formation; in front were the 1st Gordon Highlanders, in rear the 1st Royal Highlanders, on the right the 2nd Royal Irish Fusiliers (supported by four companies of the 3rd King's Royal Rifles), on the left the 1st York and Lancaster, supported by 380 Royal Marines. On the march the front and rear faces moved in company columns of fours at company intervals, and the flank battalions in open columns of companies. Intervals were left at the angles for the guns and Gatlings, the Naval Brigade occupying the front and the Royal Artillery the rear angles. The front and left of the square were covered by a squadron of the 10th Hussars, the right by a troop of the 19th Hussars, the main body of the Cavalry being in rear under Brigadier-General H. Stewart. The base was secured by a company of the 3rd King's Royal Rifles, all sick and weakly men and all departmental details armed, and three companies of the 3rd King's Royal Rifles at Fort Baker, with a Krupp gun and two bronze guns manned by the Royal Marine Artillery.

The enemy were found to be intrenched on the left

front, where they had mounted the Krupp guns captured from Baker Pasha. At 11.30 A.M., having approached the left of the enemy's position, Graham moved well to his right front, crossing the enemy's left front under fire at about 1000 yards' distance, and then, after the Artillery had silenced their guns, changed front to his left, stormed the enemy's flank, and carried their intrenchments after desperate hand-to-hand fighting. About 12.30 P.M. the battery of two Krupp guns and a brass howitzer were taken, and the Cavalry, moving round the right flank of the attack, charged in three lines across the plain to its right, where the enemy were in large numbers. The enemy fought with fanaticism. They were still in possession of the village and wells of El Teb, but by the capture of the battery on their left flank Graham had got in rear of their position, and the captured guns were turned on another two-gun Krupp battery, which was taken in reverse and soon silenced. The enemy's Infantry still clung with desperate tenacity to numerous rifle-pits and intrenchments they had constructed, and occupied buildings in the village, which were afterwards found filled with dead bodies. They asked for no quarter, and gave none. About 2 P.M. the whole position was taken. Out of an estimated strength of about 6000 the enemy lost over 2000 killed. The British loss was 34 killed and 155 wounded. The troops bivouacked on the plain.

Graham's despatch relating the operations at the battle of El Teb was published in the 'London Gazette' of 27th March 1884, and is given in full in Appendix IV. of this volume. (See also Plate II.)

On the 1st March Graham advanced on Tokar, arriving about 4 P.M. The inhabitants, so far from opposing him, received him with open arms. The

next day he sent his cavalry to the encampment of the enemy at a place called Dubba, three miles distant. They found a zeriba with 1500 Remingtons and knapsacks, large quantities of intrenching tools, ammunition, a 7-pounder gun, a Gatling, and the European loot from the killed of Baker's force. On the 3rd Graham received a message of congratulation from the Queen, and on the 4th he returned with his force to Trinkitat, bringing with him 700 of the inhabitants of Tokar. The following day the force commenced to re-embark for Suakin. Graham sent the Tokar flag to the Queen, who placed it in the Royal Armoury at Windsor. His despatch on the occupation of Tokar was published in the 'London Gazette' of 27th March 1884, and forms Appendix V. of this volume.

The same day (1st March) Graham issued a General Order, in which he pointed out that the object of the expedition—the relief of Tokar—had been achieved, and the rebels defeated and thoroughly humbled. He remarked on the gallantry and discipline displayed by all arms, and the general steadiness displayed in moving to a flank under fire. "The result of the action," he said, "has shown the British soldier that as long as he is steady, keeps his formation, and is cool in firing, the desperate rushes of brave blacks only ensure their destruction. The Arab has now felt the terrible fire of the British infantry, a lesson not easily forgotten."

On the 4th March Gordon sent Graham a congratulatory telegram in Arabic on the action of El Teb, which ran as follows:—

"Pleased to hear captured Tokar and defeated rebels. Stewart Pasha, Power, British Consul, myself, and the inhabitants and Soudanese of Khartoum

congratulate you on your success. I also send my regards to all the British troops, and hope very soon the entire Soudan may be pacified and contentment reign among the people as formerly."

Graham was now in hopes that he might soon be able to stretch out a hand to Gordon by a movement towards Berber, and telegraphed to him to that effect, and Gordon replied by the following telegram, dated 6th March:—

"Stewart and self delighted with your opinion. Tell your men I am deeply obliged and helped by their gallant conduct. Hope Scott is all right with his minor tactics."

The last sentence was a playful allusion to the studies of Graham's Aide-de-Camp when they were voyaging up the Nile together.

By the 8th March the change of base from Trinkitat to Suakin had been completed, and Graham wrote a despatch that was published in the 'London Gazette' of 27th March 1884, and will be found in Appendix VI. of this volume. The following notings are from Graham's diary:—

"*March 9, Sunday.*—Accompanied reconnoitring party to zeriba, nine miles in advance. Ground fairly open, with clumps of prickly mimosa and dry grass, which the horses like. Zeriba well constructed. Brushwood partly burnt. . . . Decided on sending out Black Watch. After service made them a speech.

"*March 10, Monday.*—Saw Black Watch off this morning. . . . Dined with the Admiral.¹ Said good-bye to Baker² and Burnaby.³

¹ Vice-Admiral Sir William N. W. Hewett, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., then Rear-Admiral Commanding. He died in 1888.

² Lieut.-General Valentine Baker Pasha.

³ Colonel F. G. Burnaby of the Blues.

" *March 11, Tuesday.*—Advanced force at 6 P.M. Started Headquarters about 8, arriving at zeriba a little after ten o'clock. Night quiet ; all troops inside ; Cavalry to come on to-morrow.

" *March 12, Wednesday.*—Sent Ardagh with Mounted Infantry to reconnoitre ground towards hills. He brought back word that enemy were not more than six miles in our front. Had dinners about 11.30 A.M. Advanced 12.30 P.M. About 4 P.M. came to a black rocky hill. Sent for convoy. One and a half miles beyond this Cavalry reported enemy advancing in force. Then 5 o'clock, so determined to halt for night and formed zeriba. Sent Cavalry back to water and bivouac at Baker's zeriba. Convoy of water and provisions with ammunition came in about 6.30 P.M."

The battle of Tamai was fought on the 13th March, the enemy having opened on the zeriba at 1 A.M. a distant dropping fire, which continued throughout the night, causing few casualties, but disturbing the men's rest. About 7 A.M. the Cavalry arrived, and soon after the Mounted Infantry went out to feel the enemy. The advance of the Infantry began about 8.30 A.M. in direct echelon of Brigade squares from the left. The 2nd Brigade, under Brigadier-General Davis, which Graham accompanied, first came in contact with the enemy, who emerged from the edge of a ravine in the immediate front of the Brigade about 9 A.M. As this attack was being repelled by a charge of the Black Watch, a more formidable attack was made from the right flank by a great mass of Arabs, who with reckless determination, and regardless of loss, threw themselves on the right-hand corner of the square and broke it. The Brigade fell back in disorder, and the enemy captured the machine-guns, which, however, were locked

before they were taken. Major Holley's¹ Battery of four guns had been ordered outside the square on the right flank before the action commenced, and although for a time unprotected by infantry, and exposed to the assault of the enemy coming on in crowds, the gunners stood firm to their guns, mowing down the advancing foe with inverted shrapnel. The 1st Brigade, under Brigadier-General Sir Redvers Buller, which was attacked about the same time, stood perfectly steady and did great execution, and the Cavalry moved up to protect the left flank of the 2nd Brigade, which was soon rallied, and retook the machine-guns. The zeriba had also been threatened, but the little garrison stood to its arms and drove the enemy back. After this there was no more serious fighting, and the enemy retreated sullenly, passing through the camp and village of Tamai, which were occupied by the 1st Brigade about 11.40 A.M. The 2nd Brigade held the heights above the springs, where the Cavalry watered. The night was undisturbed by any fire. The next day the village was burnt, and a quantity of ammunition found was destroyed. The force then returned to Suakin. The strength of the enemy at Tamai was reckoned about 12,000, and their killed at 2000. The British loss was 109 killed and 112 wounded.

Graham's despatch narrating the battle of Tamai was published in the 'London Gazette' of the 3rd April 1884, and will be found in full in Appendix VII. of this volume. (See also Plate III.)

On the 16th March Graham issued the following General Order dealing with the battle:—

“The second task of the expedition has now been accomplished; the rebel army that threatened Suakin

¹ Major-General Edward Hunt Holley, Royal Artillery.

is dispersed, and its leader, Osman Digna, is a fugitive in the hills with a price upon his head.

"This result you, the officers and men of this small army, have brought about by the discipline and steadiness which you have shown in the performance of the several duties assigned to you.

"The men who cheerfully worked on the wharf all night, who bore the thirst and heat of the march, who quietly endured the dropping fire of the enemy all that night before the battle—those men showed themselves to be true stuff of which British soldiers are made.

"There was only one critical moment when discipline was forgotten; but remember, you men of the 2nd Brigade, how, when you rallied and stood shoulder to shoulder, all danger was over, and the enemy no longer faced you. Remember also those brave comrades who stood to the last: who cared more for your honour than for their own safety, and who died nobly in that spot where the dead bodies of over 600 enemies showed how dearly they had purchased that temporary success.

"The thanks of the army are due to the 1st Brigade for the steadiness with which it received and repulsed the enemy's attack.

"The Naval Brigade for a brief moment lost their guns, but through no fault of their own. Three of their officers and seven men were killed in trying to defend them, and each gun was locked before it fell into the enemy's hands, so that it could not be used against us.

"The Cavalry co-operated well with the Infantry as skirmishers and scouts, and at the most critical moment protected the flank of the 2nd Brigade.

"The Commissariat and Transport Department were indefatigable, and showed the admirable energy of

organisation, without which the army would in this waterless country have suffered terribly.

"The arrangements made by the Army Medical Department for the comfort and transport of the wounded and sick were all that could be desired. Many instances of self-devotion on the part of the medical officers occurred which will not be forgotten.

"The Staff, too, have evinced great zeal and capacity, a proof of which is shown in the smoothness with which all in authority have worked together for the general good.

"The Naval Brigade have shown the same fine qualities of courage and endurance that carried them through the Tokar expedition, and their share in our work will always be remembered with admiration by their comrades in the army.

"I have already had the honour to convey the thanks and congratulations of her most Gracious Majesty the Queen, who never forgets her soldiers, and of his Royal Highness the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief. The country will also thank you for maintaining the honour of the English name, and your General will always be proud to be associated with you."

As early as the 5th March Graham had foreseen that if he were successful the road from Suakin to Berber would thereby become open and safe, for on that day he telegraphed to Lieut.-General Stephenson suggesting that Gordon should be asked if he would recommend an advance on the Berber road, and if so, how far he would be prepared to co-operate. In reply to this question Gordon telegraphed on the 7th March: "The Mahdi has attempted to raise the people of Shendi by means of an emissary. Should he succeed we may be cut off. I think it therefore most im-

portant to follow up the success near Suakin by sending a small force up to Berber." And on the 10th: "Should the telegraph line be cut, I have told Hassein Pasha Khalifa¹ to send scouts out, and himself to meet at O-Bak the forces that might be advancing from Suakin. I shall detail those steamers which can pass the cataracts to remain at Berber."

In forwarding Graham's telegram mentioned above to the Secretary of State for War, Lieut.-General Stephenson telegraphed, "I am not prepared to recommend Graham's force marching to Berber, owing to scarcity of water on road."

Graham's proposal was negatived from home, and he was directed to get the road to Berber opened through sheikhs! and to report more fully. This was on the 16th, and the next day he telegraphed the following summary of the state of affairs and what he proposed under the circumstances:—

"Present position of affairs is that two heavy blows have been dealt at rebels and followers of the Mahdi, who are profoundly discouraged. They say, however, that the English troops can do no more, must re-embark, and leave the country to them. To follow up these victories, and bring waverers to our side, we should not proclaim our intention of leaving, but rather make a demonstration of an advance towards Berber, and induce a belief that we can march anywhere we please. I propose, therefore, making as great a show as possible without harassing troops. A strong battalion, with regiment of cavalry, advances to-morrow to Handoub, and thence a reconnaissance will be made along the Berber road."

It must be remembered that Gordon had telegraphed as far back as the 29th February recom-

¹ The Mudir of Berber.

mending the opening up of the Suakin-Berber road ; on the 2nd March, that he was sure the revolt would collapse if he could say he had English troops at his back ; on the 9th, " We shall before long be blocked " ; and on the 11th, " In the event of sending an expedition to Berber, the greatest importance is speed. A small advanced guard at Berber would keep the riparian tribes between this and Berber quiet, and would be an assurance to the populations of the towns." On this same day Lord Granville telegraphed that " Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to send troops to Berber." On the 16th March even Sir Evelyn Baring telegraphed home that it had now become of the utmost importance not only to open the road between Suakin and Berber, but to come to terms with the tribes between Berber and Khartoum.

To this representation also the Government turned a deaf ear and declined to allow British troops to go to Berber. Graham did not, however, abandon hope that the Government might yet be moved to approve, and Brigadier-General Herbert Stewart prepared a scheme for the advance of the mounted troops to Berber. In a reconnaissance carried out by Stewart as far as Tambouk on the 22nd March no armed Arabs were seen, the flocks and women were down at the wells, and the country presented the appearance of being perfectly peaceful. On the same day a caravan of pilgrims from Central Africa arrived at Handoub, having been fourteen days on the march from Berber.

Sir Evelyn Baring, once roused to the importance of opening the Suakin-Berber route, seems to have been energetic in trying to get it done by hook or by crook, and we find the following entry in Graham's diary :—

" *March 22, Saturday.*—Admiral sent me a copy of

telegram from Baring, leaving it to our discretion whether to treat with Osman Digna, putting him in position of governor and sheikh on the Berber road (Consul Baker's idea), or to send an expedition against him. I at once decided on latter course. Sent out to find a site for zeriba. Ordered Gordon Highlanders to hold themselves in readiness to move from Handoub; then went to see Admiral, who thoroughly concurs. Set Chermside¹ to work to get assistance from friendly tribes, both men and camels."

On the 24th March, having got a reply from Graham and the Admiral, Baring returned to the charge and telegraphed home that he thought under present circumstances an effort should be made to help Gordon from Suakin, if it were at all a possible military operation, adding that General Stephenson and Sir Evelyn Wood, whilst admitting the very great risk to the health of the troops, besides the extraordinary military risks, were of opinion that the undertaking was possible. It was of no avail.

After his victory at Tamai Graham could easily have opened up communications with Berber, and he was most anxious to do so. The Government, which had hitherto rejected every proposal put forward by Gordon, refused to allow any such attempt to be made, and were inflexible in their resolution to do nothing.

Graham wrote after Gordon's death: "On that same day [*i.e.*, 13th March 1884, the day on which the Government had by telegram peremptorily forbidden Gordon to go to the Bahr-el-Gazelle and Equatorial Provinces] the battle of Tamai was fought, after which, at the price of much bloodshed, the

¹ Major-General Sir Herbert C. Chermside, G.C.M.G., C.B., Royal Engineers, now commanding the Curragh district.

road from Suakin to Berber was open for British or Indian troops, and the opportunity for rescuing Gordon and for saving Berber and Khartoum was actually within England's grasp.

"Though not allowed the honour of being Gordon's deliverer, though sorrowing with all England, with the added grief of one who has lost a dear friend, it is yet some small consolation to me to know that Gordon, in the midst of his bitter reflections when alone at Khartoum, acquitted me and the gallant little force I had the honour to command of all unreadiness or disinclination to advance to his rescue."

Graham always regretted that instead of telegraphing for permission to send troops to Berber, he had not taken upon himself the responsibility of sending them, reporting his action for approval.

On the 25th of March the force moved out to hunt up Osman Digna, and, if possible, to crush him finally at Tamanieb, the alternative naturally preferred by the Admiral and General to that of treating with him with the object of placing him in a position of authority on the Suakin-Berber road. After visiting the Admiral on board his ship, where he was received with all the honours, Graham marched early in the afternoon. (See Plate I.) The entries in his diary for the next two days and two telegrams to the Secretary of State for War from Tamanieb are given below:—

"*March 26, Wednesday.*—We slept in the middle of the Cavalry Brigade, and were constantly disturbed by fighting and screaming of stallions. Better than being fired at though. Started Cavalry and Mounted Infantry off at 9 A.M. At 11 A.M. I followed with Gordon Highlanders and 89th, with 9-pr. battery. At noon a large convoy started after us with Royal Marines. Day hot, but cooler than yesterday. About

4 P.M. came to entrance of mountains. A broad stony valley, intersected with sandy nullahs. Got on a hill, and opened communications with another hill like a truncated cone, where Stewart had established a heliograph. He reported himself as engaged with the enemy, whose strength he could not ascertain. I inquired, 'Have you found water?' halting troops for reply. 'No.' Then came heliogram that the enemy had opened on him from a mile of front. So I at once heliographed for 42nd and 60th, retiring a little way to form zeriba No. 5. Stewart came up, and declared that if I meant fighting to-morrow his horses could do without water till 12 noon.

"*March 27, Thursday. Affair at Tamanieb.*—60th and 42nd arrived last night about 8 P.M. quite cheerily. This morning *réveillé* sounded at 3.30 A.M. Marched off at 5. Lovely morning. Quite cool. Road difficult—first part led along the sandy bottom of a watercourse, then over rocky ridges. Arrived at length within range, and fired two shells from a 9-pr.—much over the mark. Still it frightened them and silenced their fire. Took possession of the watering-place, then marched up the valley, burnt the village, and returned to zeriba."

Graham's telegrams reporting the engagement of the 27th March at Tamanieb are as follows:—

"*Valley of Tamanieb, March 27, 10 A.M.*—Have occupied enemy's position and springs without serious opposition; enemy firing a few shots and retiring on approach of infantry. No casualties. Ground very rocky; unfit for cavalry, very difficult for artillery. Cavalry and Mounted Infantry had no water since yesterday morning, and have worked splendidly. I, after watering, shall reconnoitre up valley, and retire on zeriba occupied last night. Troops in excellent

condition. As yet see no signs of friendly tribes, and consider this position unfit for occupation.

"*Tamanieb*, March 27, 1884, 1.30 P.M. — Force returning to zeriba occupied last night, after burning Osman Digna's villages, having met with no opposition worth mentioning. Two horses killed, Mounted Infantry."

On the 28th March the force was back at Suakin. In accordance with instructions from home, the campaign was considered closed, and the 3rd King's Royal Rifles and a battalion of Royal Marines were left to garrison Suakin.

Graham's final despatch, dated 31st March 1884, mentioning the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men who had distinguished themselves during the campaign, was published in the 'London Gazette' of the 6th May 1884, and is given in full in Appendix VIII. of this volume.

After seeing the last of the troops embark, Graham quitted Suakin with his Staff on the 3rd April in the *Orontes* for Suez, the Admiral having left the day before in the *Euryalus* with signal flying "May all honours await you."

He arrived at Cairo on the 7th April, and was met at the railway station by Lieut.-General Stephenson and his Staff, who gave him a very cordial welcome. He left Egypt on the 22nd April on two months' leave of absence, and was in London on the 29th. Before leaving he met Baring at Alexandria, and notes that he has more liberal ideas about Gordon than he expected to find, and thinks Zebehr ought to have been sent—"as the *only* man for a chief."

Graham was, of course, much fêted; dined with the Queen at Windsor on the 13th May; with many public bodies, and with various Ministers; with his

brother officers at Aldershot on the 16th; with the Junior United Service Club on the 21st; and with his own corps at Chatham on the 30th, when he was the guest of Colonel, now Major-General, E. C. Gordon, the commandant of the School of Military Engineering. On this occasion the non-commissioned officers and sappers unhorsed his carriage and dragged it to the Commandant's house, and after the dinner the younger officers again carried him aloft round the mess-room, the band playing "See the Conquering Hero comes."

At the annual general meeting of the officers of the Corps of Royal Engineers, held at the Levee Room at the Horse Guards on the 5th June 1884, Major-General, now Lieut. - General, Sir Andrew Clarke, K.C.M.G., C.B., C.I.E., Inspector - General of Fortifications, in the chair, it was unanimously resolved that Graham should be asked to sit for his portrait to be hung in the Officers' Mess of the Royal Engineers at Chatham. This he readily consented to do. The portrait was painted by Sir E. J. Poynter, now President of the Royal Academy, was shown in the Royal Academy Exhibition at Burlington House in the season of 1886, and now hangs in the Chatham Mess.

On the 19th July, accompanied by Lady Graham, he went to Jarrow-on-Tyne, where he received an address from the corporation of that ancient town, and was presented by Colonel Palmer¹ and the 1st Newcastle-on-Tyne and Durham Volunteer Engineers with an address and a handsome sword of honour in an oak case made from the piles of the Roman bridge thrown across the Tyne at Newcastle by the Emperor Hadrian. A description and a drawing of this beautiful gift were given in the 'Royal Engineers Journal' for September 1884.

¹ Sir Charles Mark Palmer, 1st baronet, Hon. Colonel.

Graham's despatches on the campaign in the Eastern Soudan in 1884, published in the 'London Gazette' of 27th March, 3rd April, and 6th May 1884, are given in the Appendices. For his services he was thanked by both Houses of Parliament, received two clasps to his Egyptian medal, the 1st Class of the Turkish Medjidie, and was promoted to be a Lieutenant-General for distinguished service. He was offered the choice of a baronetcy or promotion, and, after some consideration, and on the advice of Lord Wolseley, he chose the latter, although he well knew how little prospect of employment there was likely to be for a lieutenant-general. He was promoted from the 21st May 1884.

CHAPTER XVII.

EASTERN SOUDAN, 1885.

WHEN Graham reached England in April 1884 affairs at Khartoum had already become less hopeful. Early in May the investment of Berber, followed by its surrender to the Mahdi's forces on the 26th of that month, greatly increased the difficulty, and Khartoum was cut off.

The question of an expedition to assist Gordon in his mission had some time previously been forced on the attention of Government, and on the 8th April Lord Wolseley had submitted to the Secretary of State for War his view of the plan of operations to be pursued, "if the Government find it necessary to send a military force to Khartoum this autumn for the purpose of relieving that place, and carrying off the Egyptian garrison and servants of the Khedive's Government, now there under the orders of General C. Gordon, C.B." Lord Wolseley's plan was to repeat the Red River expedition on a larger scale up the Nile. Lieut.-General Sir Frederick Stephenson, Commanding the British forces in Egypt, who was consulted, strongly advised the Suakin-Berber route, but stated that Sir Evelyn Wood, then employed with the Egyptian army, preferred the Nile route. The Nile route was eventually adopted by the Government.

During the early summer of 1884, however, the Government were a long way behind public opinion, and either did not adequately realise the serious state of affairs in the Soudan, or were not prepared to face it. When it was announced in the House of Commons, on the 8th July, that it was not the intention of the Government to despatch an expedition for the relief of Gordon, unless it were clearly shown that such was the only means by which the General and those dependent on him could be relieved, the country became exasperated, and the outcry grew so loud and so strong that the Government were reluctantly compelled to hasten their preparations, and on the 5th August a vote of credit was proposed in the House of Commons to enable operations to be undertaken for the relief of Khartoum.

Having at length obtained from Parliament the necessary funds, and from the Government a decision as to the route to be followed, the War Office did its best to make up for lost time. Unfortunately, time was the essence of the problem, and the time lost could never be made up. In September 1884 Lord Wolseley arrived in Cairo in command of the expedition up the Nile.

But what had Graham to do with all this? He had, indeed, neither to do with the preparations for, nor with the operations of, the Nile campaign; but having already himself been prevented from helping Gordon, he was a very interested spectator of events. As far back as the 18th May he had applied for employment in the autumn expedition to Khartoum, but his high rank, and perhaps his too fervent advocacy of the Suakin-Berber route, told against him, and his applications were not favourably responded to. Nevertheless he was soon to return to

the Eastern Soudan to assist in the endeavour to attain the object of the Nile expedition. It is important, therefore, to bear in mind what was being done on the Nile, in order to understand the object of the Suakin expedition.

This second expedition to the Eastern Soudan was first thought of when, on the 18th November 1884, the Government received from Lord Wolseley, who was then at Wady Halfa, a telegraphic summary of Gordon's letter of the 4th of that month, saying he could not hold out for more than forty days without difficulty. The receipt on the 30th of December of Gordon's further letter of the 14th December, in which he warned Lord Wolseley not to leave Berber untaken in his rear, and described the pitiful condition of Khartoum, emphasised the importance of action from Suakin in the direction of Berber, not so much for the relief of Khartoum as to overthrow the power of Osman Digna, and thus secure the flank of the Nile column. It was not, however, until after the receipt, in February 1885, of the news of the fall of Khartoum and of the death of Gordon, that the Government definitely decided upon the Suakin expedition.

When the year 1885 opened the tension on the public mind was severe. The progress of the Nile column under Lord Wolseley was watched from day to day with the keenest interest, every one hoping almost against hope that there might yet be time to save Gordon; but this was not to be.

Graham's diary for this year was very irregularly kept. A cutting from a newspaper has been pasted on the inside of the cover, containing extracts from Wordsworth's "Character of the Happy Warrior" as an appropriate description of Gordon, and the

following entries will be read with a melancholy interest :—

“*Jan. 26, Monday.*—Public getting very anxious about Stewart’s¹ safety. I went to the club and had a talk with D., and wrote a letter to ‘Times’ and ‘Standard’ suggesting that he might have marched on to the cataract forty miles above Metemmeh, being more likely there to meet Gordon’s steamers.

“*Jan. 28, Wednesday.*—Gordon’s birthday ; and we first heard of Stewart’s march after Abu-Klea, his wound, his arrival at Gubat, and meeting of Gordon’s steamers. Barring Stewart’s wound and our loss the news seemed good, and we drank dear Charlie’s health, trusting that at last he was to be relieved now that steamers with Wilson² and party had gone forward.

“*Feb. 5, Thursday.*—To-day, I believe (written on 23rd February), came to us the awful news that Khartoum had fallen, and that Gordon was reported killed.”

At the opening of Parliament on the 10th February 1885, the Government announced their policy of going to Khartoum to break the power of the Mahdi. The idea was that Lord Wolseley would hold the Nile from Merawi to Dongola and Hanneck Cataract during the summer and prepare for an autumn campaign, and that in the meanwhile Osman Digna’s power in the Suakin district should be crushed, and a railway commenced from Suakin to Berber.

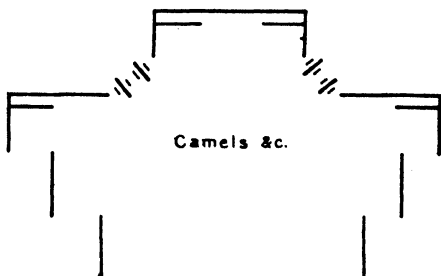
On this same day Graham had entered in his diary : “I fear there is no hope of my getting the command, nevertheless I think a good deal over the tactics I

¹ Brigadier-General Sir Herbert Stewart, K.C.B., died on the 15th February 1885, of wounds received in the action near Metemmeh on the 19th January 1885.

² Major-General Sir Charles William Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Royal Engineers.

would adopt when on *defensive*. In an open country a loose and yet strong formation as below. For *attack* we should keep our adopted system, reinforcing skirmishers to meet counter-attacks."

On the following day (11th February 1885) Graham was sent for by the Military Secretary, and going to the War Office, had an interview with the Commander - in - Chief,



H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, who informed him of his appointment to the command of the Suakin expedition, and congratulated him on his good luck.

On the same day he had an interview with the Secretary of State for War, at which his opinion was asked as to whether the railway, which it was proposed to make between Suakin and Berber, should be constructed by military labour or by contract. Graham was in favour of military labour; but Sir Arthur Haliburton (now Lord Haliburton), Director of Supplies and Transport at the War Office, strongly advocated contract.

Graham was busy enough until his departure, daily attending meetings of committees of the Cabinet and conferences at the War Office about the expedition, and especially the railway. Major-General Sir Andrew Clarke, then Inspector-General of Fortifications, was in favour of the metre gauge for the railway, as used in India, and the supply of workmen and organisation by the Indian Public Works Department; but Graham says this was opposed by the India Office, as weakening Indian works.

On the 17th February a contract was made with Messrs Lucas & Aird to construct a railway of 4-foot 8½-inch gauge from Suakin to Berber. The control, works, and direction of the line were to be under the General Commanding the expedition, the contractors being responsible for labour, materials, and construction, the Government reserving to themselves the power of stopping the construction at any section.

On returning home late in the evening of that day Graham hurt his ankle very severely, and as he did not take sufficient care of himself, he paid the penalty later on.

On the 19th the Queen sent for him, and he went to Windsor in the afternoon. He had a most gracious and kind reception, her Majesty expressing her indignation at the abandonment of Gordon, and her regret that Graham should have to go to Suakin again to do what he could so easily have done in the previous spring. The Queen desired him to telegraph to her, and not to expose himself too much.

Graham writes to his sister from the Horse-Guards next day: "I can only find a spare moment to write to you and thank you for your kind letter. It is a serious task and heavy responsibility that has been intrusted to me, and I trust I may succeed in carrying my duties out to the satisfaction of the country. The Queen expressed herself very kindly to me, and showed great feeling about Gordon. I am so sorry to see poor Stewart's death announced."

On the 20th February, accompanied by his Chief of the Staff, Major-General Sir George Greaves,¹ K.C.M.G., C.B., and his Aides-de-Camp, Lieutenants Hon. J. M. Stopford, Grenadier Guards, and W. C.

¹ Now General and G.C.B.

Anderson, R.A., now a Major, and other officers, Graham left Charing Cross by the evening boat train amidst the cheers of a great crowd assembled to see him off, including many officers of his own corps. At the station he had a parting interview with the Secretary of State for War, Lord Hartington, now Duke of Devonshire, who told him that the Prime Minister was very anxious that he should capture Osman Digna, and authorised him to bribe natives, if necessary, to effect his capture. At Dover, also, the party met with a cordial send-off from the General Commanding and his Staff, and a great many officers and friends.

On board the *Mongolia*, on passage to Egypt, Graham suffered a great deal of pain from his ankle, and by the time he got to Cairo, on the 26th February, it was so much worse that he had to remain in his room at Sir Frederick Stephenson's for ten days. It was found necessary to cut the wound open and insert a seton. At a meeting in his room on the 27th, at which Sir Frederick Stephenson and all Staff and Heads of Departments were present, various matters were settled as to water-supply, camping-grounds, &c., and Graham arranged to send Sir George Greaves and the rest of his Staff on the 29th to Suakin to be on the spot while the troops were arriving. On the 2nd March Graham received a telegram from the Queen, through Sir John Cowell, making kind inquiries. He found himself sufficiently recovered to leave Cairo on the 9th March, and arrived at Suakin, still rather lame, on the 12th, where more than half the force was already assembled.

The force consisted of a Naval Brigade, under Commander Domville,¹ R.N.; Cavalry, under Colonel H.

¹ Captain Sir William Cecil H. Domville, C.B., R.N., fourth baronet.

P. Ewart¹—two squadrons 5th Lancers, detachment 19th Hussars, two squadrons 20th Hussars, and four companies of Mounted Infantry; Artillery, under Lieut.-Colonel Stuart J. Nicholson,² R.A.—one horse battery, one field battery, and one mountain battery; Engineers, under Colonel J. Bevan Edwards,³ R.E.—two field companies, one railway company, two telegraph sections, and a balloon detachment. Infantry in two brigades: Guards Brigade under Major-General A. J. Lyon-Fremantle⁴—3rd Grenadiers, 1st Coldstreams, and 2nd Scots; Second Brigade, under Major-General Sir John C. McNeill, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.M.G.—2nd East Surrey, 1st Shropshire, 1st Berkshire, and a battalion of Marines. There was also an Indian Contingent under Brigadier-General John Hudson,⁵ C.B., composed of 15th Sikhs, 9th Bengal Cavalry, one company of Madras Sappers, 17th Bengal, and 28th Bombay Native Infantry; and an Australian (New South Wales) Contingent, consisting of two batteries of Field-Artillery, under Lieut.-Colonel W. W. Spalding, and a battalion of Infantry, under Lieut.-Colonel Wells, which arrived at Suakin at the end of the month of March. Including Army Medical Staff, Ordnance Store, Commissariat, and Transport, the total force was about 13,000 (of which some 2500 were previously in garrison at Suakin), and 11,000 followers (labourers, camel-drivers, muleteers, &c.)

Never before had an army in the field been assembled that included not only the flower of the

¹ Now Major-General, K.C.B., K.C.V.O., and Crown Equerry to the King.

² Now Major-General (retired) and C.B.

³ Now Lieut.-General (retired) and K.C.M.G.

⁴ Now General, G.C.M.G., and C.B.

⁵ Afterwards Lieut.-General and K.C.B. He died in India when in command of the Bombay army.

regular army, and representatives of the native armies of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and the Punjab, but also a contingent from far-distant Australia. For the first time in British history the Artillery and Infantry of an Australian colony (New South Wales) fought side by side with the Guardsman and the Sikh.

Seven years earlier indeed, when the relations of this country with Russia were strained at the end of the Russo-Turkish war, General Sir Patrick MacDougall, Commanding the Forces in North America, undertook, with the approval of the Dominion Government, to place 10,000 trained and disciplined Canadian volunteers at the disposal of the Home Government, for service wherever required. Although the offer was accepted there was no occasion for their services, as the crisis passed away.

Now, however, Sir Gerald Graham found himself in command of troops which had for the first time come from the Antipodes to show their devotion to the Mother Country, and to set an example that has lately been so worthily followed in South Africa by all the great colonies to the advantage and consolidation of the empire.

Graham's instructions, dated the 20th February, were briefly—to facilitate the operations of the railway contractors; to make the best arrangements, which the shortness of time before the hot weather commenced would permit, to organise a field force for the destruction of Osman Digna's power; to attack all the positions which he occupied and disperse the troops defending them; then to arrange for the military occupation of the Hadendowa territory lying near the Suakin-Berber road, &c.; and finally, to consider himself under Lord Wolseley's orders, reporting to him, and transmitting copies by post and

telegraph to the Secretary of State for War. Within the limits of these instructions he was given perfect discretionary powers to conduct operations in any manner he might deem best.

The railway was commenced the day after Graham's arrival; but it is not proposed to dwell upon the many interesting engineering works carried on under his command by the zeal and energy of his Engineers in the heat and glare of the Red Sea littoral. While Graham, as an Engineer, took great interest in the railway and other works, he left them in the hands of the very competent officers under his orders, and bestowed his main attention on the plan of campaign.

Osman Digna was reported to be at Tamai with some 7000 men; a force of 3000 of the enemy was at Hashin, west of Suakin; and Tokar was held by a small force. As the occupation of Hashin threatened the right of any advance on Tamai, and was also convenient to the enemy for night raids, with which they harassed Graham's camp, he decided first of all to break up the enemy's force at Hashin, and hold both it and Handoub. Accordingly on the 19th of March Graham made a reconnaissance in force. He found the enemy in some hills near Hashin, about seven miles from Suakin, but they retired after slight resistance. Having made arrangements to attack on the following day and to form a zeriba, he returned with his force to camp.

Leaving the Shropshire and details to guard the camp, Graham advanced at 6.30 A.M. on the 20th March with 10,000 men on Hashin. The Infantry reached the foot of the hills about 8.30 A.M., and the Royal Engineers, Madras Sappers, and the East Surrey Regiment occupied some hills and constructed defensive posts on them, the enemy falling back on Dihili-

bat Hill, a steep hill which was splendidly stormed by M'Neill and his Brigade, supported by the Indian contingent and the battery of Horse-Artillery; the Guards Brigade moved in support of the whole, and the Cavalry covered the flanks. On the right the 5th Lancers and two squadrons of the 9th Bengal Cavalry charged with great effect, and completely checked a body of the enemy advancing down the Hashin valley to turn Graham's right flank. By about half-past two o'clock four strong posts were completed and a zeriba commenced. About 4.30 P.M. the force returned to camp, leaving the East Surrey Regiment to guard the position. Graham's loss was 9 killed and 39 wounded, while that of the enemy was estimated at 250 killed at least.

The telegraphic despatch sent from Hashin the same day, and the full despatch of the following day from Suakin, were published in Parliamentary Papers, Egypt, Nos. 9 and 13 (1885), C 4345 and 4392, and will be found in Appendix IX. of this volume. (See also Plate IV.)

Having broken up the enemy's concentration at Hashin and established a post there, Graham next operated against Osman Digna at Tamai. For reasons of supply it was necessary to establish intermediate posts, and on the 22nd March he sent M'Neill's brigade and a squadron of the 5th Lancers, a field company and telegraph section, R.E., four Gardner guns manned by the Naval Brigade, with the Indian Brigade to convey the camel transport animals back to Suakin, to form a zeriba some miles from Suakin on the way to Tamai.

Graham himself accompanied the force for two miles and a half, and then returned to camp. At 2.45 P.M. he heard heavy firing in the direction which the force had taken, and immediately ordered out the Guards

Brigade and the Horse-Artillery battery ; but he had not proceeded more than three miles, following the field telegraph line laid by the R.E., when he received a telegram from M'Neill that he was in no need of assistance, and returned to camp.

What had happened was briefly that M'Neill was attacked by the enemy while making his zeribas at Tofrik, the halting-place. One zeriba was nearly completed, and the other was in progress ; one-half the Berkshire Regiment was at dinner, and the other half cutting brushwood ; the camels were unloaded, and filing out to be formed up for their return march to Suakin under the escort of the Indian Brigade ; about two-thirds of the force remained by their arms. Suddenly the enemy attacked from the thick scrub—so suddenly and so impetuously that the warning of the Cavalry scouts was insufficient for preparation, the enemy charging close upon their heels. A most gallant defence was made, and the enemy, about 2000 strong, were eventually repulsed, with the loss of about half their number. M'Neill's loss was severe—150 killed and 298 wounded and missing, including followers, while no less than 500 camels were lost.

As the Royal Engineers were out working when the attack was made, they suffered heavily. Captain F. J. Romilly, Lieutenant E. M. B. Newman, and 13 men were killed, and Captain C. B. Wilkieson and 3 men were wounded.

On the following day (23rd) Graham rode out to the zeriba with the Brigade of Guards and a convoy of 1200 camels. After receiving M'Neill's report he complimented the Berkshire Regiment and the Sikhs, who had especially distinguished themselves, on their gallant behaviour, and sent off the following telegraphic despatch :—

“Advanced Zeriba, 12 noon, March 23, 1885.— Arrived here with Guards and large convoy. Am sending in wounded and baggage animals, with Indian Brigade and Grenadier Guards, under Lyon-Fremantle, leaving two battalions of Guards here with M’Neill’s Brigade. A strong zeriba has been constructed, and I consider position secure against any number of enemy. The attack yesterday was very sudden and determined, and came, unfortunately, on our weakest point. The Sikhs charged the enemy with bayonet. The Berkshire behaved splendidly, clearing out the zeriba where entered and capturing three standards. Marines also behaved well. Naval Brigade was much exposed, and suffered severely. Engineers also suffered heavily, being out working when attacked. The enemy suffered very severely, more than a thousand bodies being counted. Many chiefs of note are believed to have fallen. I deeply regret our serious losses, but am of opinion that M’Neill did everything possible under the circumstances. The Cavalry, 5th Lancers, did their best to give information, but, the ground being covered with bush, it was impossible to see any distance. The troops behaved extremely well. All the Staff and Regimental officers did their utmost. Enemy charged with reckless courage, leaping over the low zeriba to certain death; and although they gained a temporary success by surprise, they have received a severe lesson, and up to the present time have not again attempted to molest the zeriba.”

The despatch giving full particulars of this affair is dated from Suakin, 28th March, and was published in Parliamentary Papers, Egypt, No. 13 (1885), C 4392. It will be found in Appendix X. of this volume. (See also Plate V.)

On the 24th March another convoy of 425 camels,

818 carts, and 8000 gallons of water proceeded to M'Neill's zeriba, as it was called, escorted by the Indian Brigade. Three miles from the zeriba they were met by the Coldstream Guards and Royal Marines, who relieved the Indian Brigade; and while escorting the convoy to the zeriba were attacked by the enemy in some force, and on closing up the square 117 camels were left outside, and either killed or lost, the escort losing 1 man killed and 3 officers and 25 men wounded.

On the following day a convoy of 500 camels with 3480 gallons of water, escorted by over 2000 men, arrived safely at the zeriba, and returned without seeing any trace of the enemy. They had with them a captive balloon, which was successfully used. On this day also the East Surrey Regiment was brought in from Hashin, and the post dismantled.

On the 26th March Graham himself marched out at 6 A.M. with his whole available force, and escorted a large convoy of 600 camels and 300 mules, carrying 9000 gallons of water, to M'Neill's zeriba. The Infantry advanced in square, the Grenadier Guards and Shropshire Light Infantry forming respectively the front and rear faces, each with a front of two companies, and the Surrey Regiment and 28th Bombay Native Infantry the sides. After two hours' march the enemy were seen, and a few shots exchanged between them and the Cavalry; but by 9.15 they were swarming in the dense bush. After half an hour of desultory firing a rush was made at the right front corner of the square, which was at once repulsed. After clearing the scrub in front, Graham continued his march to the zeriba, unloaded the baggage animals, and returned with them to Suakin, taking away with him also the Scots Guards.

The next day the troops rested, and Graham had a meeting of the Heads of Departments to arrange about transport. On the 28th another large convoy went out under Major-General Lyon-Fremantle, and Graham was busy inspecting the hospital ships, &c. On the 29th the New South Wales Infantry arrived, and were inspected and addressed. Graham's diary may here be quoted:—

“March 30, Monday.—Large convoy, 20,000 gallons, under Hudson. Fell out Marines, inspected and addressed them, and sent them home. Rode over to Australians. Many gentlemen and some retired officers in their ranks. Rode into Suakin and saw Chermside. Mahmoud Ali very anxious to cut off Osman Digna, who is reported to have only 20 men, rest having gone with women, grain, &c., into mountains. I gave him leave to send out, and promised him his reward if successful. In evening Grover¹ brought news that the men wouldn't go. Australian Battery in Suakin; will disembark to-morrow. Saw Spalding—a smart Commanding Officer. The men are mostly garrison gunners, and horses are untrained. Spalding said he couldn't be ready for a week.

“March 31, Tuesday.—Spies report Tamai evacuated; all women, grain, withdrawn. Spy drank of water and found it bitter. Sent out Mounted Infantry to zeriba with orders to push on to Tamai to-morrow if possible. Inspected Australians in khaki, and saw them drill. . . .

“April 1, Wednesday.—Started railway beyond West Redoubt, but getting message that Mounted

¹ Major (afterwards Colonel) George E. Grover, Royal Engineers, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Intelligence Department. He died at Chicago in 1893, when British Commissioner at the International Exhibition there.

Infantry had found enemy in force near Tamai, ordered a general advance to-morrow.

"*April 2, Thursday.*—Up by 3 A.M., but owing to delays didn't start till 4.30 A.M. Progress slow, with large convoy of camels, mules, doolie-bearers, &c. Got to zeriba about 8.30 A.M., when we halted. Inflated balloon, which got torn in bush, and soon ignominiously collapsed."

Graham had moved from Suakin with 7000 men of all arms, and his force was further augmented at M'Neill's zeriba by a battalion of Guards and of the Berkshire Regiment, the 24th Company, R.E., the Mounted Infantry, and a troop of the 9th Bengal Cavalry, making a total of over 8000 men. The 28th Bombay Native Infantry and two Gardner-guns, manned by the Royal Marine Artillery, were left to garrison M'Neill's zeriba. To continue Graham's notes:—

"About 2 P.M. we were three miles from Tesela Hill, and I sent on Grant¹ with Mounted Infantry to occupy it. I went on it about 4.30 P.M., and the whole force arrived about 5 P.M. Set them at once to construct zeriba and occupy the surrounding hills. Sikhs very smart. The Surrey, under Ralston,² capital workmen. I occupied Tesela Hill as my headquarters. . . . At 1 A.M. fire opened again precisely as last time, but outlying picket of Grenadiers at once replied, and a shell from a 13-pr. on Tesela Hill completely shut them up, after which we had a quiet night. In that short time one man was killed and two wounded. The day has been pleasantly cool and night quite fresh."

¹ Major-General Henry Fane Grant, C.B., Inspector-General of Cavalry, then Lieut.-Colonel 4th Hussars, Commanding the Mounted Infantry.

² Colonel W. H. Ralston, C.B., then Commanding the 2nd East Surrey Regiment.

On leaving M'Neill's zeriba the advance was slow, with frequent halts, owing to the density of the bush. By 12.15 P.M. they had only advanced about three miles, and the Cavalry reported the presence of the enemy in the bush, who gradually fell back before their advance. At 1.30 P.M. the enemy were retiring on Tesela Hill and Tamai, and half an hour later the force halted for dinner, and the Mounted Infantry and a squadron of the 9th Bengal Cavalry reconnoitred the position on the hills. At first the enemy seemed inclined to defend the position, but their flanks being threatened, they fell back on Tamai. Tesela, a group of bare rocky hills about 100 feet high, but practicable for guns, was occupied by the Mounted Infantry and cavalry, and heliographic communication was opened with Suakin. An excellent view was obtained of the scattered villages of New Tamai, lying between the ridges of low hills beyond Tesela and the deep ravine, Khor Ghoub, beyond which the country becomes exceedingly mountainous, and intersected by ravines with precipitous sides. (See Plate I.)

The Mounted Infantry were ordered to push on to the village, ascertain if it were occupied, and, if practicable, move on to the water, and water the horses. Fire was opened upon them after advancing a mile south of one village, and they fell back. The main body of the force arrived at Tesela about 5 P.M. and formed a zeriba in the valley, occupying in force the hills on both sides, while the Mounted Infantry and Cavalry returned to M'Neill's zeriba for the night.

Graham's first object was to gain possession of the cluster of villages at New Tamai, which had long been Osman Digna's Headquarters, and to secure the wells in the Khor. The ground between Tesela and the Khor was broken and rough, intersected with deep

gullies, and covered with jutting rocks and boulders, but free from bush.

On the morning of the 3rd April the zeriba at Tesela was left in charge of M'Neill with the East Surrey and Shropshire, and the Gardner-guns. Having sent forward the Cavalry and Mounted Infantry to cover the advance, Graham marched with about 6000 men. By 9.30 A.M. the square reached the edge of the Khor, firing continuing all the time between the Mounted Infantry and the enemy's scouts on the right flank. The 2nd Brigade then moved across the Khor, supported by artillery-fire; and ascending the hill on the other side, the Berkshire and Marines opened fire from the highest point in the centre of the hill. The Guards Brigade and New South Wales Contingent were in support crowning the ridges on the north side of the Khor, the Horse-Artillery and mountain-guns coming into action on their left flank. During these operations the enemy kept up a continuous but distant fire, and gradually withdrew into the mountains to the south-west. The British loss was 1 killed and 16 wounded.

On descending the Khor to the place where Graham had found a running stream in the previous spring campaign, no water was found. Graham's force had brought with it only three days' supply, and the absence of water at Tamai made it risky to advance to Tamanieb, for the wells there might also be found waterless, and the difficulty of supplying so large a force with water was enormous. Considering it useless under these circumstances to follow the enemy, who was either unable or indisposed to fight, into the hills, Graham burnt the villages, destroyed large quantities of ammunition found in them, and retired. A small party of the enemy, moving on the hills to

the right parallel to the line of march, kept up a running fire, with the result that one man was killed and six wounded. Tesela zeriba was reached about 2 P.M. Part of the Artillery and Cavalry were sent back to Suakin; the remainder of the force moved to M'Neill's zeriba, and the following day also returned to camp.

The efficiency of the transport arrangements was marked. Out of nearly 2000 transport animals all but six returned, and two of these six were killed in action.

Graham's brief notes on this day are as follows:—

"*April 3, Friday.*—Got off about 8 A.M. with reserve ammunition. Cavalry came up from No. 1 (M'Neill's) zeriba at 7. We soon came into a large deserted village, and enemy kept up a weak fire from opposite side of Khor. 2nd Brigade crowned heights, and opposition was confined to distant fire from rifles. We found, however, no water sufficient for the animals. Some could be got by sinking 7 feet, and there was a filthy pool. Accordingly I decided to return. Got troops back, burning village, and withdrew with scientific precision about 2 P.M. I returned with Cavalry and Horse-Artillery to Suakin, Conway [his servant] with mule bringing all my baggage.

"*April 4, Saturday.*—Men came in about noon in excellent condition. Rode out to meet them, and then on to West Redoubt. Looked at camping-ground, and rode round camps."

Graham's despatch, dated 8th April, reporting the operations of the 2nd and 3rd April, was published in Parliamentary Paper, Egypt, No. 13 (1885), C 4392, and will be found in Appendix XI. of this volume.

The enemy having been driven out of their positions at Hashin and Tamai, Graham proceeded to open up the route for the railway, but first cleared out M'Neill's zeriba, as it was no longer required. He then occupied Handoub on the 8th April without opposition.

On the 9th April Graham telegraphed home for permission to employ military working-parties on the railways, which was approved on the 14th. On the 12th April he telegraphed to the Secretary of State for War that the tribes would not come in unless assured of British protection, and asked the embarrassing question—how far he could offer it.

But just at this time the whole position of affairs was suddenly changed, for on the 13th April the Secretary of State for War telegraphed to Lord Wolseley that the expedition to Khartoum might have to be abandoned under the then condition of imperial affairs (alluding to the Penjdeh incident, which appeared likely to involve the country with Russia), and that he must consider what measures should be taken for the safe withdrawal of the troops, observing that this would involve stopping the advance from Suakin, but not hurried withdrawal. After interchange of communications the Secretary of State for War informed Lord Wolseley on the 20th that the Government had decided not to make provision for further offensive operations in the Soudan. Having made the necessary arrangements for the withdrawal of the Nile column, Lord Wolseley visited Suakin, where he arrived on 2nd May.

In the mean time, on the 16th April, Otao, four and a half miles beyond Handoub, was occupied without opposition, and the railway carried to within a

mile of Handoub. On the same day orders were issued for the formation of a Camel Corps, to consist of 400 British and 100 native soldiers, with about 200 native drivers. The camels carried two men each, three camels carrying five fighting men and one native driver. Men were drawn from all corps to form the five companies.

Since the break-up of Osman Digna's Headquarters at Tamai the enemy caused little annoyance beyond desultory firing at night and injuries to the telegraph line. Nevertheless, every precaution was taken to ensure the safe progress of the railway, and Graham made several successful reconnaissances in force in advance and into the neighbouring valleys to clear them of Arabs. On the 18th April he made a reconnaissance to Abent; on the 19th he occupied Tambouk, five miles beyond Otao; and on the 24th he was able to take train to three miles beyond Handoub, and, riding on to Tambouk, to accompany Lyon-Fremantle's force in a reconnaissance to Es Sibil.

On the 26th April Graham received a telegram from Lord Wolseley informing him as to the withdrawal. The Marines embarked on the 29th. On the 1st May Graham went by armoured train with Major (now Colonel) W. H. Rathborne and several other officers of Royal Engineers to Handoub, and then rode on to the Waratab Mountains to see if any site could be found there for a hospital. The height was about 1600 feet, the climbing very rough, and although the view was splendid, no plateau for building could be found. On the 2nd May Lord Wolseley arrived.

On the 5th May a telegram was received from Captain G. S. Clarke, R.E., attached to the In-

telligence Department, that Muhammad Adam Sardoun, a sheikh of the Amara tribe, a trusted lieutenant of Osman Digna, had collected a force and established himself at Takul in the Abent valley to harass our line of communication. Graham determined to attack him. (See Plate I.) His notes on this little expedition are as follows:—

“*May 5, Tuesday.*—Got telegram from Clarke that Muhammad Adam Sardoun was established at Thakul with flocks and herds. Ordered 15th Sikhs to Otao by rail, whence they move at 2 A.M. with Mounted Infantry. I go with Camel Corps, Mounted Infantry, and 9th Bengal Cavalry at midnight. Saw Wolseley, who is better, but has got no orders as yet for our removal.

“*May 6, Wednesday.*—Got off a little past midnight, but couldn't march till nearly one o'clock owing to delay packing camels with water. A very close night. No freshness, and dark till about two o'clock, when moon unveiled. Very sleepy. A weird scene that procession by moonlight! Got to Thakul by day-break. Mounted infantry came quickly into action, followed by Camel Corps, who scaled hills, drove Arabs off, capturing flocks of goats, camels, &c. The force from Suakin with the 'Friendlies' arrived on the scene. Latter very cowardly, but useful. Returned by Otao, and then took train to Suakin.”

Lord Wolseley's telegraphic despatch on the operation, published in Parliamentary Paper, Egypt, No. 13 (1885), C 4392, is given; below while Graham's despatch of the 13th May, containing a detailed account of this enterprising attack, which was published in Parliamentary Paper, Egypt, No. 18 (1885), C 4598, will be found in Appendix XII. of this volume. (See also Plate I.)

*“General Lord Wolseley to the Marquis of Hartington
(Received May 7).”*

[*Telegraphic.*]

“SUAKIN, May 6, 1885.

“Graham executed a very successful and well-planned raid last night on Thakul, a village 10 miles south of Otao and 20 miles west of Suakin, which was occupied by Muhammad Adam Sardoun, one of Osman Digna’s most important followers.

“Sardoun had at Thakul the only organised force remaining in the field, which was reported to be 700 strong. Graham started at 1 A.M. from Suakin with 9th Bengal Lancers, the Mounted Infantry of the Engineers and Guards, and the Camel Corps; and, in combination with him, a column left Otao, consisting of Mounted Infantry, the 15th Sikhs, and 200 Friendlies.

“Both columns marched on Thakul, which they reached shortly after daybreak, Graham’s force arriving slightly before the other. They drove the enemy out of Thakul, captured between 1500 and 2000 sheep and goats, and returned to their respective camps after having burnt Thakul.

“Enemy’s loss is estimated at 50 killed. Our casualties are: Lieutenant A. R. Austen, Shropshire Regiment and Camel Corps, severely wounded; No. 7922, Corporal H. Lock, Grenadier Guards and Mounted Infantry, severely wounded; Sergeant Smith, Scots Guards and Mounted Infantry, slightly wounded. Graham reports all troops as having behaved well.”

For the next week Graham was occupied with various inspections of his force, outposts, &c., by Lord Wolseley, and by the end of that time the expected orders had arrived for the withdrawal of

the field force, with the exception of the garrison to be left at Suakin. On the 15th May he received a letter from Lord Wolseley directing him to embark with the Guards on the following day.

Before leaving Suakin Graham issued a Special General Order to the force that he had commanded, which was published in the 'London Gazette' of the 29th May 1885, and will be found in Appendix XIII. of this volume.

He sailed for Alexandria early on the 17th May, and after a week at Alexandria, and a visit to Sir Lintorn Simmons at Malta, where he was at that time Governor, Graham arrived in England on the 14th June 1885.

During his stay at Alexandria Graham wrote his final despatch, dated the 30th May 1885, reviewing the campaign, and mentioning officers, non-commissioned officers, and men who had distinguished themselves. It was forwarded to the Secretary of State for War under cover of Lord Wolseley's despatch of the 16th June, and was published in the 'London Gazette' of the 25th August 1885. It forms Appendix XIV. of this volume.

For his services in command of the Suakin expedition Graham received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, was made a Grand Cross of St Michael and St George, and had another clasp added to his Egyptian medal. His despatches are to be found in the Egypt Series of the Parliamentary "Command" Papers of 1885, and in the 'London Gazette' of the 25th August 1885, and the most important of them are reprinted in the Appendices to this volume.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LETTERS—ENTERTAINMENTS—RETIREMENT.

DURING Graham's absences from his family between 1882 and 1885, no matter how actively engaged in campaigning, he constantly corresponded with his wife and children, writing long chatty letters, as he used to do to his sister in Crimean days. Only a few letters to his youngest son have been found, one written *en route* to Egypt in 1882, and the others from Egypt in that and the following year. In these the sympathetic facility with which he places himself on the child's level are strikingly shown:—

“I know you would like to have a letter from me, and will write me a nice letter in return. When I went away you were very sorrowful, my dear little boy, and told me that I must not go to Egypt. You don't understand what a soldier's idea of duty and honour is, but dear mama will tell you. In the mean time your idea of duty and honour should be to obey dear mama, and to be good to dear little baby.

“You would have been amused, had you been travelling with me, at the way the people came and stared at us in Italy. At one station there was an old priest who came up to the carriage with his mouth wide open—I suppose to enable him to open his eyes wider and indulge his curiosity. I longed,

as you certainly would have done, to put something into his mouth, and was nearly trying an orange, but it was too large. I must now say good night, my dear little boy, for it is half-past ten; the punkah has stopped, and I must go on deck to get fresh air. So good night, and try and be a good little boy and a comfort to dear mama."

Another from Ramleh, dated the 14th August 1882, refers to the boy's sorrow for his father's departure from home, and his dislike that he should go to Egypt, and continues:—

"I suppose you imagine Egypt to be a very dreadful place, full of horrible nightmares, and that the plagues of Moses inflicted on the naughty Pharaoh are always being inflicted on the bad people who live here. I daresay you wonder what it is papa has done so naughty as to get him sent out here. You don't know yet, my dear boy, that the first duty of a soldier—and papa is only a soldier—is obedience, so that whatever the duty might have been, or wherever it might have taken me, I should have had to obey the commands of the Queen.

"After all, Egypt does not appear to me such a bad place, and I really think that if Ramleh were near enough to London, it would be a very nice place for mama to bring you to in the holidays. I wish you could all be transported here by magic for one day, and that I were quite free to devote myself to showing you everything. You would, perhaps, find the sun a little hot, but there is always a pleasant sea-breeze, so that you would like the sands, but would wonder why the tide didn't come in and go out as it does at Broadstairs.

"Then I would take you into the gardens of this pretty watering-place and show you the trees covered

with sweet-smelling oleander blossoms, the shady tamarisks and date-palms, and the bright flowers. Then you might come into the country and see the fields of tomatoes, cucumbers, and melons, and the groves of fig-trees, where you can pick the luscious fruit and eat them as much as you like, for they are perfectly wholesome. Then you would be immensely interested in the life around you. Lizards, large and lively but quite harmless, are always darting about in the hot sun.

"There are plenty of insects, and I have seen a few enormous cockroaches, but not in my bedroom, where I have only flies and mosquitoes. Fish abound in the canals and lakes. To-day when out riding I saw a beautiful kingfisher, also a grey bird like a small gull that dived into the water and brought out a fish. I hope you are a dear, good little boy, a comfort to dear mama, and a good brother to sweet little Olive, to whom give my best love and many kisses."

Another from Cairo on the 8th October 1882 :—

"I suppose dear mama has told you and Olive that I can't come home yet, and you must therefore both try and keep very good, and make everything as pleasant to dear mama as possible in papa's absence. Now I will tell you about some of the things I have been doing and seeing lately in this strange, distant land.

"You know we have restored the Khedive by putting down his rebellious subject Arabi, and accordingly there have been great rejoicings all over the country, and especially in Cairo, where there have been all sorts of demonstrations. One evening the Khedive gave a great banquet in one of his palaces, to which I was invited. This palace has a large, beautiful garden on the banks of the Nile, and this

garden was lit up with innumerable gay-coloured paper lanterns and lamps, and very pretty fireworks were sent up—rockets breaking into clouds of gold light, Roman candles, Catharine wheels, such as you used to see at the York Gala. But here you had the grand old Nile flowing swiftly past, with the silver moon for his illumination, though the Khedive had also provided ships hung with lanterns, which looked very pretty. The Khedive appears, or wishes to appear, fond of your papa, takes an interest in his health, &c. Perhaps he had to appear to be fond of Arabi at one time. What does baby say to that?

“Well, yesterday I had an expedition you would have enjoyed very much. We went up the Nile in a steamer to see the ruins and tombs of Memphis, a city that was famous when Abraham was a boy. When we landed we had all to get on donkeys and ride six miles into the country. Fancy papa on a donkey! But I got a very superior donkey to what you rode at Broadstairs, and went away at a great pace. We all enjoyed it immensely, and then went into some wonderful underground places where sacred bulls and ancient Pharaohs had been buried.

“But I must tell you about the procession of the sacred camel and the carpet. This was a religious ceremonial of the Mussulman religion. All the troops were turned out in honour of the ceremonial, and the Khedive with his highest officers of State, his high-priests, and the higher officers of the expeditionary force, papa among them, were there to receive the procession. At last it came with great beating of tom-toms (drums) and with all kinds of music. The sacred camel appeared covered with a gorgeous canopy like a little summer-house. Then came a

strange figure on another camel—a fat man with a long beard, naked to the waist, who rolled from side to side, wagged his head, and kept up a constant mumbling with his eyes shut. This was a great Mussulman saint, and I am told he never wears any more clothing, though he must find it cold before he gets to Mecca. This wonderful procession, which I cannot fully describe, was going to Mecca, where Muhammad lies buried, and this carpet is to be laid over his tomb, when it becomes sacred, and is distributed among the believers.

“But it is getting dark, and I must leave off. Write again, my dear, dear little boy, and let me know if you are trying to grow up a good son and a good brother.”

The last is from Cairo, dated the 14th April 1883, when he was about to return home on two months' leave of absence:—

“Thank you very much for the pretty map you have sent me. It is very nicely drawn, and as far as I can judge the outlines are accurate. Had you gone a little farther south you might have shown where I am; as it is, you have shown the position of Alexandria, though you have not named it. . . . Now, if I were coming home by your map, I should embark where longitude 30° cuts the north coast of Africa, steam across the Mediterranean, up the Adriatic to Venice, then pass the pleasant Italian lakes and over the pass of St Gothard into Switzerland, on through France, past Paris to Calais, then across to Dover, and once more I stand in dear England. Then a few more hours take me back to you all.

“How well I remember, my dear little boy, that afternoon of the 28th July when you said tearfully to me that I ‘mustn’t go to Egypt’! You didn’t think

papa would have to go to school again, did you? But he had to go to the school of war, and was kept at his lessons after school-time, which seemed rather hard on poor papa, but was intended for his good. Now he hopes to get a little holiday, and hopes (with the help of your map) to be able to find his way home, and how delighted he will be to see dear mama and all of you again! I am so glad to hear that you have been a good little boy and have done well with Miss T. When am I to see your mark-book? Good-bye, my dear Wattie, for the present."

On his return home from the command of the Suakin expedition Graham reverted to the unemployed list, and continued to reside at Worlabye House, Roehampton. He had arrived in the height of the London season, and was overwhelmed with invitations and much fêted. But his was not a disposition to be spoiled by such demonstrations of appreciation, and his modest acceptance of the attentions lavished upon him as a tribute to the troops he had commanded was, in fact, his real view. It did not occur to him that they were in any way personal to himself, but that they were paid to him as the official head and representative of the force he had commanded.

He was fond of the theatre, and made a note of anything interesting he saw. Thus before going off to Scotland in 1885 he notes: "We were taken by some literary friends to see 'Hoodman Blind' yesterday, and liked it very much. We particularly admired the acting of Wilson Barrett and Miss Eastlake. After the performance we were taken behind the scenes and introduced to them. We also stood on the stage before the empty house!"

With Lady Graham he attended the Lord Mayor's

banquet to Sir Frederick Roberts¹ in November, and the function is pleasantly described by her in a letter to her sister-in-law :—

“This banquet was, indeed, a most wonderful affair. The great number of guests would have made it very difficult to arrange for coupling, if the simple expedient of placing every lady with the gentleman who accompanied her had not been followed, and you would have been amused to see me, in my turn, pledging Gerald in the great two-handled loving cup!

“We sat at the principal table on the opposite side to that at which H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge and Sir Frederick Roberts were seated. This great table occupied three sides of the grand dining-hall, and running up within these three sides were seven other long tables. Under the electric lights, well regulated and not too bright, the flowers and fruit looked very beautiful, and the band of the Coldstream Guards played pleasantly all through the dinner. H.R.H. had Lady Roberts on his left and Lady George Hamilton on his right. The Lord Mayor was on the other side of Lady Roberts, then came the little Lady Mayoress (daughter of Sir R. Fowler), and on her left sat the guest of the evening, Sir Frederick Roberts.

“He is a small, wiry-looking man, with a keen earnest face and very grey hair. His whole mind seems taken up with the military idea—not only with regard to principles, but to every detail also. His speech was very long—more like a dissertation than a mere speech, and most of the guests thought it far too technical. However, he was so much in earnest that he could not fail to interest all who were really interested in his subject, and no doubt he had good reasons for taking advantage of a rare opportunity to

¹ Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, K.G., K.P., &c., &c.

utter his views on such points as he had at heart for the good of the army.

“The Lord Mayor spoke well, but we considered the speech of H.R.H. was perhaps in the best taste of any that were made. He looked better than usual, and was full of spirit and animation. While he most gracefully uttered his feeling of pleasure and satisfaction in the appointment of Sir Frederick Roberts to the great post of supreme military command in India, he did not forget to acknowledge what had been done by great soldiers in the Soudan, and as he named Lord Wolseley and *our dear General* he bowed towards each with kindest emphasis. I tell you this because I don’t think any of the papers reported it.

“There is a curious custom at these banquets, which I have not mentioned, of calling out the names of most, if not all, of the distinguished guests—gentlemen only, of course. The toastmaster does this immediately after dinner, and as each name is called different measures of applause greet it, or, if little known, it is received in silence. I need not tell you that dear Gerald’s was most warmly cheered. . . . The ladies sat all through the speeches, and when they were over all the guests rose together and mingled in the corridor and ante-chamber, where tea and coffee were served. Here we met many known to us, and altogether spent a very pleasant and memorable evening. On the other side of Gerald was an alderman and former Lord Mayor, who, by the way, made an excellent speech, as did also dear old Lord Napier of Magdala. On my right was another alderman—a nice, pleasant old man, who told me much about the ancient customs at these feasts.”

On the occasion of the Queen’s Jubilee in 1887, Sir

Gerald and Lady Graham had seats in the Abbey to witness the thanksgiving service, and Lady Graham sent her sister-in-law a description also of this ceremony :—

“Nothing could have been more beautiful in its special kind than the Jubilee service in the dear grand Abbey, only I thought more music might have vivified the intervals between the arrivals of the three great processions. Still there was music, suitable and touching, from time to time, and one seemed to listen in between to a sort of natural heart pulsation, eager and joyous to express itself in a true thanksgiving for all the blessings and benefits conferred by our heavenly Ruler, under whom our dear Sovereign has governed us for so long a time. Surely never before have we had one who has so evidently kept His laws within the soul! She looked calm, dignified, and serious, reverently attending to the service as with her whole heart, and afterwards, when the princes and princesses each came to offer or receive the kiss of felicitation, the joy on each side seemed entirely heartfelt.

“I had a beautiful place, from which I could see all that took place, in a gallery over the Peers, just opposite the Commons—the Queen, princes, and princesses occupying the space between. . . . A beam of sunlight shot athwart the dais, and in its track lighted up the stone effigy of a dead queen lying peacefully under her stone canopy just behind the row of living kings, all in their bright-hued clothing, who were placed in front of that carved repose. They were the kings of Saxony, Denmark, and Greece, the Prince of Portugal, &c., &c., their queens and princesses facing them on the other side, which I could not see from my seat, but I saw them

pass in. The jewels and ornaments incrusting with gems from throat to waist of the Indian princes and princesses were a marvel to see! With the exception of the German Crown Prince in his fair white uniform, I thought our own princes looked much nicer than the foreign kings and princes, though the King of Denmark looked well, having a fine presence. In the midst of the beautifully dressed queens and princesses, our Queen had a fine air of womanly distinction in the simple but rich raiment of black silk, relieved only with white lace and a comparatively few fine gems about the head and breast. She looked as if, even at this great ceremonial, she would testify to the rare virtue of moderation.

“Dear Gerald had to sit in the nave with the army and navy, where certainly he could see each procession admirably as it passed, but he could not see the actual ceremonial of the service as I could, and I wished him in my place, kindly procured for me by the good offices of the Cowells, for only the heads of departments actually in office could take their wives. We drove to the Abbey together, however, leaving dear Babesie at Buckingham Palace to behold the Queen and her procession from a window there with two of the Cowell children. . . . We started at half-past eight o'clock in the morning and were home about half-past three. Dear Gerald and the boys went again in the evening to see the illuminations. . . . I had an opportunity of seeing the illuminations the next night (when they were said to be almost, if not quite, as good), when we went to a great entertainment given by Lady Salisbury at the Foreign Office. There we saw all the royalties—home, foreign, and native—in their evening garb. Among the Indian officers also present there was

one who had served with Gerald in China, and whom he introduced to me—a fine swarthy man of a grand Indian type. It was a beautiful sight that the great suite of rooms and the staircases and corridors presented, with the ever-moving guests in every variety of colour in their gay attire—the Pope's nuncio and his two attendants in violet silk.

“The dear Queen herself we saw quite near at her garden-party at Buckingham Palace, to which we were bidden, and received from her two distinct and very gracious bows of recognition. She looked wonderfully well, we thought, and full of a motherly grace of expression besides her natural queenliness. The gardens are beautiful, and much larger than we had supposed; and a lovely lake with boats on it, and boatmen in quaint-looking scarlet costumes, ready to take any of the guests who might wish to be rowed upon it, added to the gaiety and variety of the pleasant entertainment.

“Here are Jubilee doings indeed, you will say, dear Joanna, and truly we hardly expected invitations either to the Foreign Office or the garden-party—and certainly did not make any effort to obtain them, so perhaps enjoyed them the more.”

In the summer of the following year, 1888, Graham was offered the government of Bermuda in succession to Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Gallwey, K.C.M.G., but after much consideration he felt himself obliged for private reasons to decline it. Soon after family afflictions led him to break up his home, and for some years he became more or less of a wanderer. He left London in 1890, when, in accordance with the regulations of the Service, having been unemployed for five years, he was placed upon the Retired List on the 14th June.

CHAPTER XIX.

REMINISCENCES.

THE end of Graham's military career in honourable retirement, and the close of his long residence in the neighbourhood of London, brings us to the last stage of his life's journey. Before, however, entering on this we devote a short chapter to the reminiscences of his favourite niece, Mrs Shenstone,¹ the eldest daughter of his beloved sister, who became during the last decade of his life his most constant correspondent, and to whom from early years he had been a kind of hero. She draws a vivid picture of the happy home at Roehampton, and writes of her uncle as of one greatly beloved and admired in the family circle.

"My earliest recollections are—myself, a tiny child lifted shoulder-high; he 'so tall he almost touched the sky'—the ceiling came near; and I recollect to this day the pattern of my aunt's shawl—doubtless a very beautiful one. I think he always delighted to give happiness, and even in a baby mind was the consciousness of *his* delight in swinging the baby up, as if he knew just how the baby ought to feel.

"Afterwards there were my own children, as tiny

¹ Mildred, eldest daughter of the late Rev. Reginald N. Durrant, wife of William Ashwell Shenstone, F.I.C., F.R.S., Senior Science Master at Clifton College.

things, looking up in the same awe and wonder. It is easy to imagine an early hero-worship under such circumstances. My mother used to read to us Kingsley's 'Heroes' at a very early age, and Jason, seeking the golden fleece, and Theseus, who slew the dreadful monster, were absolutely associated in my mind with the wonderful 'Uncle Gerald,' whom, after those baby days, we did not see for many years.

"I recollect a portrait coming home from Canada. With what admiring eyes we looked upon the furred and braided coat! Even more admiringly on the coarse woodcut in an old 'Illustrated London News' of a hero, who was not drawn as such to our critical eyes of to-day, stooping to lift a wounded man from the ground.

"I remember this picture recurred to me when my (then) small daughter had some sand in her eyes at Bournemouth. After tears and ineffectual bathings she had fallen asleep, but awoke in agony, powerless to open her eyes. Some grains of sand must have remained under the eyelids and caused inflammation, so that the eyelids were literally stuck together. The mother was, of course, panic-stricken; then a picture of the battlefield came before my eyes. I shall never forget the firm easy way in which my uncle lifted her from her little bed with his arms, and whilst we hovered about the screaming little one, he gently and skilfully opened the eyelids, which we dared not touch, and which could then be bathed, while the sobs died away upon his firm shoulder.

"The next vivid recollection I have is of my grandmother's pride in 'my son.' She used to pay us certain state visits, and, if we children had not disturbed her afternoon nap in the drawing-room, she would graciously relate things to us. We were

greatly impressed by all she related of *him*, this majestic 'Uncle Gerald,' whom we imagined about. He was, or had been, the youngest colonel in the English army, I think a 'full colonel' she called it: his bravery, courage, and devotion, his great affection for our mother, the strange and wonderful things he brought back from abroad, were endless themes; and I, sitting with some horrid German stocking to knit—we had a German governess—forgot its terrors and dropped the stitches blissfully in my devotion. I certainly was never tired! The story of the Victoria Cross and how the pin stuck straight into that broad and manly breast I afterwards also heard from himself.

"After my baby remembrance, which is very vivid and distinct, and the Canada portrait, there is a long lapse. We only heard of him in these years, and I had scarcely emerged from the schoolroom when my father took me—early in the year, I think—to visit my uncle and aunt at Roehampton, where they had lately settled. I was staying at the house of my godfather, Mr Hoets, and I well remember the anxiety with which I awaited my father's arrival, as the time passed and he did not come. He was eventually very late indeed. My dear Mr Hoets did not reassure me much by repeating at intervals, 'My child, you will be late.' We arrived an hour and a half after the time at which we had been expected, and dinner was then (nine o'clock) in full progress. I recollect the sense of almost painful interest with which I ventured—feeling a very innocent culprit—to look at the hero of my early days. . . . I do not remember that he showed any signs of vexation at our extraordinary lateness, but I recollect he made the remark more than once,

‘I had no reason to suppose, Reginald, that you would consider this as supper.’ His eyes belied the satire of his words, and I was consoled by this first sign of fun and by my aunt’s merry laugh. ‘I think aunt Jane is charming,’ I wrote in my diary-like letters kept at this time.

“My next remembrance is of a visit to Roehampton in October 1880. ‘I like Uncle Gerald very much. He is so jolly with Walter,’ I wrote. He was always very affectionate and tender to children—‘darling children,’ he called them; and how often I have heard him say with such a look of real delight, ‘What a dear little thing!’ ‘Jolly little thing!’ In the evening he introduced me to the game of ‘curling’ as played on the ice in Canada, while my aunt, who sang very beautifully, rejoiced us at the piano. The room looked so cheerful and happy. There was always a nice cat asleep before the fire, and sometimes kittens. The children came down and danced about when my uncle and aunt were not dining out, and all was cosey and well: how delightful that home was—to think about! ‘Uncle is very amusing, but rather alarming,’ I wrote, which shows that my old hero-worship had not diminished, although the distance had!

“In connection with the words ‘rather alarming,’ I remember that my uncle took me for a walk in Richmond Park—always delightful, and of which he and my aunt were very fond. It was late autumn, and as we trod on leaves and among bracken, I, anxious to be companionable, entered into the arena of political controversy. My father was at this time an ardent Gladstonian, and I felt it my painful duty to uphold the traditions of my home. I remember my uncle’s tone growing more emphatic—to my ears alarming—as he remonstrated from a great height. ‘But, my dear

Milly!’ . . . It was with a great sense of relief, not unmixed with a notion that I could not much longer have upheld my colours, that we reached the house.

“When I think of a few years afterwards, of Gordon’s fate, my uncle’s grief, so deep that one can only guess at it, those deep remonstrant tones above me in Richmond Park come back to me.

“This visit was to be remembered by me also for my first opera—the Italian Opera I called it. . . . It was a lovely night; we had a very frisky, jovial horse, very jolly seats, and, oh! I did so enjoy it. The opera was ‘Faust.’ Marguerite had a very sweet, rich voice, looked very young and simple, and I was dreadfully sorry for her. Faust looked most weird and attractive, but when he became rejuvenated he was sleek and not half so interesting. We reached home about 12.30 A.M., to find hot soup awaiting us.

“He used to tell delightful stories of his adventures, and of the behaviour of some of the animals in the wreck of the transport in which he was homeward bound from the Crimea in 1856: one of them, I think, distinguished itself by swimming ashore. As to his own deeds I don’t remember his mentioning one. . . . He was very interested in books, and he and my aunt read much together. He always read aloud capitally, and enlisted the interest of his hearers. . . . He was genial, loving, happy; it was fascinating to see him carry his five-year-old daughter, a tangle of curls and lace, high up on his shoulder, and delightful to see him with the stately ‘Duchess,’ the beautiful dog who accompanied him in his walks. When at home he seemed always agreeably occupied, and yet was always ready for a pleasant game or a frolic with the little ones. He often spoke of his children at school, to whom he frequently wrote. He was never

fussy or irritable. Altogether, of these happy years at home, with his large mind and manly, cheerful, loving heart, I do not think too bright a record could be written. Trouble had not touched him beyond that which is inevitable to every man, and it seemed to me that his naturally serene, happy nature was an amulet that kept the ordinary fussy cares of dreary business and worldly men away.

“Once more my memory carries me back to the visit before he went out to Egypt. How kind they all were to me! I shall never forget it,—the last visit of any length when all were together. The Persian cat and her bewitching kittens, the pleasant walks, the happy life, the charming home-society that made this home just the best place in the world—these are tiny incidents, yet they fill the dearest space of memory. Then comes a well-remembered night in July 1882, when my father and I went down from our Kentish home to meet the London train for the Dover boat. . . . Uncle Gerald seemed so delighted to see us, to feel a sort of ‘ease’ in speaking with cheerfulness of the parting that had taken place in London and of the dear ones he had just left. There was to me a thrilling romance about it all: before him lay a thousand unknown dangers, difficulties, untried capabilities, where honour and life would both be tried, and there he sat, talking so simply and affectionately, as if he were a boy just going off to school! . . .

“The moon shone on the decks when the little steamer tossed; he was full of energy and happiness. I remember his loving parting; he shouted from the deck to us waving from the shore. . . . His letters—alas! it seems though so tenderly cherished then, so many have disappeared—were great delights. I

remember one containing a flower from the Khedive's garden ; one in German, in which he was very fond of writing to me, about the water-fairies—an imaginary episode at a salt-water lake. Amidst the great things expected of him, and which he was carrying out, his mind, untouched in its simplicity and charm, found time to remember us all, to share with us the freshness and the bright imagination he took with him wherever he went.

“ In the early part of 1883 I was once more at Roehampton, but the house seemed empty without its master ; the mail from Egypt was the first of all things. In June I returned from Germany, where I had spent three months. To my delight I heard from my mother that my uncle was arriving (19th) almost at the same time. My father met my steamer on a glorious June morning at the docks. To my joy and delight I was told we were to go to Roehampton to dine and sleep before returning to Kent, and to greet the ‘ Conquering Hero.’ The hot sun and the wind had greatly damaged my complexion. I remember that my father looked sympathetically at me, and with a white pugaree streaming from his clerical hat, he carried me off to a Bond Street perfumery,—so it seemed to me, for all the odours of Araby were wafted out to the pavement. The elder-flower water ultimately proved a great success, but I remember some pangs of real anguish when we first encountered my beloved uncle ; it would have been so nice to greet him looking my best ! However, he, as always, showed his accustomed gallantry, presenting me with a rose at dinner—as a compliment, he implied, to the colour from the sea-wind which so distressed me ! He told me that I had not written to him often enough from Germany. I replied that

he had not been absent from my thoughts, as my home letters testified; and I was highly indignant over the conduct of a certain 'Herr Eckhardt,' who took one of the Egyptian serpents my uncle had sent me and insisted upon wearing it on his own wrist. I remember my uncle's delightful laugh. He was always very interested in stories about Germany: it amused him greatly to hear that one, Hermann, continually affirmed that the streets of London were full of drunken people! He wanted to know if the German *Mädchen* were as beautiful as he had always remembered them; in fact, all the *Schwärmerei*, as he called it, of Germany was enchanting to him. What a delightful evening we spent! Next morning I remember seeing him, my aunt, the children, and I believe dear Duchess, all out on the lawn among flowers and sunshine.

"Later in the summer he came down to our house in Kent. How proud we all were of him! He took me for a walk I shall never forget. After his dinner—at Chatham I think it was—we begged to see his decorations. He quickly took them all off and placed them on me, and then only pretended pride in them.

"My brother describes the painful anxiety throughout the house at Roehampton in 1884 at the time of the battle of Tamaï. 'Then came the news of uncle's victory of March 13. Aunt drove straight off to the War Office to get particulars, having received a telegram from Lord Wolseley, "Your husband is safe and has won a splendid victory." Congratulatory letters and telegrams poured in during the evening.' It seems hard to think now how that victory—cause with my uncle for a double rejoicing, since it opened a way for the rescue of Gordon and for the safety of the towns—should be for him ever memorable as

the beginning of his bitter disappointment and grief for the loss over which all England was soon to sorrow.

"In 1888 he came to see us at Clifton. I had been ill, and he came into my room for tea, which we had by the sofa. He was delighted with his small grand-niece and nephew, tossed them up, called them 'jolly little things,' and they stood and looked up at him with wondering eyes: they looked so small beside him.

"That autumn I visited them at Roehampton. My uncle showed me a great number of Egyptian photographs, and my aunt sang to us as of old. She showed me the last letter of Gordon to 'My dear Graham,' framed carefully, and he told me of the wild, desolate place where the last parting had taken place.

"But the shadow of sorrow hung over the house, and, as I think is sometimes the case, was felt more even as it first approached than when met and realised face to face afterwards.

"After 1888 his letters are many, and the story of his life for the last eleven years tells itself. The strangest thing about him to us all was, and always will be, that he never seemed to grow old. Meeting trouble in a noble spirit, he retained with his years the charm and the freshness of feeling that many a young man might envy. His loving heart remained unspoilt, his love of books and joy in romance and in beauty of every sort remained true to him. He read a good deal of German, sharing many books with those he cared for. I remember well his sending me 'The Lady with the Sea-green Eyes' (Jokai), and his interest in Maurus Jokai's novel 'Timar's Two Worlds.' He used to sing 'O Tannenbaum' from the Volkslieder. He never stood aloof from anything wherein he found charm and sincerity; his real sense

of fun was a delightful bond and never left him, any more than the salt can leave the sea.

“One of his sons wrote to me only the other day, ‘I think my intense love for the woods and green grass, bright flowers and blue sky, and darling children, was inherited from father—I am sure of it.’ He was a greatly loved personality in our family, joining in all our joys, even our slightest merry-makings, and making our sorrows his own. He welcomed us to each of the houses he took with genial hospitality; he called himself a ‘Wanderer,’ but he was one who never journeyed to the cold sphere of Browning’s ‘Wanderer.’ He was very fond of poetry, and knew much of Heine by heart. He loved old ballads, and repeated ‘Young Lochinvar’ with intense delight in the dash and gallantry of it. He liked current stories in the magazines, never despising literary efforts if they had but what a distinguished man of letters called ‘go and glow’ in them. These stories were an expression of the link that held him to youth and to-day. He kept a delightfully mellow flavour of his own youth—not too often met with now! Yet at times I think he was tired. The German poet says, ‘The day has made me tired,’ and he told me once that he longed for rest. Yet Tennyson says, ‘’Tis life and fuller that we want,’ and I think of him now in the fuller life for which he too longed.”

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CHAPTER XX.

THE LAST DECADE—WANDERINGS.

MUCH of the record of the last years of Graham's life may be gathered, as Mrs Shenstone says, from his letters, and mostly from his letters to her. The following extracts are given from a few of them—some as graphic descriptions of persons and places, others as thoughtful criticisms on books and plays, and all of them as illustrating the character and many-sidedness of their author :—

“*March* 14, 1889.—Yesterday I went to the Temple Church. Have you ever been there? It is a beautiful church, and the singing of the choir, too, is beautiful. The sermon by Dr Vaughan was very good, and touched on that most beautiful of all texts, which I once heard Stanley preach on—charity.

“I am not often at home in the evenings unless I have something to do, or have some one to dinner. Once I went by myself to hear ‘Macbeth’ at the Lyceum. I never felt the real significance of the play so strongly as in that magnificent rendering—the abiding horror of crime and the agony of remorse. The night scene is terribly impressive—the guilty pair alone in the courtyard of the castle, the horrid deed done, the storm without, the thunder pealing like the anger of a god, then the loud knocking at

the gate scaring away the conscience-stricken pair. Then the discovery, the cries of rage and horror, the great courtyard and distant stairways crowded with wild figures, brandishing torches and naked swords, and denouncing vengeance on the murderers. Behind we see the white, horror-stricken face of the guilty lady—she, who has done all this for love of him, she has to bear the heaviest load of suffering. The man suffers too, but he can still defy the world; he can if necessary die, but it will be fighting sword in hand, but she—she suffers the anguish that tortures and kills a delicate nature. She dies *mad*, vainly endeavouring to wash the stain from her hands and guilty soul. Yet Macbeth with all his guilt remains true to her. He is a man, though a guilty man—a traitor to his higher nature, to his king, and to his friend; but, bad as he is, not so bad as ever to despise or upbraid her whom he once called ‘dearest partner of my greatness.’ A guilty man, but not a mean one. It is a grand but terrible play, and I could not help thinking of it yesterday when the angel voices of the choir seemed to go up to heaven asking pardon for poor erring mortals’ sins.

“I am reading ‘Esmond’ again with great pleasure. There is a tender mellowness about Thackeray like the perfume of a pine-apple, at once refined, sweet, and wholesome. I think few men can read ‘Esmond’ without feeling themselves raised into a higher atmosphere of truth and honour. How one is made to feel the baseness of Lord Mohun. Here is a man undoubtedly brave, with what many felt to be a charm of social grace and martial bearing, yet a villain plotting against his friend’s honour for his selfish pleasure. Yet there is an attraction about him that even the high-minded Harry Esmond can-

not altogether resist. He is at least a bold frank villain, and (before men) does not disguise himself, nor represent himself as a lofty hero, soaring above the conventional laws and breathing pure virtue whilst practising foul vice. . . .

“Talk of Victoria Crosses ! I think a woman’s devotion, who gives away her life and strength in trying to relieve the suffering of some one she loves, is vastly more heroic than something done in the excitement of battle—something probably which the man would not have dared to do in cool blood.”

It was about this time that Sir Gerald Graham embarked in a speculation in a white-lead (sulphate) company which was started under circumstances which to many people would appear most favourable—a simple process, a permanent substance, and involving no danger to the lives of those employed in its manufacture. He became a co-director of this company, and thus playfully alludes to it in May 1889 : “Like Bassanio, I have chosen the lead casket in preference to the gold one, and hope to find good fortune.” Alas ! this adventure gave him many an anxious moment, and the concern recently went into liquidation. While others got out he stuck to the ship and died a poor man.

In July he writes that he has been house-hunting, “putting up at Forest Row, very near old Brambletye House, the scene of a dear old novel about Cavaliers and Roundheads, dear to me in my young days,” and had taken lodgings at Hartfield, Sussex ; that he had been at big dinners and a big ball at Buckingham Palace to meet the Shah of Persia, of whom he had a very good view, and says—

“I don’t like his face : it has something unpleasant in the expression—a cold dreary look about it, a want

of *Theilnahme*. He looks through his own spectacles on the world, and one would like to know how the marvellous sights of this great city appear to him, and what he really thinks of us. I saw him leading in the Princess of Wales, but I never saw him talk to any one, and am told that he can hardly speak a word of French or of any language but his own. On the whole, I certainly enjoyed our pleasant day at Kew and Hampton Court better than that crowded ball, and I hope I may have no more big dinners, as I infinitely prefer a quiet picnic.

“I was interrupted in my letter to you by being asked to go down the river in the Duke of Edinburgh (the same steamer that brought the Shah) to visit the Warspite, a training-ship for poor boys, who were to be inspected by Lord Charles Beresford. I went, and it was a most interesting sight to see these boys—cheery, manly-looking, little fellows, going through their drill with a ready alacrity that showed them to have the true stuff of which British tars are made. I think your most anti-military friends would have been delighted with this brave show of embryo English seamen! I am not purely military; there is something in the sailor, the old sort that Marryat loved, that stirs the blood of every Englishman. As a boy, you know, I led sailors, and shall never forget the 18th June 1855.”

Besides his white-lead business Graham was also a director of the Maxim-Nordenfeldt Company, and in that capacity he arranged with Sir Drummond Wolff at the State ball to show the Shah a Maxim-gun. “Accordingly,” he writes, “about eleven o’clock yesterday morning [5th July] a procession of three cabs arrived before Buckingham Palace. One, a four-wheeler, contained a queer-looking machine,

some boxes of ammunition, and two mechanics; two hansoms contained Mr Maxim and me, and two other directors. We were admitted, personally conducted by the inspector of police, a stout sort of 'Buckett,' very polite to us, and decisive and sharp to his subordinates. Arrived in the beautiful gardens, my friend Cowell met us, and we posted the gun on the lawn under some trees, not far from the pond and fountain, also within sight of the palace. Mr Maxim was very anxious to be allowed to fire blank cartridges, but such a thing had never been done in the Palace gardens. However, Cowell thought it wouldn't matter, as the Queen wasn't there, and sent for the officer of the guard, so that he might not think there was an attack being made on the Palace. Cowell then took me in by the drawing-room window, where a lot of costly jewellery and other articles from London shops were laid out for the Shah's inspection. I was kept waiting a long time, but, thanks to Cowell, it passed pleasantly. I had an interview with Prince Malcom, the Persian Ambassador, a very amiable-looking man of slight build, who told me that he thought no foreigner could understand England with our mixed institutions, our Court, aristocracy, Parliament, and democracy. Our openness was the greatest puzzle of all. 'Then,' he said, 'you Englishmen are always in a hurry—you look upon your time as limited by this life, but we Persians look forward to eternity!'

"After about a quarter of an hour spent very quietly, as he had previously told me he hadn't been well, Malcom Khan retired, politely thanking me for the only quiet time he was likely to have that day, and I was invited to breakfast—it was about half-past twelve o'clock—with the Persian Minister and

Persian staff. I sat next to Amir Sultan, the Grand Vizier, who is a young man of about twenty-eight years of age, with none of that weary, bleary-eyed, oriental look which Malcom and all the other Persians have. He has a dark handsome face with bright eyes, looking 'all there.' Cowell told me he was a clever fellow, and had been raised from obscurity by the Shah-im-Shah. He also pointed out to me another sharp-looking fellow, a tall dark Armenian, the Collector of Customs. . . . At breakfast Amir Sultan drank champagne and was lively, making several Persian jokes, which were of course duly appreciated by the minor courtiers. He spoke a little French, and I asked him which the Shah and he enjoyed most—the 'Empire' or the Opera. Amir Sultan replied that the 'Empire' was the finer sight, but the Opera the better music. We talked about the races the Shah was going to see, and I was informed that in Persia races were run of ten miles and horses often killed. At the announcement that the Shah was about to move we 'held ourselves in readiness,' and in going into the drawing-room I had a talk with Sir Henry Rawlinson, and shortly afterwards went with him through the glass doors into the garden, where under a tree stood the Shah and the little Prince."

The rest of this letter is missing.

In August 1889 his dog, the beloved "Duke," was lost from his temporary abode at Hartfield, and he writes to his niece: "I have also a piece of news for you which I know will please you. The only dog you ever really loved—lucky dog—is found. Yes, the dear dog has been taken charge of by an honest waterman at Redhill, whose wife, seeing my hand-bill, at once wrote to me in terms of enthusiastic

admiration of 'Duke.' I telegraphed to the man to meet me at Redhill Junction, and there sure enough was the dear dog, none the worse for his adventures. He enjoys this place immensely, and is looked on with respect by the other village dogs."

After a visit from his niece at Hartfield and his return to Worlabye House, he writes to her: "We are glad to find ourselves home again, and all regret that we didn't leave Hartfield when you did, or at all events the next day, for the flavour of Hartfield seemed gone out of it when you left, and nothing went right with us. First 'Polly' went lame and the weather got bad, next 'Duke' trod on some broken glass left by careless picnic people among the heather, and has gone lame ever since. Then we took a new pony, as B. told you; but, alas! as the dear little girl was driving me home on Wednesday, coming down a gentle slope, this charming pony came suddenly down on its head, pitching me out and my darling on the top of me. This was an unpleasant termination to our pleasant drives, and resulted in my dear little girl having a sprained wrist—fortunately nothing worse. I got off with a bruised shoulder and hip, as the road was rather hard. . . . I am thinking of taking a small house on the Hampshire coast if I can find one to suit."

At the end of the year 1889 he was much worried with business matters connected with one of the companies of which he was chairman or director, and mentions having to go into the City in a dense black fog and harangue a mob of excited shareholders for nearly two hours, and, after the meeting, hurrying down to Falmouth to join some of his family passing the Christmas holidays there. His own pleasure there was a good deal spoilt by tiresome correspondence

about company business and by bad weather. So stormy was the weather that he was only twice able to go out for a sail, and then got caught in squalls, and the boat made so much water that he was obliged to put back. The place, too, was so out of the way that it was impossible for him to manage to attend the State funeral of his old friend and chief, Lord Napier of Magdala, at St Paul's Cathedral. This particularly discomposed him, and caused him to look back on his Falmouth outing with anything but pleasure.

Early in 1890 he made a new temporary home—Sandford Lodge—at Southbourne-on-Sea, which had the advantage of being near Bournemouth, where his youngest daughter was at school and could pay him “week-end” visits.

As a member of a committee of officers of his own corps for carrying out the Royal Engineers' memorials of General Gordon, Sir Gerald took a prominent part at the ceremony of unveiling Mr E. Onslow Ford's beautiful bronze statue of Gordon on a camel, which was performed by the Prince of Wales at Brompton Barracks, Chatham, on the 19th May 1890. He attended a State ball at Buckingham Palace on the following evening, and at the annual Navy Club dinner on the 21st was “the guest”—the custom being only to invite one.

After this little round of gaiety he returned to Southbourne and amused himself with cruising in his little boat about the Isle of Wight and other places in the neighbourhood. The following incident, recorded by his nephew, shows how full of life Sir Gerald was at this time:—

“Uncle Gerald, his two sons, and I had been cruising round ‘Old Harry’ in his little boat the Hilda. On returning, the centre-board jammed, so

the boat could not run in shore. The younger generation tugged at the centre-board, but with no result. The general considered the question, stripped, took a 'header' from the port side, and disappeared. The centre-board was seen to move. Shortly afterwards he reappeared on the starboard side, puffing but radiant: he had negotiated the difficulty."

In September Graham moved for a short time to an old-fashioned house called South End, at Ringwood in the New Forest,—“a charming old place, with a beautiful garden, fruit trees, fine old trees, bowers, and a fish-pond.”

The summer and autumn of 1891 were spent in Switzerland, and he wrote from the Blauensee, Kanderthal:—

“This is the most fairy-like place you can imagine. We are on the banks of a tiny lake of the deepest blue, the water of which is so clear that at a depth of twenty metres you can see the smallest object at the bottom, and a piece of chalk sinks slowly down, becoming blue at the bottom, where the fish are seen among the branches of ancient fir-trees, now spectral with strange water growths. Around the enchanted lake are pine-woods growing among and upon immense rocks, the *débris* of the great mountains that look down upon it. In the distance, and yet apparently close at hand, is a great snow-covered peak, the mighty Doldenhorn.”

A little later he wrote from St Gingolf:—

“I am writing to you from a most delightful little village on the south side of the Lake of Geneva, opposite Montreux, which certainly in summer is very much the best side. Here we haven't that horrid glare off the lakes, and in place of the ugly shadeless vineyards, the slopes behind us are covered with

beautiful woods, rising through walnut, oak, and chestnut to the pine forests that last even to the crests of the jagged ridges. Altogether I like this better than any other place I have seen in Switzerland. I have just been out to look on the lake at night. It is lovely. The lake is seen through some sweet-scented walnut-trees, and beyond are the bright lights of Montreux, with the mountains rising behind into the deep blue starry sky."

The winter was spent in London, and a description was sent to his niece of a visit to the Lyceum to see "Henry VIII.," and a comparison drawn. He had seen it once before at the Princess's before Irving arose, when Charles Kean was considered the most magnificent of stage-managers:—

"Kean's ball scene was not nearly so gorgeous as Irving's, but I remember a stately *minuet de la cour* danced to quaint old music, where Irving has a very brilliant but complicated flower-dance, which looks too elaborate to have been ever practised by any other than professionals, followed by a dangerous-looking torch dance of the mummers. But the procession of the coronation through a street of old London was splendidly realistic. I wish, however, that Irving had not introduced that *tableau vivant* business at the end of each act. It spoils all illusions to see the curtain let down and rolled up again two or three times, showing the actors in some favourite posture. But the acting of almost all the parts was very good. Buckingham's farewell speech on the Thames Stairs was very affecting, and the violent, impulsive, but naturally generous character of Bluff Harry is capitally rendered by Terry, who looks like the picture in the 'Illustrated Shakespeare.' Irving's acting was of a far more subtle character than Kean's, not so accen-

tuated, but full of feeling in that last scene with Cromwell. Ellen Terry was perhaps too vivacious, too young and charming-looking, in the trial scene. Had she looked like that, King Hal would have bid his conscience go hang before he would have parted with her for the red-haired Anne Bullen. But in that last scene with Griffith, when she listens and replies so beautifully to his eloquent defence of her fallen enemy, Ellen Terry is at her best, and I think the play should have closed with her vision at the end of Act iv. Nothing, I think, in Shakespeare is nobler than his characterisation of Wolsey and of Catherine of Aragon, both enemies of Anne Bullen, the mother of *his* queen."

Writing to his niece of some novels, he says :—

"I shall certainly read 'Beatrice' if I can get hold of it, and feel sure I shall like it, as our tastes generally coincide. I, too, liked 'Jess' immensely, and think it the best of Rider Haggard's works. I am glad you appreciated 'Fantasy.' It is a fearful picture of the intense selfishness of such love as that of Lucia and Andrea; how they sacrificed those who truly loved them in the most treacherous and heartless way. The fruit of true love is self-devotion, self-sacrifice, not the sacrifice of others—especially when those sacrificed are loving and good. I am sure you, with your little darling just restored to you, must feel this very strongly. Some lunatic has dedicated a march to me, and I dedicate it to you—at least I sent you a copy yesterday, and you must tell me what you think of it. What an interesting debate that was on Woman Suffrage. In spite of Sir A. Rollitt and Balfour I am dead against it, though to 'politicians' it might be great fun canvassing the fair voters!"

But although he playfully calls the man who had

dedicated his march to him a lunatic, he takes some trouble to enable him to sell his composition, and writes to several friends on the subject. To his nephew, Mr R. G. Durrant of Marlborough College, he writes: "I am sending you a copy of a piece of music which some old bandsman says I gave him permission to dedicate to me! I have no recollection of having done so; but as the poor man has been at the cost and trouble of publishing it, I should be glad to help him to sell it, if there is any merit in it. As you are a musical man and a member of a musical society, perhaps you can do something in the way of making it known in the musical world. The unfortunate composer is rather out of date with his 'warrior,' who has subsided into a very poor 'golfer.' I sent a copy of the march to D., and have just heard that it is pretty."

A visit to his sister and her family at Penally, near Tenby, led to a further acquaintance with golf, a game which quite fascinated him and gave an object to his travels in the way of golf-links to play on. He got a club two inches longer than the usual measurement and found that it suited him capitally!

In the autumn of 1892 Sir Gerald paid a visit to Marlborough College, and on his return to town writes to his nephew: "It seemed difficult to believe in that glorious walk on Sunday, when back again in damp muggy London yesterday. I certainly don't wonder at your liking to stick to Marlborough after having seen it, and I feel inclined to call myself a brother Malburian, or to regard all Malburians as brothers."

About this time he thought of retiring from company business, which he detested, and taking a house in the West Country, and accordingly in January 1893 we find him established at "Strand-

field," Instow, in North Devon, where he was able to combine boating with golf. He writes of it to his niece as a charming place, its only defect being its solitude, although that too had its charms. Golf could be played on the sands just at the foot of the garden, or, for the more ambitious, on the links at Westward Ho! There was capital bass-fishing in the harbour and a boat close by; a nice garden facing the sea, with a broad sloping lawn and a little sheltered tennis-court, and he hopes that in the spring his niece will come and see. "At high water it is delightful to look over the broad Torridge opening its arms to embrace the Taw, but at low water one has to walk half a mile to get to a boat, and must be careful not to get engulfed in a quicksand. Don't be afraid, I will take care of you. The news," he adds, "from Egypt looks warlike again. How I wish I were employed instead of vegetating here! But I've had my day. . . . Your thoughts in the cathedral remind me of Victor Hugo's famous chapter in 'Notre Dame' on the book and the building. In those days the poet and dreamer put his thoughts and dreams into stone, now on paper. The book has destroyed the building. . . . I do hope Miss —— will be happy with her East-End curate and he with her. Work in sympathy with others is perhaps the most lasting happiness."

In the summer of 1893 Sir Gerald spent a few weeks with his sister and her family at Courmayeur in North Italy, entering with zest into all their little amusements, playing golf with them on the mountain meadows, and climbing the neighbouring heights. Then from Courmayeur in September he walked with two nephews round the base of Mont Blanc to Chamounix, climbing to the snow region, and losing

the way in a mountain mist, until a sudden lifting of a cloud revealed a precipice in front of them having a sheer drop of 1000 feet, and the road they should have taken winding peacefully at the bottom. Sir Gerald was greatly affected by the rarity of the air, and declared he could go no farther. Then one of the party produced a biscuit, and the General, scooping up some snow with it, devoured the combination, and feeling wonderfully revived, the walk was continued amid torrents of rain to the highest and loneliest inn on the Contamines side of the Col du Bon Homme. Sitting round a tiny stove in the bare hayloft of a *salon*, they ate *omelette au naturelle* with the greatest relish, and discussed their morning's walk while their clothes were drying. The same afternoon they continued their journey down the beautiful valley of Contamines, clothed in pines and larches, and the banks of the streams thickly covered with ferns. At Contamines there were two hotels, one called the "Bon Homme"; but the General declared he had had enough of the "Bon Homme" for one day. The other hotel, however, was found to be closed, so to the "Bon Homme" they had to go. Their clothes were so wet that they had to dine wrapped in blankets, but never enjoyed any meal more. Then the waiter, whom they had addressed as *garçon*, turned out to be "mine host." So the memory of that famous feast at the "Bon Homme" lingered long. One of his nephews who accompanied him in this expedition was staying with his uncle at the time of his fatal illness in December 1899, and remembers having asked him, knowing what the answer would be, where it was that he had the best potatoes he ever tasted. "At the 'Hôtel Bon Homme,'" was the reply. The journey on that occasion was continued the following

day, and Chamounix reached by a long walk, when the party went on to Geneva.

The same autumn Sir Gerald, describing another journey to Chamounix, mentions Annecy, "a charming old place and picturesque town, with a lonely lake and banks rising through beautiful woods and slopes of dazzling snow, capped with serrated gleaming ridges." He says: "I felt the impulse of mountain-worship in me as I gazed this morning on these ridges rising above a layer of white clouds. They seemed to say, 'We are of the higher world, serene and grand; we keep ourselves pure and undefiled, unspotted by your world.'"

In the summer of 1894, on visiting the Antwerp Exhibition, he tells his experience of Flemish golf-links, where he had two Flemish caddies, one to carry the clubs, the other to run on in front and mark the holes with little red flags. "I found," he says, "my boy much sharper in marking and finding the balls than most of my Devonshire caddies. He would sing out 'Farther on' or 'Come on,' and sometimes 'Good drive' by way of encouragement!" Sir Gerald found the exhibition "hot, crowded, and tiresome, like most exhibitions," and moved on to Dresden, which he had not visited since his school-days. "My fellow-travellers," he writes, "were an English lady with a little boy and a very boisterous English-speaking German, who got up romps with the little boy in which I had to join, until the boy was quite exhausted, and by his mama's request was at length laid out on my bench, where he slept in spite of the shaking, occasionally, however, kicking me while stretching himself. The boy, although only seven years old, the mother told me, composes like Mozart and plays on various instruments! At Leipzig I saw

them off by train to Chemnitz." What a kind-hearted old general!

Sir Gerald's youngest daughter, Olive, was now at school near Lausanne, and during the summer holidays his sister and her family were staying at Aeschi, where they all met. An expedition was made up the Rhone valley and over the Simplon to Lake Maggiore by Sir Gerald, his daughter, and a nephew, who narrates how, on one occasion, the general's powers of physical endurance were put to a somewhat severe test:—

"Starting from Fiesch at 4 A.M., we walked up to the Jungfrau Hotel in time for breakfast; thence, with Olive on horseback, we reached the summit of the Eggishorn. Olive returned with the guide to the Jungfrau, while Uncle Gerald decided to proceed by unbeaten tracks down to the Aletsch Glacier. The descent was steep, and, when half-way down, the mountain-sheep behaved in a remarkable manner—they took us for shepherds. Apparently desiring to attract attention to their friendly feelings, they advanced in companies with their heads lowered and charged. Uncle was taken off his legs, and fell down a steep *arête*, where he lay for some minutes, his ankle being hurt. However, he was able to proceed, and reached the glacier accompanied by the sheep. I was similarly accompanied, and together we made our way across several crevasses, and finally down a somewhat hazardous descent over broken ice to the bed of the dried-up Märjelen See. Here the sheep, finding no pasture, forsook their fancied shepherds, and we walked back by a circuitous route to the Jungfrau, and thence, accompanied by Olive, to Fiesch, arriving at 8 P.M.

"Uncle had been walking for about fourteen

hours, and had ascended more than 6000 feet; he neither showed signs of fatigue at the time nor subsequently."

From Biarritz later in the year he writes:—

"I only got your delightful letter this morning at St Jean-de-Luz. It bears the post-marks of Samaden, Bellaggio, Lugano, Milan, and Genoa. What distances I have travelled since last writing to you, and yet I have seen nothing so lovely as you describe to me. Your letter, which you so wrongly describe as 'prosy,' brings before my mind that beautiful Cornish coast with its fairy castles and giant keeps that ever 'offer battle to the surge.' I, too, am now again on the Atlantic. . . . I have taken to golf here now; for the last few days it has been too cold to bathe. Before that I used to delight in the great rollers that came sweeping in about twenty feet apart. To feel them dashing over me in foam, or to lie on my back floating like a buoy, was very delightful. I generally found myself recalled by a shrill whistle from the shore, and looking back would see a man energetically waving to me to come back. The sea here in rough weather is magnificent, the huge rollers dashing themselves into foam and spray over the great rocks that form a feature of this coast. My favourite point of observation is the 'Roche de la Vierge,' which is connected with the mainland by a bridge.

"You say you are getting 'terribly prosaic,' but that cannot be. Your letters are full of poetry, and wherever you go you see the flowers and sweetness of life. I wander like a poor outcast, and sometimes wonder at myself for wandering. I left R., or rather he left me, at Lugano, and since then I have been on the tramp. At Milan I found there was an exhibition going on, and went there, although I had resolved

never to go to another after that stupid Antwerp one. But there was an Italian charm and grace about the Milanese exhibition that pleased me. I liked many of the modern pictures, and one that particularly impressed me was that of a nun in her cell. A fine, handsome, young woman in the prime and fulness of life, her attitude expresses all the energy of despairing love. One hand has hold of the bar of her cell window, and the other crushes a letter which appears to have been thrown in together with a rose which lies at her feet. One pictures the sad fate of this poor girl, if she has to repress all these strong natural feelings. What will she grow into?—a vicious hypocrite or an unnatural ascetic? However, I did not confine myself to the picture-gallery. I got myself photographed by an automatic machine, and was so disappointed at the result that I tore it up! I then tried the strength of my lungs on the spirometer, for which I gained a medal marked ‘3000 Stravidinaria.’

“After that I went to witness a match at the Italian national game of *pallone*, which is something between fives and lawn-tennis, but rather inferior to both. I found my way by degrees to Monte Carlo, determined to see that famous paradise, or hell, according as you take it. Well, I went, I saw, and I hated it. Before I was allowed to enter the gambling-saloon in the gaudy casino, called Cercle des Étrangers, I had to give my name, and am sorry I didn’t take the name of ‘Brown’ for the occasion. Although it was early in the day all the gaming-tables were full, and at one nothing but gold was staked. I watched one female, who had probably been sitting a long time, as her countenance had that pale haggard look that comes of long anxious watching and disappointed hopes, as she staked her last napoleon, then rose with a sub-

dued sigh and went. A man next me staked a dozen napoleons every now and then, and seemed to lose them all with indifference. An aged, grey-haired woman played steadily on the red, but I ceased to take any interest in the game—there seemed to me such a disgusting mechanical ruthlessness about it. Gold was swept up though hearts might break, gold that might involve the honour or ruin of lives. I should have been sorry to have won a penny at that devilish game.

“What shall I say of the Riviera? the land of the fig-tree, the olive, and vine, where the date-palms flourish, so that one might almost fancy oneself in Egypt; but it is also the land of eternal tasteless villas, hotels, and casinos, those French abominations. The French and Italians of the modern type are, I believe, really the least poetical of all people, and vulgarise everything they touch. How different to think of you and your love of the breezy heather! But Arles is pleasant, a quaint old town with such narrow, dirty, winding streets, in the land of old Provence. There, too, are the wonderful Roman remains. I was sorry I could not stay longer there, or even go on to Nîmes. The kindly French landlady told me I ought to be there on Sunday, as they had bull-fights in the arena. Fancy a modern bull-fight where of old the Christian martyrs were brought out to be devoured by wild beasts! Have we advanced much since then? Occasionally a man is killed by the bulls—so much the better sport for the populace. But at Arles, I was told, they don't kill their bulls, they only goad them with darts. Why? Because it is too expensive. At Nîmes they do business on a larger scale and kill their bulls. ‘But isn't it against the law?’ I inquired. ‘Yes, it is, strictly speaking; *mais on ne fait pas attention.*’ At the

museum I made great friends with an old soldier who had lost a foot in 1870, and seemed to have a great love for the Republican Government.

“What delightful energy you have! I do hope your novel will be a success, but I am afraid I should be of no use as a collaborator, and can't help you with the plot. If I were to suggest anything, it would be the introduction of a villain (you may make him like me if you like) who has a diabolical plot for running off with the heroine. I am just now reading ‘The Yellow Aster,’ but don't like it. The heroine seems to me another sort of Dodo, and I don't like the breed at all. I like a woman to be natural and loving, and hope you will make your heroine a real woman, and not a beautiful insolent creature with a heart of stone.

“Since writing to you last I have been making a short trip into Spain to San Sebastian, which I found very hot and shadeless. I entered a tram-car, went as far as I could, and returning met a carriage with a mounted escort. Our tram-car stopped, and all uncovered as the carriage passed. A pleasant-looking, middle-aged lady in black sat at the back, and in front of her a stout man in a black coat with a star. ‘Who is that?’ I asked my neighbour. ‘Why, the Queen, of course.’ My landlady, a nice little woman, told me the Queen had been there since June, and was very popular. I asked her about bull-fights. She said there had been some in August; there were none now. ‘Did the Queen like them?’ ‘No, not at all—nor do I,’ the little woman added, ‘they are cruel.’ I liked the look of the Spanish soldiers, and was struck by the number of little boys I saw in uniform—a smart dress,—bright red trousers and a loosely-fitting blue jacket with smart cap.

“On my way back to England I mean to stop a few days at Dinard, in Brittany, which is, I am told, a delightful place, with capital golf-links. . . . I am sending you a German book, which I think you will like if you have time to read it. It is a very pretty love-story, with a good deal of incident and adventure, such as I like to read about. Did you ever read ‘The Man with the Broken Ear’? The Princess Frederica is staying here. I found her a most agreeable woman to talk to, and her husband is a golfer. She undertook to drive me out to see a battlefield, but the drive has not come off yet.

“I am much interested in your account of Sarah [an old and faithful servant recently married]. What a devoted, loving soul she is! Never a thought for herself—she is always thinking and planning for the happiness of others, and now she is full of her darling baby. She told me that only you and I had thought of sending her baby a kiss, and that she would so like us to visit her together on my return from abroad. But how my pen runs on. I had no notion I had written so much. To some people I can’t write at all, but writing to you I seem to have so much to say, and you are so good you don’t find my letters tedious,—at least you are kind enough to say you don’t.”

And again a little later:—

“You have written me a most charming letter, although you say you have nothing to write about. I am glad you have read ‘Lourdes.’ It is indeed a wonderful book, and made a great impression on me. I understand Zola’s next is to be on Rome, and that he is there studying his ground, also that the Pope prudently declined to be interviewed by him. I seem to like all the books that you like. ‘A Gentleman of France’ is a great favourite of mine, and I like every-

thing I have read by Stanley Weyman. I have just finished reading 'A Girl in the Carpathians,' and enjoyed it immensely. Indeed I don't remember enjoying any book of travels so much since 'Eothen'; but of course this is quite different, and has no pretension to be a finished work of art like that book, which took the world by storm five-and-forty years ago. But the girl, Miss Dowie, is delightful, full of daring originality, keenly observant, and very humorous. One almost wishes she could have fallen in love with that quaint Polish painter who found her great-grandmother's watch for her. I don't altogether trust her accuracy, and think that some of her adventures must have been invented, as when she went howling round her hut at night with a lighted pine torch to frighten off an imaginary bear. But, true or not, they are most amusingly told; and her descriptions of the queer characters she meets, and the frankness with which she discusses the unpleasant incidents of travel in Poland, are delightful."

From Biarritz also Sir Gerald wrote the following letter about his golfing:—

"I think the course here is a very good one. Though inferior to Westward Ho, it has more hazards, and is more of a sporting course. There is no hole without some kind of hazard. The green of the second hole is close to the edge of a steep cliff, so that the approach is very delicate. To the third or chasm hole you drive across a gulf of the sea, with a cliff to the right and a road to the left. Inland there are some very deep pits with sloping sides, called punch-bowls, besides plenty of artificial bunkers, hollow sandy roads, gardens, &c. Altogether it requires careful steering to get a ball well round. A Scotsman here, a good steady player, considers it a

first-rate link, but he thinks the links at Dinard in Brittany even better. He tells me it is a very nice place, with very pleasant society and lovely coast scenery, so I mean to pay a visit there on my way back, and will tell you what I think of it. This [Hôtel Beau Séjour] is a very pleasant pension, entirely English, and I can always get up a match with some one or other. . . . To-day I have had two rounds, one on the gentlemen's and one on the ladies' links. . . . The weather is lovely, still very warm, and mosquito-curtains to one's bed are advisable. It is a very different climate to yours, isn't it?"

And from Dinard, in December, he writes: "Yesterday I played two rounds on the golf-links at St Briac, about five miles from here. They are certainly first-rate links, with soil and herbage like Westward Ho, barring the rushes. I think them easier than Westward Ho, and that you would easily go round in eighty. I went round yesterday under one hundred, but was playing better than usual. I had no one to play with, so went round with the professional's brother morning and afternoon. This afternoon I have a match, and hope to catch the boat for St Malo, and then the steamer for Southampton, which starts about 7 P.M. . . . I don't care to stay here longer now, there being nothing to do beyond golf, and that is too far off; but if you could come over at Easter with me we might put up at a lovely place, St Lunaire, very near the links. The coast is beautiful, and you would find plenty of subjects for sketches there and at the picturesque old towns of St Malo and St Servan. If H. would come on too he would find capital boating here in addition to other attractions."

In March 1895 Sir Gerald wrote from Westward Ho: "I have had my turn of 'Flue,' as H. calls it,

since this day week, when I got wet and chilled on the top of another cold. Dr Reid tells me I ought to keep in bed, but I find myself getting slowly better, though so weak that I can just crawl about the room. . . . Have you read that article in the 'St James's' of the 14th on the 'King of Games,' called, 'Is golf worth playing? By one who doubts it.' I quite agree with this writer and with one in 'Blackwood,' that golf ought not to be allowed to supplant cricket and football in schools. Don't you? But what do you say to the golfer being described as 'mooning, self-absorbed over his dank links, attended by his silent and servile retainer'; and to golf as a 'loafing, selfish amusement'? It will be amusing to read the great Horace's indignant reply."

Nearly a year later we find Graham much interested in two young relatives in South Africa, and he mentions a letter from one of them, then resident in Boer territory, which, as it was written at the time of the Jameson Raid, is of sufficient general interest to make an extract permissible:—

"I fully believe that there will be fighting again in South Africa either this month or before the year is out. I say this month possibly, because the Johannesburgers have not yet given up their arms, and the Boers may try a house-to-house search, in which case even a worm, or a Johannesburger, might be expected to turn. On the whole, however, I don't expect to see much active disturbance for at least six months. . . . In the meantime, if the golden city is made a door-mat of by the Boer farmers, she will only get her just reward for the cowardly, treacherous, and stupid desertion of Jameson, the only man able to lead them and probably secure them their just rights without bloodshed. If the

members of the Reform Committee had acted like men, Jameson's force would have been met at Krugersdorp by a friendly crowd from the town with Maxims, &c., and the Boers would in all probability have been well enough advised not to fire a shot, as they would have brought a cross fire on themselves which would have been highly unpleasant.

“Poor Jameson! When we heard of his wild and desperate ride over the Transvaal border, every one said what a wicked, unconstitutional action, but every Englishman added, under his breath, ‘Pray God he may carry safely through with it.’ You see, the English people out here have a very real grievance, and somehow no good and constitutional measure that they can think of is likely to redress it. Their grievance is that the Boers everywhere manage to absorb all the voting power. In the Transvaal, of course, the Uitlanders, as they call them, are simply not allowed a vote by law. But in the Orange Free State, and even in the Cape Colony, things are almost as bad. The Boers, sooner than work, go away on the desert land and make a pretence at farming. The English live in or round about the small townships. The small electoral district round the town will be able to place the English member of its choice in Parliament, and he will represent say 5000 voters. But, on the other hand, there will be ten districts near by without towns in them which will return ten Dutch members, each member representing about 500 voters. On the top of all this we have now to face the fact that every week brings out a matter of seven or eight hundred fresh Englishmen, and the question is simply how long they will stand it.”

Sir Gerald had paid a visit to Mrs Shenstone early in 1895, when she was staying near the Lizard in

Cornwall, and on her return there in 1898, just after Lord Kitchener's achievements in the Soudan, she records an amusing story of the waiter of the hotel—a native of the place—who looked upon her uncle with respectful awe. William, the waiter, asked after Sir Gerald, and they then spoke of Lord Kitchener. "Ah! ma'am," said William in a sudden glow of confidence, "but I shall never forget, whatever others say, *that I saw Sir Gerald*—him that undertook and prepared the path for them that came after him."

At Clifton, where he often stayed with the Shenstones, Sir Gerald met and admired the Rev. Thomas Edward Brown,¹ a master at Clifton College and a Manx poet. The liking was mutual, for they had much in common. When Mr Brown died in 1898, Mrs Shenstone sent her uncle 'The Doctor' to read, and on returning the book he writes to her:—

"It is a very painful story, and I think the doctor deserved a better fate than to be tied to such a wife and only to meet the woman he loved on her death-bed. But it is very powerfully told, and although I don't admire the Manx dialect, it lends itself in such a master's hand to imparting a startling reality to the sad story. Every one can feel this; but a Manx man or woman must feel it intensely. Thank you for 'The Cliftonian.' I hope the ringing words of that posthumous poem by Mr Brown will be set to music worthy of it and sung by the Clifton boys."

¹ Author of 'The Fo's'sle Yarns.' A complete edition of his poems was published last year by Macmillan & Co., and his letters, edited by Sidney T. Irwin, were published in two volumes by Archibald Constable & Co.

CHAPTER XXI. .

FURTHER HONOURS AND THE END.

DURING 1895 and 1896 Graham remained generally in the west of England, and chiefly in the neighbourhood of Bideford, for he had become a member of the Royal North Devon Golf Club,¹ whose links are at Northam close by. His sister, Mrs Durrant, now a widow, had returned to England in 1895, after spending two years in Italy and Switzerland, and he managed to see her very frequently in her different places of abode, for like him she inherited from their mother a love of changing scene.

In the spring of 1897 he took a house—The Warren—at Torrington, and, as Mrs Durrant came to Bideford the same year, the brother and sister were within half-an-hour's journey of one another. At Torrington during the following winter Sir Gerald had a severe attack of whooping-cough, which pulled him down a good deal. He described with animation his struggle with "the fiend" that tried to suffocate him, and he regarded his recovery as a victory; but he thought it wise to leave the bleak hill-top of

¹ The members of this famous golf club, to which so many distinguished military men belong, have recorded their admiration of Sir Gerald Graham by hanging his portrait in their large luncheon-room—at present the only portrait there.

Torrington, and in March 1898 he took a house, called Springfield, near Bideford, which he afterwards bought, and where he lived for the short remainder of his life.

In making a new home at Springfield with his daughter Olive and her half-sister Emma Blacker, Graham's object was to be nearer his sister, Mrs Durrant, who, with her daughter Dorothea, lived at Orchard Hill, within five minutes' walk, and the brother and sister looked forward to some happy years and the renewal of the close intercourse of their young days.

But it was not to be. Barely a month after Sir Gerald got into his new house his sister passed away, on the 9th April (Easter Even) 1898. During those sad days when the loss pressed heavily on them, Sir Gerald was "a strong support to his nephews and nieces," says one of them, "and Springfield, where we stayed together during that month, seemed rightly named—a green lawn stretched beyond the gravel sweep, the spring flowers blossomed, the trees burst into leaf. Spring brought its message of hope in the midst of sorrow, telling of life ever renewed and the deathlessness of all that is noble and beautiful."

A few months later, when his nephews and nieces were arranging for the memorial stone over their mother's grave, they proposed that the text from the Revised Version, "Now abideth faith, hope, and love, and the greatest of these is love," should be inscribed on it, and Sir Gerald writes:—

"I must confess I don't like the Revised Version so well as the old. I have heard Dean Stanley at Westminster Abbey give a grand sermon on that glorious epistle on 'Charity,' which, he rightly said, ought to be inscribed in letters of gold. 'Charity' may not be

in itself a sufficiently expressive word, but it becomes so by association with that epistle. 'Love' doesn't express the same thing. But why put it on your mother's tombstone at all? You might quote another portion—'For now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face.' However, if all of you prefer your quotation, don't let my objection stand in the way." Both texts were inscribed on the tombstone.

He continued to correspond in his pleasant way with the various members of his family and others; but sufficient extracts from his correspondence have been given to illustrate his power of observation and description, his imaginative and poetical temperament, his kind and true heart, and the many lovable qualities which he possessed.

On the 20th May 1896 Sir Gerald had received the honour of promotion in the Order of the Bath, and had been decorated with the Grand Cross on the occasion of the Queen's birthday. On the 10th March 1899 he succeeded to the regimental rank of Colonel-Commandant of the Corps of Royal Engineers. He was greatly pleased at returning to his own Corps in this distinguished position, and went especially to London to be presented on his appointment at a Queen's levee, and to dine with his brother officers at the annual Corps dinner—alas! for the last time.

The Rev. Bernard Durrant tells of a visit he paid to Springfield in the summer of 1898, when the verandah was covered with rose-blooms, and his uncle sat on a wicker sofa-chair under the shade of the trees on the lawn, reading Lord Roberts's 'Forty-one Years in India.' "His 'Standard,'" he says, "was always eagerly read, and he liked the 'Spectator' at the end of the week. Two letters in this signed 'A Soldier' were written by him shortly before the war broke out,

in which he prophesied that genuine good feeling between the Boers and the British would be the result of the conflict."

Sir Gerald naturally followed the progress of the war in South Africa with the deepest interest, and on the 3rd November 1899 he wrote in reference to Sir George White being shut up in Ladysmith:—

"Although his communication is temporarily cut off, I feel not the slightest doubt of his being able to hold out until he is relieved. I think we may all feel proud not only of the conduct of our troops in the field, but of the country in the face of this disaster—an object-lesson to our French friends."

With his sister, Mr Bernard Durrant again visited Springfield in the summer of 1899, and mentions how they seemed to regard it as a haven of peace, of rest and gladness, to which, leaving behind the cares and anxieties of life, they might from time to time repair for many years to come; and how his uncle gave to the home an atmosphere of cheeriness and of nobility which was indeed a sacred influence.

"We did not know," he says, "when we said 'good-bye' on that August morning, that we should never see him again. The glow of health was in his face, he was full of energy, his mind strong and vigorous with bright interests.

"But on the 18th of the following December a letter from my brother, written from Springfield, told us that uncle had passed away.

"This brother, Edmund, the youngest of my uncle's five nephews, had returned from South Africa in November, after five years' absence from England. Between him and his uncle there had always been a great bond of sympathy. He came to Springfield at the end of November, finding Uncle Gerald in strong

health and spirits. It was a happy meeting, but it was only just in time—a few last days of the joy of life and then the last short illness, and the passing into the unseen.

“On an old piano with long upright strings, which stood in a large empty room designed for billiards, at Springfield, I often used to play an air from Handel’s ‘Samson.’ The words were—

‘Joys that are pure, sincerely good,
Shall then o’ertake you as a flood,
Where truth and peace do ever shine
With love that’s perfectly divine.’

“This seemed to me at times, when thoughts would try to follow another into the unseen world, better than any funeral march.”

In December 1899, going out on a cold wet evening to get the latest war news from South Africa, Sir Gerald caught a chill, which rapidly developed into pneumonia, and after only a few days’ illness, he died at his Bideford house on Sunday the 17th of that month. One of those with him during his brief illness speaks of him as “such a splendid patient.” He died, as he had lived, patiently and bravely—and what more can be said?

He was buried with every demonstration of respect and affection in the parish churchyard of Bideford on the afternoon of Friday, the 22nd December. Besides his own family, relatives, and friends, his funeral was attended by the mayor and corporation of Bideford and the officers of the local volunteer corps; by Lieut. - Colonel F. S. Leslie, Commanding Royal Engineer of the Devon Military Sub-district, who presented a wreath from the Corps of Royal Engineers, which he represented on the occasion; by Major D. Mills, R.E., who represented the General Officer Com-

manding the Western Military District and the District Headquarters Staff, and brought a wreath from them ; by Admiral Sir William Dowell, G.C.B., representing the Royal Navy ; and by Major-General Boyes, C.B., late of the Gordon Highlanders, and Surgeon-General Reid, representing the army ; several officers of the Royal Engineers also attended. Two warrant officers and two sergeants of Royal Engineers, with two other non-commissioned officers, attended as bearers—one of the warrant officers, Sergeant-Major Brown, R.E., having served under Sir Gerald at Suakin. The service was conducted by the Rev. T. Newton Leeke, H. M. Drake, and Johnson. All the flags in the town were at half-mast, and a general sense of loss was manifested, for Sir Gerald was loved and esteemed in the neighbourhood. A plain white marble cross marks his resting-place. On it is inscribed the text — “Death is swallowed up in Victory.”

Sir Gerald left six children : (1) Gerald Oakley, born in 1863, for a short time in the Norfolk Regiment, afterwards in Canada, and lately serving in South Africa with the Canadian Contingent ; (2) Jane Gertrude, born in 1864 ; (3) Francis Gordon, born in 1866, godson of Major-General Charles George Gordon, consulting mining engineer, married Nina, daughter of John Turnley, Esq. of Drumnasole ; (4) Maxwell Henry, born in 1870, settled on a farm in Ontario, Canada, married Elizabeth Wilson ; (5) Walter Burns, born in 1872, in holy orders, curate of Birkenshaw, Bradford, Yorkshire ; and (6) Olive Mary, born in 1875.

Had he wished it Sir Gerald might have written to charm and delight the public, but he had a very modest opinion of his abilities. His only work of

general interest is the little book entitled 'Last Words with Gordon,' already referred to. It first appeared as an article in the 'Fortnightly Review' of January 1887, and was published separately the same year with additions and appendices. His translation from the German of the official account by Captain Adolph Goetze, of the Prussian Engineers, of the "Operations of the German Engineers and 'Technical Troops' during the Franco-German War of 1870-71," with six maps, was published by H. S. King & Co. in 1875. He delivered a lecture at the Royal United Service Institution in Whitehall, London, in 1886, on "Infantry Fire Tactics: Attack Formations and Squares," which was published in vol. xxx. of the Journal of the Institution.

Sir Gerald also contributed to the "Professional Papers of the Corps of Royal Engineers" the following articles: New Series, vol. vi.—"Demolition of White Buildings at Sebastopol"; vol. vii.—"Notes on Russian Works on the North Side of Sebastopol"; vol. xi.—"Suggestions for adapting Fortification to present Means of Attack"; vol. xiv.—"Experiments on Limes and Cements"; vol. xix.—"On the Transverse Strength of Railway Iron when used for Purposes of Construction." Occasional Papers Series, vol. iv.—"Remarks on the Military Institutions of Switzerland, and Observations on the different Arms."

Sir Gerald was a good mathematician, a man of varied reading, played chess well, and took a hand at whist. In addition to his favourite game of golf, a recreation of his later years, he had always been a great walker, and fond of boating.

His striking figure has been referred to in our opening chapter; his character may be briefly presented in this final one. Retiring and reserved in

disposition, he was somewhat slow in assimilating both facts and theories; but his opinions once formed, were generally well founded and expressed with precision. With a critical tendency of mind he united reverence and admiration for all that was noble and good. He looked up to good and cultured women as superior beings before whom the best men must bow their heads. To a great love of nature and a keen sense of humour was added a fund of sympathy, too often concealed by his habitual reserve. Kind hearted—with a great love of children and animals—he was straightforward and true, possessing a moral fearlessness which was not surpassed by his physical courage, as to which it was said by Lord Wolseley that he was one of those men who did not know what fear meant.

A very old friend of Sir Gerald and of his sister, and a very aged lady, Mrs Southwood Hill, whose daughter, Miss Octavia Hill, is well known alike to rich and poor, writing after the General's death to his nephew and executor, mentions two predominant qualities which she regarded as his great characteristics—magnificent courage and entire self-effacement, and next to these his tenderness in domestic life. "In early youth," she says, "a charming, bright, and happy playfulness was what one noticed in him and loved him for."

General Sir Richard Harrison, K.C.B., C.M.G., the present Inspector-General of Fortifications, who first met Graham in the Crimea, and served with him in India, in China, and in Egypt, writes of him:—

"I have known Gerald Graham more or less all my life, but on looking back my memory recalls four occasions on which our paths crossed.

"The first time we met was when I, a boy of nine-

teen summers, went up from Scutari to the Crimea. He was one of the famous R.E. subalterns whose thoroughly reliable and gallant work in the trenches brought a credit to the Corps that will never be forgotten. Perhaps he was one of the bravest, as he was the tallest, of those subalterns, and from what I had heard I was quite ready to worship him as a hero. I found him employed under Captain (afterwards General Sir) Lothian Nicholson in blowing up the docks in Sebastopol. He was very quiet, said nothing whatever about himself, but showed me one or two relics that he had picked up in the town. I am under the impression that I was rather disappointed. I don't know what sort of a man my fancy had painted. Anyhow, I saw nothing but a somewhat novel exterior. I was too young and too inexperienced to be able to extract any of the sterling qualities that lay within.

"The next occasion on which I was associated with him was in the China war of 1859-60. He had come out to India to take command of the 23rd Company, Royal Engineers, from Lennox [afterwards Lieutenant-General Sir Wilbraham Lennox] at the end of the 'Mutinies,' and it fell to his lot to take that company first to Canton and afterwards to the Taku Forts and Peking. It was at the taking of the Taku Forts that I first realised, I think, of what stuff he was made. I shall never forget in a hurry one night, after we had taken a village on the land side of those forts, when he asked me to accompany him on what he called a 'reconnaissance.' I thought, perhaps, that we were going to the picket lines. But this was nothing to it. We soon passed the pickets and the very advanced line of sentries, and the night being dark, nothing would satisfy him but to continue

our journey through unknown mud and water and all sorts of possibilities, until, lying down at the edge of the wet ditch, we saw the Tatar sentry walking up and down on the parapet of the fort, and heard the Chinamen talking within the gun casemates.

"The third occasion, that I can remember as if it were yesterday, was when he was appointed by Sir Garnet Wolseley to the command of a brigade in Egypt in 1882, and was with his men holding the post of honour on the Sweet-water Canal at the head of the British army. The advance had been very rapid, and, thinking solely of the work he had to do, he had made no arrangements for his own comfort, and the result was that when, as a Staff-officer, I rode out to see how he was getting on, I found that he had absolutely nothing to eat in his tent, but had just gone out and sat down among the men, to their great delight, and shared with them their bit of biscuit and bully-beef. Soon afterwards a strong attack was made on his small force by a large portion of the Egyptian army, when his coolness and quiet courage had a great effect on the soldiers, and played no small part in gaining the victory.

"The fourth occasion was when, by chance, I met him about two years ago at a seaside place in the west of England. He had retired from active service and had taken to golf, in which game he was as earnest and persevering as he had been while in the army.

"Somewhat retiring and modest, he was a thorough Royal Engineer, absolutely trustworthy in all he undertook, and quite the bravest man I ever met."

It has been observed that Sir Gerald had a wonderful youthfulness about him to the last, and certainly his enjoyment of life, as years passed over his head, did not seem to decrease. With the exception of some deafness, which had begun a few years back and increased a little as he grew older, he was exceedingly active for his age, both mentally and physically.

This enjoyment of life was not confined to the present, but he lived over again joys which had passed. His thoughts flew back to scenes of days gone by upon which he delighted to dwell. "Those happy days," he calls them.

"Is it not wisest," he once wrote, "to cherish every little bit of sunshine in the life that is left to us, and the greatest folly to prepare for oneself a cold, sunless, old age? and yet that is what befalls so many."

It did not befall him. To the end his happy disposition kept the sunshine around him, in spite of the heavy clouds of sorrow which made him once write of himself as "*Der Fichtenbaum auf kahler Höh*" (the fir-tree upon the desolate height).

APPENDIX I.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT ON THE TAKING OF THE PEIHO
FORTS AND ADVANCE ON PEKIN IN 1860, BY LIEUT-
COLONEL GOTHER MANN, COMMANDING ROYAL ENGINEER

TANG-KU, 25th August 1860.

All our efforts were therefore to be confined to our right attack, where it was determined to place five batteries. . . . At dusk, Battery No. 2, for three 8-inch mortars, was traced by Major Graham, R.E.; this was 200 yards nearer the fort than the other batteries, and was over a canal which was unbridged before that evening. The battery in this position was sheltered by the canal from the danger of a sortie. . . . Major Graham was the executive Engineer officer for the 1st Relief. . . .

By 4 A.M. the guns, &c., were placed in the different batteries, and everything got ready for the attack.

The Royal Engineers, 43 men in number, who had worked during the 1st Relief of the last night, were told off for the assaulting party in the following manner, viz.:—

Two non-commissioned officers and ten sappers, under Lieutenant Pritchard, R.E., with two infantry pontoon bridges, one of five pontoons, the second of eight, to be carried by three companies of Royal Marines, one of which was to be in reserve.

One non-commissioned officer, with six 24-foot ladders, under Lieutenant Hime, R.E., to be carried by a company of Royal Marines.

Three non-commissioned officers and sappers with powder-bags, &c., under Lieutenant Clements, R.E.

Eleven sappers with carpenters' tools, and sixteen with

miners' tools, under Lieutenant Trail, Madras Engineers. All these parties were placed under the charge of Major Graham, R.E. . . .

At 5 A.M. of the 21st the enemy opened fire, which was soon returned and vigorously kept up from the guns on both sides. At 6 A.M. the magazine in the Upper North Fort blew up, and half an hour later a magazine in the Lower North Fort also caught fire from a shell thrown into it from one of the gun-boats. The enemy, however, was not at all disconcerted, but continued his fire without interruption. Our field guns were gradually moved up to within 400 yards, with the 44th and 67th Regiments in skirmishing order. At 8 A.M., before the fire was silenced, it was observed that the French were bringing up their ladders to the angle of the fort on our right. The English assaulting parties were immediately ordered up, and advanced towards the causeway opposite the middle of the work. The first pontoon bridge, however, was met by a tremendous shower of bullets and ginal-balls, which battered in the head of one pontoon, killed one man, and wounded fourteen others, Lieut.-Colonel Travers, Royal Marines, and Major Graham, R.E., being also wounded close by; also at the rear pontoon bridge, one officer and three men, and of the ladder party (there and subsequently), one officer and six men.

The causeway was now choked up, and it being found impossible to move the pontoons farther, an order was given for the ladder party to move to the right, to second the movements of the French. The ladders were then used as bridges, and so great was the crowd of men over them that it was found impossible to remove them beyond the inner ditch; but as three French ladders were placed, some of our men got over the walls by them, and others by an embrasure, but not until after a long hand-to-hand contest. . . .

Major Graham conducted the assaulting party on the 21st instant, and when wounded with the bridge party, and obliged to mount on horseback, directed the movements of the ladder party until, his horse also being wounded, he was obliged to fall to the rear.

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APPENDIX II.

TANG-KU, 26th August 1860.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward a description of a portable bridge, which was prepared by Major Graham, R.E., from four scaling-ladders and some boards, to enable the Commander-in-Chief to reconnoitre the inner North Fort on the Peiho on the morning of the 17th instant, as I believe it is the first time that the ladders have been employed in this manner.

It took precisely fifteen minutes to put together from the time of the materials reaching the spot. It formed a very good bridge, as well for heavy horses as for infantry.—I have, &c.,

G. F. MANN, Lieut.-Colonel,
Commg. Rl. Engr.

To the DEPUTY ADJUTANT-GENERAL,
Royal Engineers.

Report of a Portable Bridge made of Scaling-Ladders.

This bridge was required at almost immediate notice for a reconnaissance of the North Peiho Forts, to enable the Commander-in-Chief and cavalry escort to cross the canals that intersect the country about Tang-Ku.

The width to span being about 23 feet, I had two lengths of scaling-ladders firmly lashed, breaking joint by lashing a piece of wood about 3 feet long by 4 inches by 2 inches on either side. Two lengths of ladder (24 feet) thus prepared were first passed over the ditch by means of a rope; this two or three men crossed and placed on edge, so that the rounds lay vertical. The other double length of ladder, similarly secured, was then

passed over, forming the other side of the bridge. Planks 4 feet long were then laid across, the outer edges being cleated below to prevent them from slipping laterally. To keep the ladders from falling over, earth was banked up and rammed at the sides of the ditch.

The bridge was laid and crossed by the General and Staff in a quarter of an hour, the only danger being from the rottenness of the planks, which consisted of old doors and shutters, collected and prepared within an hour of the time required. With good 1½-inch planking, and a couple of side-pieces to rack down, I believe the above to be a very good bridge for cavalry or infantry over ditches. On this occasion it was crossed by half a company of infantry marching *in step*, two deep, with files well locked up, without suffering the slightest injury. The weight of 24 feet of bridge is 750 lb.

G. GRAHAM, Capt. and Brevet Major,
Commanding 23rd Company, Royal Engineers.

APPENDIX III.

ACTION OF KASSASSIN, August 28, 1882.

The 'London Gazette' of September 19, 1882.

From Major-General G. Graham to General Sir Garnet Wolseley.

KASSASSIN, 29th August 1882.

SIR,—I have the honour to report that an important engagement with the enemy took place here yesterday, the 28th instant, in which, though attacked by a vastly superior force numerically, tried seriously by exposure to the sun and previous privations, the troops I have the honour to command finally drove back the enemy at all points; and, with the aid of the Cavalry under Major-General Drury-Lowe, C.B., inflicted severe chastisement.

The position the Advanced Brigade occupies at Kassassin is not the best for defence. We are astride the canal (which runs nearly east and west), and hold the bridge and locks. Taking the west as our proper front, on our right the desert rises to a ridge with an elevation of from 100 to 160 feet; at a distance of from 2000 to 3000 yards there is the millet and palm-covered plain of the Ouady, intersected by a disused branch of the canal. This ridge on our right is obviously a source of danger to a force too weak to occupy it, as I have already observed in a previous report.

About 9.30 A.M., on the 28th instant, the enemy's cavalry appeared in force on our left front, on the north side of the Fresh-water Canal, and I at once heliographed to Major-General Drury-Lowe at Masamah. The force under my command, consisting of 57 Cavalry, 70 Mounted Infantry, 1728

Infantry, and 40 Artillery with two 13-prs., as detailed in margin,¹ were at once posted by me under cover, fronting to the north and west, the Cavalry and Mounted Infantry (50) being thrown out on the flanks to observe the enemy's movements, while I awaited the development of his attack. About 11 A.M. it was reported that a large force of cavalry, infantry, and artillery were being moved round towards our right, behind the ridge. At 12 the enemy opened fire from two heavy guns on our left front, at least 4000 yards off, the shot from which fell short.

The enemy's attack seemed to languish, and about 3 P.M. the Officer Commanding the Mounted Infantry reported the enemy retiring.

The men had been suffering very much from their long exposure to the heat of the sun without food, so I ordered them back to their camps. Major-General Drury-Lowe brought a Brigade of Cavalry within two or three miles of the camp, and about 3 P.M. withdrew them to Masamah, as I had previously requested him not to engage them unnecessarily.

At 4.30 P.M. the enemy advanced his infantry in great force, displaying a line of skirmishers at least a mile in length, with which he sought to overlap my front on the left, supported by a heavy and well-directed fire of artillery, with which he searched the camp, wounding a sick officer in the house where I had established my headquarters, but which, as the best building, was now given up as a hospital. My dispositions to meet this attack were as follows: On the left, the Marine Artillery were directed to take up a position on the south bank of the canal, where (secure from being turned themselves, the canal being 5 feet to 6 feet deep) they could check the enemy's advance by a flank fire. (The Royal Marine Artillery, therefore, gave fire to W. and N.W.)

In the centre, the 2nd Battalion Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry extended a fighting line of three companies, facing W. by N., about 800 yards to the right rear (E.N.E.) of the Royal Marine Artillery. The supports and reserves of the Duke of

¹ Royal Horse Artillery, 40, and 2 guns; 4th Dragoon Guards, 15; 7th Dragoon Guards, 42; Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, 611; York and Lancaster, 690; Mounted Infantry, 70; Royal Marine Artillery, 427—officers, non-commissioned officers, and men.

Cornwall's Light Infantry were under cover of the railway embankment, facing N.

The 2nd Battalion York and Lancaster extended the fighting line of the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry with two and a half companies, keeping the remainder in support and reserve.

The position of the Infantry, therefore, was an irregular echelon, right thrown back. The troop of the 7th Dragoon Guards was kept on this flank, and the two 13-prs., now reinforced by two others, took up a position on the ridge. Unfortunately these guns had only got their ammunition in their limbers, and had soon to cease firing for want of a further supply, though they did good service while it lasted. The Mounted Infantry and Detachment of the 4th Dragoon Guards occupied a portion of the gap between the Royal Marine Artillery and Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, and all the persistent efforts of the enemy to break through at this point were unavailing, owing to the steady fire of the Royal Marine Artillery and the gallant resistance of the little band of Mounted Infantry and Detachment of the 4th Dragoon Guards dismounted and employed as infantry. The enemy made great efforts to overcome this resistance, putting a number of men across the canal; and three times his guns were kept from advancing by their horses and men being shot when trying to press past. In order to support the left, the companies on the left of the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry facing N. were spread out along the line of railway embankment, and a fresh company from the right half-battalion was moved to the left to prolong the line.

Feeling secure on my left, I turned my attention to the right flank. On the first notice of the attack (4.30 P.M.) I had sent a message to Major-General Drury-Lowe by heliograph and by a mounted officer to Masamah, three or four miles distant, requesting him to move up the Cavalry Brigade to cover my right flank and to send forward the Royal Marine Light Infantry.

At 5 P.M., thinking I saw cavalry advancing, I sent an order to Major-General Drury-Lowe to bring round his cavalry under cover of the hill, fall upon the left flank of the enemy's skirmishers, and roll up his line. This order was received and gallantly executed. For an account of this part of the action I beg to refer to Major-General Drury-Lowe's own report.

At 5 P.M. I observed reinforcements coming to the enemy by train, and fearing a charge of cavalry on our exposed right, directed the officer commanding the Reserve Company of York and Lancaster to prepare to receive them in line. Near the right of our position, on the line of railway, a Krupp gun, taken from the enemy at Masamah, had been mounted on a railway truck and was being worked by a gun detachment of the Royal Marine Artillery, under Captain Tucker. This gun was admirably served, and did great execution among the enemy. As the other guns had to cease firing for want of ammunition, Captain Tucker's gun became the target for the enemy's artillery, and I counted salvoes of four guns opening on him at once with shell and shrapnel; but although everything around or in line was hit, not a man of the gun detachment was touched, and this gun continued to fire to the end, expending ninety-three rounds.

At 6.45 P.M. I ordered an advance, with the object of closing on the enemy's Infantry, about the time of the expected Cavalry charge. The advance was made very steadily by the fighting line in echelon from the left, about 600 yards to our W. front, when the line fired volleys by companies, the reserves following in rear of the railway embankment.

On arriving at the point held by the Mounted Infantry a message reached me that the Royal Marine Light Infantry had come on to the ground on our right; and, galloping back, I at once directed them to advance in order of attack. This advance was continued for about two or three miles, supported by the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry on the left, the York and Lancaster being left behind in reserve, the enemy falling back, only one attempt being made at a stand on our left, which broke at the first volley of the Royal Marines.

About 8.15 P.M. I first heard of the cavalry charge from an officer of the 1st Life Guards, who had lost his way.

We had now been advancing for an hour and a half in the moonlight, and my two aides-de-camp had had narrow escapes in mistaking detached bodies of the enemy for our own troops. Fearing some mistake might be made, and seeing no further chance of co-operation with the Cavalry, I ordered the Marines and Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry to retire at 8.45 P.M.

On approaching the camp I called in the other troops. The accompanying rough sketch shows approximately the position held by the infantry during the action. [Not reproduced.]

During the night the enemy made no sign, and this morning at daybreak I rode out over the battlefield, and have had all wounded that were found brought in.

I append a detailed list of killed and wounded, an abstract of which is given in the margin.¹ The corps which suffered most heavily was the Royal Marine Artillery under Lieut.-Colonel H. B. Tuson, whom I would beg to bring especially to your notice. Lieut.-Colonel Tuson speaks in high terms of the conduct of Major F. A. Ogle, Captain G. A. L. Rawstorne, Lieutenants H. R. L. Pym and H. L. Talbot, and of Captain and Adjutant E. J. W. Noble, whose horse was killed under him. The Mounted Infantry also suffered heavily, and, early in the action, were deprived of the services of their gallant leader, Lieutenant C. B. Pigott, an officer who deserves especial mention. Another valuable officer of this corps, Lieutenant C. M. Edwards, was also wounded. The services of the Mounted Infantry have been invaluable to me, in the absence of a sufficient force of cavalry. I have also to bring to your notice the admirable steadiness of the 2nd Battalion Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry under fire, and during their advance under Colonel W. S. Richardson. This officer mentions Lieut.-Colonel T. John, Major F. Grieve, Lieutenant and Adjutant G. A. Ashby, and Lieutenant J. A. W. Falls, as being indefatigable in their exertions. The 2nd Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry were effectively supported by the 2nd York and Lancaster, under Colonel F. E. E. Wilson, to whose careful personal leading, ably supported by the officers under him, much credit is due. The Royal Marine Light Infantry, although they arrived too late to take any decisive share in the action, showed by the promptitude of their march to the field, and the steadiness of their advance, under Colonel H.

¹ Cavalry, killed or dangerously wounded 1 (exclusive of force under Major-General Lowe's command); Royal Marine Artillery, killed or dangerously wounded 7, wounded 25; Mounted Infantry, wounded 4; Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, killed or dangerously wounded 1, wounded 24; York and Lancaster Regiment, killed or dangerously wounded 1, wounded 11; Army Medical Department, killed or dangerously wounded 1. Total killed or dangerously wounded 11, wounded 68.

S. Jones, that they are well capable of sustaining the high character of their corps.

In general, I cannot too highly express my opinion of the steadiness of the troops under fire, and the ready alacrity with which they carried out my orders. Although exposed for two hours to a heavy fire of artillery, the lines I advanced were full of cheerful confidence, and eager to close with the enemy.

I may also mention that the five hours' exposure to the sun in the morning, expecting an attack, had been most trying to the men; and that the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry had not had time to eat their dinners before they were ordered out to meet the enemy.

I estimate the enemy's force at 1000 cavalry, 8000 infantry, and 12 guns.

I beg to bring to your notice Major Hart, V.C., R.E., who showed the utmost devotion on this, as on other occasions.

Lieutenant Pirie, 4th Dragoon Guards, was attached to me as extra Aide-de-Camp, and rendered invaluable services in carrying my order to General Drury-Lowe to charge. At the time I imagined the Brigade to be near at hand, and Lieutenant Pirie galloped on until his horse dropped, fortunately near to a Battery of Royal Artillery, where he got another horse, and continued his gallop till he reached General Drury-Lowe.

Captain R. C. Hare, my Brigade Major, also rendered good service in carrying messages, and by his cheerful readiness to do any service required in the fighting line.—I have, &c.,

GERALD GRAHAM, Major-General,
Commanding Advanced Brigade.

APPENDIX IV.

BATTLE OF EL TEB, February 29, 1884.

Supplement to the 'London Gazette' of Tuesday, 25th March 1884.
Thursday, 27th March 1884.

From Major-General Sir G. Graham, Commanding Tokar Expeditionary Force, to the Secretary of State for War.

CAMP TOKAR, March 2, 1884.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to submit the following report on the operations of the Tokar Expeditionary Force since the 28th ulto.

In the despatch then sent I informed the Chief of the Staff in Egypt that on the evening of that day I sent an officer to the front of Fort Baker, carrying a white flag on a staff, to which a letter was attached, calling upon the sheikhs of the tribes to disperse their forces now in arms before Suakin, informing them that the English were not at war with the Arabs, and recommending them to send delegates to Khartoum to meet General Gordon.

Captain Harvey, who is on General Baker's Staff, and now attached to my Intelligence Department, advanced about two miles, the latter part of which was under an ill-directed fire of musketry, and after planting his staff he retired according to my instructions. The following morning at daybreak the same officer went out to see if any answer had arrived, but the staff with all attached had been taken away.

At about 8 o'clock A.M. I gave the order to advance in the formation of a rectangle, having an interior space of about 200×150 yards.

In front were the 1st Gordon Highlanders, in rear the 1st

Royal Highlanders, on the right the 2nd Royal Irish Fusiliers (supported by four Companies of the 3rd King's Royal Rifles), on the left the 1st York and Lancaster, supported by 380 of the Royal Marine Artillery and Light Infantry.

On the march the front and rear faces moved in company columns of fours at company intervals, and the flank battalions in open column of companies.

Intervals were left at the angles for the guns and Gatlings, the Naval Brigade occupying the front, and the Royal Artillery the rear, angles.

The men marched off with their water-bottles filled, and one day's rations.

The only transport animals were those carrying ammunition and surgical appliances, all being kept together in the centre of the square.

To secure my base I had left a company of the 3rd King's Royal Rifles, all sick and weakly men, and all departmental details armed, under Lieut.-Colonel W. L. K. Ogilvy, and three companies of the same corps at Fort Baker, with a Krupp gun and two bronze guns at each place, manned by the Royal Marine Artillery.

About an hour before daybreak, on the 29th of February, there was a short but heavy fall of rain, which caused the ground for the first two miles of the march to be very heavy; the Naval Brigade and Royal Artillery dragged their guns by hand, so that frequent halts had to be made to rest the men.

The front and left of the square was covered by a squadron of the 10th Hussars, the right by a troop of the 19th Hussars, the Cavalry being in rear under Brigadier-General H. Stewart. About 10 A.M. reports came in from the front that the enemy were intrenched on our left, on which I inclined the square to the right, but about 11.20 A.M. I found that we were immediately opposite to a work armed with two Krupp guns, whose position had not been reported to me by the reconnoitring party, so I moved the column still more to the right, on which the guns of the enemy opened fire with case and shell. Fortunately aim was bad, so that few casualties occurred, and I succeeded in getting on the left flank of the work, which was on the proper left rear of the enemy's line.

The square was now halted, men ordered to lie down, and four guns of the Royal Artillery and machine-guns were brought into action at a range of about 900 yards. The practice from the guns was carried on with remarkable accuracy and great deliberation, and with the help of the machine-guns of the Naval Brigade, which poured in a stream of bullets, the two Krupp guns were completely silenced, as they were taken slightly in reverse, and the gunners were driven from the guns.

The Infantry now advanced, the square moving by its left face, which, by the flank movement, was opposite to the work attacked. The fighting line was therefore composed of the 1st York and Lancaster, supported by the Royal Marines, the 1st Gordon Highlanders and 1st Royal Highlanders moving in column of fours on either flank, the rear of the square being formed of the 3rd King's Royal Rifles and the 2nd Royal Irish Fusiliers. The York and Lancaster advanced steadily till within a short distance of the works, when, with a cheer, a rush was made to the front, and, assisted by the bluejackets on the right, who managed to bring their guns into the fighting line, the work was carried and the guns captured; the enemy made several desperate counter-attacks, sometimes singly and sometimes in groups, on the advancing line, many hand-to-hand fights taking place with the York and Lancaster and men of the Naval Brigade.

About 12.20 P.M. the battery, which is marked "A" on the accompanying plan, was taken, with two Krupp guns and a brass howitzer. [See Plate II., in which this battery is marked "K."]

At this period the Cavalry, under Brigadier-General Stewart, moved round the present right flank of the square and charged in three lines across the plain to its right front, where the enemy were in large numbers, who attacked the flanks of the lines, so that they had to change front in order to shake them off. Colonel Barrow, of the 19th Hussars, was severely wounded in executing one of these charges, when, I regret to say, many other casualties occurred.

The enemy, as reported by Brigadier-General Stewart, fought simply with fanaticism, and spared no wounded or dismounted men, although in most cases instantly paying their penalty with their own lives; and it is to the desperate character of the

struggle that the large proportion of deaths in the Cavalry Brigade is to be attributed.

The enemy were still in possession of the village and wells of Teb, but by the capture of the work on his left flank, my Infantry had got in rear of his position, and the captured guns were turned on another work also armed with two Krupp guns, which they took in reverse. These captured guns were admirably worked by Major Tucker of the Royal Marine Artillery, and, with the aid of the guns of the Royal Artillery, the enemy's remaining battery was soon silenced. The enemy's Infantry, however, still clung with desperate tenacity to the numerous rifle-pits and intrenchments they had constructed, and large numbers occupied some buildings in the village, which were afterwards found filled with dead bodies; they seemed not to dream of asking for quarter, and when they found their retreat cut off, would charge out singly or in scattered groups to hurl their spears in defiance at the advancing lines of infantry, falling dead, fairly riddled with bullets.

About 2 P.M. the battery marked "G" on plan, now abandoned, was occupied, and the whole position taken. [See Plate II., in which this battery is marked "K¹."]

The enemy had now given up all ideas of further fighting, and the last work on the right of their line, shown as a mound on plan, was occupied by the Gordon Highlanders without opposition, as they streamed away in the direction of Tokar and Suakin.

Nothing could be better than the dash with which the charges of cavalry were executed in the midst of a horde of desperate fanatics, who displayed extraordinary activity and courage; nor could anything exceed the cool deliberation and efficiency with which the Royal Artillery served their guns under fire, or the skill and gallantry displayed by the Naval Brigade in keeping up with the front line of infantry, and protecting their own guns by hand-to-hand encounters with the enemy, when at least one deed of gallantry was executed, of which I shall make a special report. •

The first time the square came under fire was a very trying one for young troops, as we were then moving to a flank—an operation at all times difficult, and especially so when in such a cramped formation. A slight disorder occurred, which was,

however, speedily rectified, and nothing could have been better than the steady advance on the first battery.

In advancing on the scattered intrenchments and houses the formation became somewhat disordered, owing to the desire of the men on the flank faces of the square to fire to their front.

The Gordon Highlanders speedily rectified this, moving one half-battalion into the fighting line, the other half being thrown back to guard against flank attacks.

The Royal Highlanders were somewhat out of hand. I would, however, beg to observe that the ground was a most difficult one to move over, and that the desperate tenacity with which the enemy held a house on the right of the Royal Highlanders caused the men to form in an irregular manner so as to pour a converging fire on it.

The other Battalions, especially the York and Lancaster, which had several hand-to-hand encounters with the enemy, and the Royal Marines, behaved with great steadiness and gallantry.

The 1st Gordon Highlanders, 3rd King's Royal Rifles, and 1st York and Lancaster,¹ also showed steadiness and good discipline under fire; the latter formed the left flank of the fighting line in the attack on the second position, when they advanced with great gallantry.

I append a list of killed and wounded, and deeply regret the numerous fatal casualties in the Cavalry Brigade, of which I have already made mention [in telegraphic despatches].

The force of the enemy was difficult to estimate, and in my first telegram I put it at 10,000. Subsequent native testimony obtained makes me estimate it at 6000 fighting men, and I am informed that they admit a loss of 1500 killed.

In the immediate neighbourhood of Teb 825 dead bodies were counted, and I am informed that it is the custom of these people to carry off their dead when practicable. I am also informed that the women of the tribes were present with hatchets to despatch our wounded.

I must now beg to express my sense of the services of the officers holding responsible positions in the force I had the

¹ In the 'London Gazette' of 29th April 1884 the following correction by Sir Gerald Graham was published: *For* "1st York and Lancaster" *read* "2nd Royal Irish Fusiliers."

honour to command on this occasion, without whose loyal co-operation and self-devotion the expedition could not have been carried out successfully.

Brigadier-General Sir Redvers Buller, V.C., K.C.M.G., C.B., who was specially appointed second in command, showed himself worthy of his high reputation as a thorough soldier and most valuable officer.

Major-General J. Davis was most indefatigable in his exertions, and afforded me all possible assistance in preserving formation and discipline during the action, as he has done in expediting the disembarkation of troops since his arrival at Trinkitat.

Brigadier-General H. Stewart, C.B., showed himself, as he is known to be, a most able and daring leader of cavalry. My instructions to him were to avoid engaging the enemy until their formation was broken, and until they were in full retreat. The time of making the charge I left entirely to Brigadier-General Stewart, as I wished him to keep well away from my square, not knowing on which side it might be attacked.

We did not anticipate having to attack the enemy in an intrenched position, but thought he would come out and attack my square in large numbers, be repulsed, and then be cut up by the Cavalry.

The charges actually made were upon masses of the enemy not yet engaged with my Infantry, and although most gallantly and skilfully executed, the loss of officers and men is deeply to be regretted. As I have already had the honour to observe, the scouting and reconnoitring duties of the Cavalry Brigade were admirably performed, and I cannot too highly praise the ready efficiency of the Mounted Infantry under Captain Humphreys.

Among the many valuable Staff-officers attached to this force, I would specially bring to your notice Lieut.-Colonel C. F. Clery, my Assistant Adjutant-General, who is an invaluable Staff-officer, ready in resource, indefatigable in work, combined with coolness, excellent in temper, and a thorough knowledge of his duties. I beg also to observe that Lieut.-Colonel Clery is mentioned by both the Officers Commanding Infantry Brigades for his distinguished gallantry in the action of the 29th

February, when I also observed his extreme coolness and presence of mind.

My thanks are also due to Deputy Surgeon-General E. G. McDowell, who has conducted the duties of the Medical Department to my entire satisfaction, and has shown great judgment and forethought in providing for the wants of the wounded, who have been well and promptly attended to.

Assistant Commissary-General R. A. Nugent has been indefatigable in arranging for getting up supplies. Although water transport is a most difficult thing to arrange for a force of this size, including so many horses and transport animals, the supply has never failed, although sometimes unavoidably late.

The supply of ordnance stores, under Assistant Commissary-General H. J. Mills, was also satisfactorily conducted.

Lieut.-Colonel J. C. Ardagh, Commanding Royal Engineer, was chief of the Intelligence Department. In both of these important positions he has given me great satisfaction, and I beg to recommend this and the above-named officers' valuable services for your Lordship's favourable consideration.

I propose forwarding the names of other officers who have distinguished themselves in a supplementary despatch, and to recommend them for favourable consideration.

I cannot, however, close this despatch without recording my sense of the great services rendered to the expeditionary force by Rear-Admiral Sir William Hewett. I cannot sufficiently express my admiration of the high sense of duty displayed by this officer under most trying circumstances.

Had Admiral Hewett himself been in command of the expedition for the relief of Tokar, he could not have done more to further its success.

Suakin was threatened with attack by an overpowering force, and a portion of the garrison was in a state of mutiny; notwithstanding which, Admiral Hewett insisted on almost denuding his ships of sailors in order to give me the magnificent Naval Brigade, whose services I have in a previous part of this despatch endeavoured to depict. •

Not satisfied with this, Admiral Hewett also gave me nearly 400 of the Marines and Marine Artillery—troops of the first quality. He also gave me the 1st Battalion of the York

and Lancaster from Aden, although empowered to employ them for the defence of Suakin. Considering all these important services, and his constant readiness to give every assistance in furthering disembarkations, water-supply, &c., I think I am justified in stating that it is impossible to over-estimate the services rendered by Rear-Admiral Sir William Hewett towards the Tokar expedition.—I have, &c.,

GERALD GRAHAM, Major-General,
Commanding Tokar Expeditionary Force.

P.S.—My thanks are also due to Lieut.-General Baker Pasha for the valuable information and assistance rendered by him throughout the operations. General Baker was, I regret to say, severely wounded in the early part of the action on the 29th February. His wound was in the face, and must have been very painful; notwithstanding which, after getting it dressed, he returned to the field, and only at the end of the action could I persuade him to retire to the base.

APPENDIX V.

OCCUPATION OF TOKAR, March 1, 1884.

‘London Gazette,’ March 27, 1884.

TOKAR, *March 3, 1884.*

MY LORD,—I have the honour to report on the operations subsequent to the action of the 29th February, which has been made the subject of a separate despatch.

At the conclusion of that action Brigadier-General Stewart reported to me that his horses were too much exhausted to pursue the enemy, and I accordingly made all necessary arrangements for the troops, taking up a defensive position for bivouac near the wells; and sending out search-parties to bring in the dead and wounded.

Having established communication by heliograph with Fort Baker, orders were given for all supplies, including tents and surgical appliances for the wounded, to be sent up immediately; all of which were received before nightfall.

The same day I addressed a letter to the rebel chiefs, who, from information I received from some prisoners we had taken, were said to be still in Tokar; one of the prisoners volunteered to take this letter, and went off with it about 7 P.M.

A copy of this letter, by inadvertence, accompanied my despatch of the 2nd instant. On the following morning, the 1st March, I made all necessary arrangements for the security of the wounded, having an intrenchment constructed which was armed with two of the captured Krupp guns and brass howitzers. The post was left in charge of Colonel Green and 400 of the 1st Royal Highlanders, with instructions to send out a burial party and escort to the field of General Baker’s battle, with two of his

European orderlies, who had been present, so that the bodies of the Europeans killed might be properly interred.

The bodies of the Arabs killed in the action of the 29th were also to be buried, and all necessary sanitary precautions taken.

The force marched off in the direction of Tokar a little before 10 A.M. in the following formation:—

The front line was composed of the 2nd Royal Irish Fusiliers, the 1st York and Lancaster, and the Royal Marines; the rear line was formed by the 1st Gordon Highlanders; the flanks by the 3rd King's Royal Rifles and the remainder of the 1st Black Watch.

The battalions moved in the same formation as on the previous day, but having learnt by experience that the desperate charges of the Arab rebels were futile against steady fire of infantry, I gave much greater freedom of action by leaving 30 paces intervals between the battalions of the front line and between half-battalions of the rear line, which was kept farther back as a reserve, thereby giving plenty of space for the transport animals, which, as on the previous day, were limited to those required for ammunition and surgical appliances. I was informed by prisoners and spies that the rebels were still in force at Tokar, and took every precaution against an attack, cavalry scouts being sent out on my front and flanks, the main body being kept in rear.

The day became hot, and frequent halts were necessary to rest the men, the toil of the Naval Brigade being very heavy.

About 1.30 P.M. a report came in from the Officer Commanding cavalry picket in front that Tokar was in view about four miles ahead. Finding the men very tired and thirsty, I sent back a troop of the 19th Hussars to bring up camels with water, and about 2.15 P.M. I got the following report from Major Gough, 10th Hussars, the officer in command at the front:—

“Shots have been fired from Tokar on my scouts; the walls are loopholed; I fancy the place is strongly held.”

On receipt of this I despatched an order to Teb to bring up all reserve ammunition, forage, and water for the whole force, and moved slowly on to the right of Tokar, which Major E. Wood, R.E., whom I had sent on reconnaissance duty with the Cavalry, reported as the most favourable point for an assault.

It was 4.15 P.M. before this point was reached, and I then rode forward with the Cavalry towards Tokar, and was met by a detachment bringing in some of the garrison, whom I found streaming out of the town with strong demonstrations of delight at our arrival, the men firing off their rifles into the air, and the women keeping up the peculiar shrill Arab substitute for a cheer.

I was told that many of the beaten rebels had passed through the town the previous night, acknowledging to a severe defeat, and loss of at least 1500 men.

Lieut.-Colonel Ardagh then, by my direction, proceeded to collect information from the principal inhabitants, which he has embodied in a report which I append. It appears that the garrison of the place and the civil population amount altogether to about 700, and that all were anxious to escape from Bedouin oppression. I therefore telegraphed to you for instructions, suggesting that these people should be sent to Suakin under Admiral Hewett.

The troops were put in bivouac outside the town, no men being allowed to enter unless on special duty.

Four wells were found outside sufficient for present wants, and the convoy ordered up arrived about 10 P.M.

Early on the following day, the 2nd March, I proceeded with a squadron of Cavalry and the Mounted Infantry to examine some villages said to contain more Egyptian soldiers and some arms left by the rebels.

In one of them there were found 1250 Remington rifles, besides a brass gun, a Gatling, and a quantity of ammunition. The rifles I ordered to be destroyed and the ammunition buried. This was done, as stated in accompanying report. It being thus evident that the rebels in this part have no further intention of fighting, I gave orders for the remainder of the 1st Battalion Black Watch and 3rd Battalion King's Royal Rifles to march off to Teb and Fort Baker respectively.

During the day I received a letter from Admiral Hewett, informing me that it was the intention of her Majesty's Government to withdraw the Tokar garrison, and I accordingly gave instructions that preparations should be made for commencing the withdrawal the following morning. Admiral Hewett also mentioned his wish to have the Royal Marines and Naval

Brigade as soon as possible; accordingly this morning both were marched off, and the withdrawal of the Tokar garrison was commenced, a train of 208 camels being furnished from the transport branch for that purpose.

All arrangements have been made for withdrawing the whole of the remaining force to-morrow, and I hope to concentrate at Trinkitat on the 5th instant, as I telegraphed to you this morning.—I have, &c.,

GERALD GRAHAM, Major-General,
Commanding Tokar Expeditionary Force.

APPENDIX VI.

OPERATIONS AT SUAKIN.

‘London Gazette,’ March 27, 1884.

SUAKIN, *March 8, 1884.*

MY LORD,—In continuation of my despatch sent you on 5th instant, I have the honour to report that on that day I proceeded, with Admiral Hewett, to Suakin, having previously informed you of my movements by telegram. Before leaving Trinkitat, orders were given by the Admiral and myself to proceed with the re-embarkation as rapidly as possible, sending ships to Suakin, where further instructions would be given. After conferring with Admiral Hewett I telegraphed to you, informing you that we had issued a joint-proclamation calling on rebel chiefs to come in, and recommending that troops be disembarked at Suakin and marched to rebel camp.

During night your approval to this course arrived, and on following day, the 6th instant, I laid out the ground for camp with Major-General Davis, and arranged for water-supply with Admiral Hewett. By night the following troops, &c., had been landed, and were under canvas: 1st Battalion Royal Highlanders; 1st Battalion York and Lancaster; 10th Hussars with horses; 2nd Battalion Royal Irish Fusiliers; half Royal Engineer Company with materials; 80 camels. The sailors, under Captain Rolfe, R.N., worked with their usual spirit and efficiency, and a good storage of water commenced. A pier was constructed by a native working party, under Major Haggard of the Egyptian army, between daybreak and noon, which was of great service. On the 7th instant I returned to Trinkitat with Admiral Hewett, and made final arrangements for com-

pleting the clearance of all troops and stores under Brigadier-General Sir Redvers Buller and Captain Andoe, R.N.

During the day the sheikh of the friendly tribes, Mahmoud Ali Bey, with 100 of his followers, entered the town, and this afternoon the sheikh was brought before the Admiral and me, in the presence of the Sheikh Morganeh, and questioned as to his proceedings, Mr Brewster acting as interpreter. He objected to issuing the proclamation to the rebels, as he thinks it would look as if the Government were afraid of them, and appears to think that they should be killed first and pardoned afterwards.

We, however, directed him to issue the proclamation of pardon to the rebels, telling him that it was perfectly indifferent to the British Government whether it was thought to be afraid or not, adding that if the guns, of which five, including one Krupp, are said to be in Osman Digna's camp, were not delivered, I should march out the whole force to the camp, seize them, shooting down any men who might oppose us. The disembarkation of the 19th Hussars and transport animals was carried out during the night under a bright moon.

March 10.—On the evening of the 8th instant, in consequence of a despatch from Sir E. Baring, it was thought advisable by Admiral Hewett and myself to issue another proclamation to the rebel chiefs in arms at Tamanieb, of which a copy is attached.¹ This was for the purpose of giving them full warning of my intention of marching to the rebel camp, and of treating all found in arms as rebels. A defiant reply to both these proclamations was received last night, of which a translation by Mr Brewster is annexed.¹ In the meantime all preparations for the advance have been pushed on, the work of disembarkation proceeding all night in the bright moonlight. Yesterday I inspected a zeriba made by General Baker Pasha, about 9 miles in advance, being half-way to Osman Digna's camp. This morning I have sent out the 1st Battalion Royal Highlanders to occupy it, and to furnish necessary fatigue-parties for improving defences and unloading convoys.

I regret to have to report that, owing to the unexpected heat, five cases of sunstroke occurred on the road. As fatigue-parties will be required again to-night for the completion of the dis-

¹ Not reprinted.

embarkation, I have decided to give the troops a rest to-morrow, and to advance at 3 A.M. on Wednesday, 12th instant.

March 11.—The cases of sunstroke among the Royal Highlanders turned out to be exceedingly slight. I have directed a mounted reconnaissance to be made to-morrow from the zeriba towards Osman Digna's camp. Another reconnaissance will be made to Suakin along the Berber road this day.—I have, &c.,

GERALD GRAHAM, Major-General,
Commanding Expeditionary Force.

APPENDIX VII.

BATTLE OF TAMAI, March 13, 1884.

Supplement to the 'London Gazette' of Tuesday, 1st April 1884.
Thursday, April 3, 1884.

CAMP, SUAKIN, *March 15, 1884.*

MY LORD,—By my last despatch, posted on 11th March, the operations of this army were related up to the morning of that day.

At 6 P.M. on the 11th instant the artillery and infantry advanced to Baker's zeriba, about $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles, reaching it about 10.30 P.M. There was a bright moon, and the night air soft and pleasant, so that the march did not distress the men, although it was hard work for the Naval Brigade.

The strength of the force was as follows:—

Royal Artillery—

6th Batt. 1st Brig. Scottish Division, 7-pr. Camel Battery under Major F. T. Lloyd—8 guns, 7 officers, 100 non-commissioned officers and men, with 66 camels, carrying 90 rounds per gun.

M Batt. 1st Brig., 9-pr. Battery under Major E. H. Holley—4 guns, 3 officers, 66 non-commissioned officers and men, with 52 mules, carrying 86 rounds per gun.

1st Infantry Brigade under Brigadier-General Sir Redvers Buller, V.C., K.C.M.G., C.B.:—

Royal Engineers under Major K. R. Todd, R.E.—5 officers, 57 non-commissioned officers and men.

3rd King's Royal Rifles—19 officers, 546 non-commissioned officers and men.

1st Gordon Highlanders—23 officers, 689 non-commissioned officers and men.

2nd Royal Irish Fusiliers—17 officers, 326 non-commissioned officers and men.

2nd Infantry Brigade, under Major-General J. Davis:—

1st Royal Highlanders (already in zeriba)—19 officers, 604 non-commissioned officers and men.

1st York and Lancaster—14 officers, 421 non-commissioned officers and men.

Royal Marine Artillery and Light Infantry—14 officers, 464 non-commissioned officers and men.

General total of force of Artillery and Infantry—116 officers and 3216 non-commissioned officers and men.

The troops left in camp and garrison at Suakin consisted of the Cavalry Brigade and Mounted Infantry under Brigadier-General H. Stewart, with orders to join Infantry early next morning, and of the following details left to protect camp and town:—

100 Royal Marines in the fort guarding the town, with 5 guns in position.

Sick and weakly men left in charge of the camp, the tents being left standing.

I appointed Lieut.-Colonel R. W. T. Gordon, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, Commandant of the Base, under the orders of Admiral Hewett.

At daybreak the Cavalry and Mounted Infantry watered at Suakin, and joined the force at Baker's zeriba about 7 A.M. Their strength was as follows:—

10th Hussars—16 officers, 235 non-commissioned officers and men.

19th Hussars—19 officers, 343 non-commissioned officers and men.

Mounted Infantry—6 officers, 118 non-commissioned officers and men.

Total mounted troops—41 officers, 696 non-commissioned officers and men.

On arrival I at once sent the Mounted Infantry to the front, accompanied by Colonel Ardagh as Intelligence officer.

About 10 A.M. it was reported to me that the enemy was in force some six miles distant. Accordingly I ordered the force

to advance as soon as the men had had their dinners, and got in movement about 1 P.M. The afternoon was hot, and frequent halts were necessary. About 5 P.M. the Cavalry scouts came in, and I received a report in writing from the officer that the enemy were advancing to attack in force. Accordingly I at once formed up the troops in a defensive position, on a favourable piece of ground having a clear space in front; and as there was now barely an hour of daylight left, I directed the Engineers and pioneers of Battalions to form a zeriba around the camp by cutting down the prickly mimosa bushes which grew plentifully about.

About 6 P.M. the Cavalry with Mounted Infantry were sent back to Baker's zeriba with instructions to bring in the convoy that had been previously signalled for.

About 6.30 P.M. this convoy arrived safely, consisting of 245 camels carrying two days' supplies of water for men, 4400 rations, forage for 1200 horses, and reserve ammunition.

Before this the enemy had fired a few rifle-shots at us and had shown in some numbers on a ridge about 1000 to 1200 yards distant. By way of checking this, and to show the power of our guns, I ordered out two of the 9-prs. under Major Holley, R.A., and fired four rounds of shrapnel, two of which burst with great accuracy. Captain Rolfe, R.N., also opened with a Gardner gun and the enemy disappeared.

About 10 P.M. Captain Rolfe informed me that he had just returned from an expedition to the front, where he had been to see the effect of our fire. He had found one or two dead bodies, and had come across some of the enemy's sentries fast asleep. Farther back the natives were shouting and dancing around fires.

About a quarter to one A.M. there was an alarm and the enemy opened a distant dropping fire, which continued throughout the night, causing but few casualties, but disturbing the men's rest.

I had two of the Naval Brigade's machine-guns run out, but as the range was (by interval between flash and sound) estimated at 1400 to 1500 yards, and no men showed themselves, it seemed to me better to treat the enemy's fire with silence, in preference to making an inefficient reply.

Our casualties were one man killed (York and Lancaster), one

officer and four men wounded, besides two camel-drivers and some horses struck.

About 7 A.M. the Cavalry arrived, and at 7.30 Brigadier-General Stewart ordered out the Mounted Infantry to feel the enemy.

There was a native with us who had lately been a prisoner in Osman Digna's camp, and who informed me that the bulk of their force would be in a deep khor, or dry water-course, the sides of which would serve as an intrenchment. I therefore directed the advance to be made to the left of this position, where the ground rose a little, and from whence I hoped to be able to sweep the ravine with artillery fire before attacking.

The advance was made by the two brigades in direct echelon of brigade squares from the left.

The 2nd Brigade was in the following formation: On the left flank, four Companies of 1st Royal Highlanders, in open column of companies; on front face, three Companies of 1st Royal Highlanders, and, at an interval of 30 yards, three Companies of 1st York and Lancaster; on right flank, three Companies of 1st York and Lancaster; the Royal Marines forming the rear face of the square. Inside the square were the guns of the Naval Brigade, ready to run out where required. The 9-pr. Battery, with transport animals, moved in rear of the right front of the square.

The 2nd Brigade advanced from the place of formation about half-past eight A.M., and, owing to some delay in getting the 1st Brigade forward, were somewhat farther in advance than I had intended when they first came in contact with the enemy.

This occurred about 9 A.M., when a large number suddenly appeared from the edge of a ravine in the immediate front of the Brigade. These were soon cleared—the Royal Highlanders distinguishing themselves by the gallant manner in which they cheered and charged up to the edge of the ravine; but at this moment a more formidable attack came from another direction, and a large body of natives, coming in one continuous stream, charged with reckless determination, utterly regardless of all loss, on the right-hand corner of the square formed by the 1st York and Lancaster. The Brigade fell back in disorder, and the enemy captured the guns of the Naval Brigade, which, however, were locked by officers and men, who stood by them to the last.

When first coming into action, the 9-pr. Battery of four guns, under Major Holley, R.A., had been ordered outside the square on the right flank, and when the disordered retirement took place in the 2nd Brigade, this battery was for a time unprotected by infantry, and exposed to the assault of the enemy, now coming on in crowds. Yet officers and men stood firmly to their guns, raking the advancing enemy with case, which told with deadly effect.

The 1st Brigade was attacked about the same time, but stood firm, and the Cavalry moved up to protect the flank of the 2nd Brigade, which was soon rallied, and advanced to retake the guns of the Naval Brigade.

The zeriba was also threatened, but the little garrison stood to its arms and drove the enemy back.

After this there was no more serious fighting, and the enemy retreated sullenly, making an occasional stand, towards the camp and village of Tamai, which was occupied by the 1st Brigade about 11.40 A.M., when I despatched a telegram to Admiral Hewett announcing the victory.

The 2nd Brigade held the heights above the springs where the Cavalry watered. Ambulances and mule cacolets were sent for to bring away the dead and wounded, all being brought into the zeriba occupied the previous night, where tents and all necessary medical requirements had already been brought up. The Cavalry returned to Baker's zeriba.

The night was undisturbed by any fire from the enemy, but voices were heard shouting and wailing from the battlefield.

On the morning of the 14th I sent the Cavalry on at once to the watering-place, where pickets of Mounted Infantry were posted on the heights. The enemy offered no opposition beyond sending a few dropping shots, which were replied to by selected marksmen.

The whole force was moved out except the Naval Brigade, and the 1st Infantry Brigade crowned the heights above Osman's camp and village, whilst a fatigue party were employed collecting the ammunition preparatory to firing the huts. An escaped Egyptian soldier, one of the garrison of Tokar, informed me of a gun being there, but only the carriage could be found, which was destroyed, together with large quantities of ammunition.

After the men's dinners the retirement commenced, the

cavalry going straight to Suakin, leaving only a squadron to cover the infantry, who marched to Baker's zeriba.

The advanced zeriba had been cleared, 200 sailors of the fleet, who had been promptly sent by Admiral Hewett, and two companies of the 1st Royal Highlanders, together with the ambulance and mule cacolets, being employed to carry the wounded.

On the 15th the whole force was again concentrated at Suakin.

In reviewing the operations of the force since landing at Suakin, I beg to record my opinion that the troops of all arms have behaved admirably.

There has been no crime and no grumbling, even all through the severe toil of the disembarkation, and of the march in the waterless desert. The absence of scares or panic among the troops during the nights, and especially their silence during the trying ordeal of a dropping fire on the night preceding the battle, all showed a sense of discipline and confidence worthy of the best troops. There was but a temporary check in one portion of the force during the action of Tamai, and for that many reasons can be given. At the moment of receiving the attack the front face of the square of the 2nd Brigade was slightly disordered, owing to the gallant rush of the Royal Highlanders in charging the enemy to the top of the ravine.

For this disorder I am to some extent personally responsible, as the charge took place under my eyes, and with my approval. My own observations of the attack were made from the right front angle, formed by the two half-battalions of the 1st York and Lancaster, where I posted myself as soon as I saw the enemy's attack, and it was here the first rush came.

It is the habit of these Arabs to attack the angles of squares, as they know the least fire can be brought to bear on them from these points.

As the 9-pr. Battery was on the right, the sailors' guns were on the left, but I at once sent for them to meet this attack from the right. The Arabs, however, gave no time for further arrangements, but, throwing themselves with desperate determination upon the angle of the square, broke it, carrying all before them. There were many attempted rallies among the York and Lancaster, and at one time I was almost sur-

rounded by the enemy, one of whom got over my horse's quarter.

In rear of the square were the Royal Marines, than whom there can be no finer troops, and on whom I had calculated as a reserve in the last emergency. Such, however, was the sudden nature of the disorder, and the impetuosity of the rush, that the Royal Marines were for a few minutes swept back, and mixed up in the general confusion.

Yet, I submit, there was no panic among the men; they had been surprised, attacked suddenly, and driven back by a fanatical and determined enemy, who came on utterly regardless of loss, and who were, as I have since learned, led by their bravest chiefs. As soon as the men had had time to think they rallied and re-formed. This check affected only the 2nd Brigade. The remainder of the force—the Cavalry, the Royal Artillery, and 1st Brigade—were firm and perfectly in hand; repulsing all attacks, and co-operating to assist the 2nd Brigade in driving back the enemy, who suffered tremendously for his temporary success, and never charged home again that day.

Our loss was very grievous, many brave men of the Royal Highlanders and York and Lancaster devoting themselves to certain death in noble efforts to maintain the honour of their regiments.

The Naval Brigade, too, fought desperately for their guns, three officers and seven men being killed beside them; but they did not abandon them till they were locked, so that the enemy could not turn them against us.

Many acts of the highest personal courage have come to my notice, and I propose bringing forward at a later period the names of officers and men who distinguished themselves on this occasion, and during the operations subsequent to the landing at Suakin.—I have, &c.,

GERALD GRAHAM, Major-General,
Commanding Expeditionary Force.

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APPENDIX VIII.

FINAL DESPATCH, 1884.

Supplement to the 'London Gazette' of Tuesday the 6th May.
Tuesday, May 6, 1884.

WAR OFFICE, May 6, 1884.

DESPATCHES, of which the following are copies, have been received by the Secretary of State for War:—

*From the General Officer Commanding in Egypt to the
Under-Secretary of State for War.*

HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
CAIRO, April 14, 1884.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward herewith by Captain Baynes, 1st Battalion Cameron Highlanders, who acted as Assistant Military Secretary to Major-General Sir Gerald Graham, V.C., K.C.B., during the late expedition, a despatch mentioning officers, non-commissioned officers, and men who have distinguished themselves during the late campaign in the Soudan.—I have, &c.,

FREDK. STEPHENSON, Lieutenant-General,
Commanding in Egypt.

ENCLOSURE.

*From Major-General Sir G. Graham, V.C., K.C.B., Commanding
Expeditionary Force, to Lieut.-General Stephenson, C.B., Com-
manding Troops in Egypt.*

SUAKIN, March 31, 1884.

SIR,—The military operations being now completed, I have

the honour to bring to your notice the names of officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the force under my command who have distinguished themselves during or in connection with these operations.

Staff.—I must record my thanks for the services rendered by the Staff, who are all good officers, carefully selected, and who all worked loyally and well.

The share of work that fell to the General Staff was heavy, and after Captain A. G. Wauchope was wounded at El Teb, Lieut.-Colonel R. W. T. Gordon was the only officer available for the duties of embarkation and disembarkation. When the base was changed from Trinkitat to Suakin, this work was proceeding at two ports at the same time, and on three occasions we advanced over 16 miles from our base—once over 20—and were dependent on large convoys for our supplies.

My Personal Staff consisted of Captain K. S. Baynes, Cameron Highlanders, Assistant Military Secretary; Lieutenant F. W. Romilly, Scots Guards; Lieutenant W. A. Scott, Cameron Highlanders; and Lieutenant C. G. Lindsay, R.N., H.M.S. Euryalus, Aides-de-Camp.

Where all worked so well it appears invidious to make distinctions; but I cannot help recording my sense of the zeal displayed by Captain Baynes, my Assistant Military Secretary, and of the ever-ready, intelligent activity shown by Lieutenant Lindsay, R.N., my Naval Aide-de-Camp, whose services were kindly placed at my disposal by Admiral Sir W. Hewett.

In my despatch of 3rd March I recorded my opinion of the value of Lieut.-Colonel C. F. Clery's services as Assistant Adjutant-General, and further experience has only served to confirm and deepen my sense of his worth. Conspicuous by a red coat, in a force where officers and men usually wore khaki, Lieut.-Colonel Clery could always be recognised from a distance, and when at any critical period I saw his red coat, I knew that there matters would be going well, or, if wrong, would soon be rectified, and turned my attention to another part of the field.

Brevet Lieut.-Colonel R. W. T. Gordon, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, D.A.A.G., has shown throughout his well-known devotion to duty, and his services as Staff Officer in disembarking and embarking troops at Trinkitat and Suakin were very valuable.

At El Teb Lieut.-Colonel Gordon was present on my Staff. During the advance on Tamai I required a thoroughly trustworthy officer at the base, and selected Lieut.-Colonel Gordon for that duty.

Captain A. G. Wauchope, C.M.G., Royal Highlanders, was severely wounded at El Teb. Both before and during the action—even after receiving his wound—he did good service, and would not go on the sick-list until compelled to do so.

Captain G. C. P. Williams-Freeman, Sussex Regiment, did service as Provost-Marshal to my satisfaction.

Lieutenant F. M. Beaumont, 3rd King's Royal Rifles, was in charge of Signallers, who proved most useful—I may say indispensable—in sending messages along the line of communications, and (in one instance) to the front.

In my previous despatch I brought to your notice the valuable services rendered by Brevet Lieut.-Colonel J. C. Ardagh, as head of the Intelligence Staff and as Commanding Royal Engineer. The following officers served in the Intelligence Department under Lieut.-Colonel Ardagh, C.B., R.E.: Major E. Wood, R.E.; Captain A. O. Green, R.E. (wounded at El Teb); Captain F. G. Slade, R.A.; Lieut.-Colonel H. E. Colville, Grenadier Guards. All these officers have rendered most valuable services during the operations, having shown great zeal, energy, and capacity for work, combined with thorough technical knowledge in carrying out the important duties of collecting information, surveying, making reconnaissances, &c.

In my previous despatch of 3rd March I mentioned the services rendered by General Baker, and I must beg to bring to notice the coolness and gallantry of Colonel Burnaby, Royal Horse Guards, who was attached to the Intelligence Department during the first part of the operations, and who, although severely wounded at El Teb, continued to do duty until the end of the action.

The officers under Lieut.-Colonel Ardagh were frequently employed on General Staff duties in addition to their special work in the Intelligence Department. Major Wood rendered good service in charge of water-supply; Captain Slade in scouting and leading troops, &c., also did duty as Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General at the action of Tamai.

Sergeant - Major Burke, Military Police, displayed great steadiness and coolness when under fire. He carried the headquarters flag, which he made as conspicuous as possible, and also rendered good service throughout the operations in camp duties. Sergeant Sherwood, of the Signalling Department, is also favourably mentioned for zeal and efficiency.

Cavalry Brigade.—The Cavalry Brigade was commanded by Brigadier-General H. Stewart, C.B., A.D.C., who has shown all the qualifications of a good leader of cavalry, being cool and daring, or cautious, as required in action, also skilful and careful in reconnaissance and outpost duties.

Brigadier-General Stewart speaks highly of the services rendered by Lieut.-Colonel A. M. Taylor, 19th Hussars, Brigade Major, and by Lieutenant F. W. Rhodes, of the 1st Royal Dragoons, Aide-de-Camp.

10th Hussars.—Brevet-Colonel E. A. Wood, who commanded the 10th Hussars, is an excellent cavalry officer, as evinced by the energy and ability with which he equipped his splendid regiment from local sources, so as to make it fit to take the field, and by the manner he handled it in action. Brigadier-General Stewart reports Colonel Wood as having rendered him invaluable assistance. Lieut.-Colonel R. S. Liddell and Major H. S. Gough have also done good service.

I regret to have had as yet no report from Colonel Wood of the non-commissioned officers and men of the 10th Hussars who distinguished themselves.

19th Hussars.—Lieut.-Colonel A. G. Webster commanded the 19th Hussars, and gave every assistance in his power to secure the success of the Brigade.

Lieut.-Colonel P. H. S. Barrow, C.M.G., 19th Hussars, is a most valuable officer, and his leading of the second line at El Teb, until he was wounded, is reported by Brigadier-General Stewart as beyond praise.

Captain C. B. H. Jenkins took command of the left wing after Colonel Barrow was wounded. He led the first squadron in the charge, and was personally engaged with three of the enemy at one time, and his horse was wounded in three places with assegais. By his gallantry and conduct this officer set a good example to all under his command.

Regimental Sergeant-Major Lima and Quartermaster-Sergeant

Marshall, 19th Hussars, set a good example of coolness and courage. The latter is mentioned for his devotion shown in saving the life of Colonel Barrow when that officer was wounded, and I beg to enclose evidence¹ respecting this non-commissioned officer's conduct on this occasion, which, I submit, should place him among the candidates for the Victoria Cross.

Sergeant Phipps, who was twice badly wounded, refused to leave the field, and remained with his troop till he fainted from loss of blood.

Troop Sergeant-Major Taylor, Sergeant Fenton, and Private Bosely, 19th Hussars, are also favourably mentioned for gallantry.

Mounted Infantry.—The Mounted Infantry was most efficiently handled on all occasions by Lieutenant and local Captain H. Humphreys, the Welsh Regiment. Brigadier-General Stewart reports of this officer that he cannot speak of him too highly. He was ably assisted by Lieutenant C. H. Payne of the 1st Gordon Highlanders.

All ranks of the Mounted Infantry displayed great coolness and readiness under fire.

In a letter marked "B" attached,¹ Brigadier-General Stewart mentions the gallant conduct of Lieutenant P. S. Marling, 3rd King's Royal Rifles, of the Mounted Infantry, whom he recommends for the distinction of the Victoria Cross.

Privates George Hunter, 3rd King's Royal Rifles, and Joseph Clift, Sussex Regiment, are mentioned for gallantry and devotion at Tamai on 13th March 1884.

Royal Artillery.—The Royal Artillery at El Teb consisted of eight 7-pr. naval guns with camel transport, and were commanded by Major F. T. Lloyd, an officer whose professional knowledge, energy, and judgment have been most valuable.

On return to Suakin four 9-pr. guns were equipped as a mule battery by M Battery, 1st Brigade, Royal Artillery, commanded by Major E. H. Holley, R.A. Major Lloyd specially mentions Major Holley for the ability and energy with which he equipped this 9-pr. battery, entirely from naval sources, for the field, under exceptionally difficult circumstances. These guns were of great service, and Major Holley has proved himself an excellent artillery officer in the field.

¹ Not reprinted.

Captain J. H. Wodehouse, R.A., of the Egyptian army, who was attached to the Camel Battery, made himself conspicuous by his energy and ability.

Surgeon T. R. Lucas, A.M.D., and Veterinary-Surgeon Beech are also favourably mentioned.

Major Lloyd brings specially to my notice the conduct of Gunner W. Hanson, of M Battery, 1st Brigade, Royal Artillery, at the action of Tamai, who, when the enemy made a rush upon his gun, knocked down one of them with his rammer, thereby saving the life of a comrade.

In my despatch of the 3rd March I have referred to the cool deliberation and remarkable efficiency with which the 7-pr. naval guns were worked at El Teb by the 6th Battery, 1st Brigade, Scottish Royal Artillery, when opposed to the heavier Krupp guns of the enemy. These guns advanced with the Infantry, and sustained several of the enemy's desperate charges. On one occasion those brave blacks succeeded, in spite of a storm of fire from artillery and infantry, in charging up to the guns and penetrating among the gun detachments.

One was knocked down by Gunner Isaac Phipps with a rammer, another by Gunner James Adam with a blow on the face from a round of case which he was carrying in his hand, and a third was shot by Bombardier Treadwell with a revolver. At Tamai, on 13th March, the 7-pr. Camel Battery was attached to the 1st Brigade, and did good service at close range with case on the enemy. In this action M Battery, 1st Brigade, of four 9-prs., distinguished itself by the steady way in which it stood and plied the enemy with case during the attack on the 2nd Brigade, although during the retirement there was no infantry to protect it.

Royal Engineers.—The Royal Engineers have worked to my entire satisfaction throughout the expedition.

On them devolved the arduous duties connected with the disembarkation and water-supply. They had also to provide for intrenching the depots at Fort Baker and El Teb. This work had to be undertaken with a very insufficient engineer force and equipment, a portion of the latter having been lost in the Neera.

The 26th Company numbered in all on disembarkation, 5 officers and 86 non-commissioned officers and men, of whom 26

were drivers, leaving only about 50 artificers available for works and camp duties. •

The officers and men worked with the greatest zeal.

Major K. R. Todd made excellent arrangements for supplying the deficiencies in materials, and Captain J. F. Dorward showed great practical ability in the construction of jetties, &c., and the other officers all had hard work and did good service.

Major Todd brings specially to my notice the following non-commissioned officers and men of 26th Company, R.E., for zeal and efficiency in their work, particularly in the construction of piers, which exposed them to great fatigue and to blistering by the sun while working naked in the water—viz., Second Corporals Bruce and Martin, Lance-Corporal Jones, Sappers Brown and Kirwan.

1st Infantry Brigade.—The 1st Infantry Brigade was commanded by Brigadier-General Sir Redvers Buller, V.C., K.C.M.G., C.B., A.D.C., who, by his coolness in action, his knowledge of soldiers, and experience in the field, combined with his great personal ascendancy over officers and men, has been most valuable.

Besides the ordinary command of his brigade, Brigadier-General Buller was in charge, as senior military officer, of the re-embarkation at Trinkitat, a laborious and responsible duty, which he performed to my entire satisfaction.

Brigadier-General Buller reports that he has received every assistance from his Staff: Captain W. F. Kelly, Sussex Regiment, Brigade Major; and Lieutenant J. T. St Aubyn, Grenadier Guards, Aide-de-Camp. Captain Kelly was severely contused by a spent case-shot at El Teb, but remained at his duties.

King's Royal Rifles.—The 3rd Battalion of the King's Royal Rifles was commanded by Colonel Sir Cromer Ashburnham, K.C.B., A.D.C., an officer of well-tryed capacity for leading troops in the field.

At El Teb the 3rd King's Royal Rifles were in reserve, but at Tamai they assisted in repulsing the attack of the enemy on the 1st Brigade, and delivered their fire with great coolness and steadiness. •

The names of the following officers are submitted for favourable notice: Lieut.-Colonel W. L. K. Ogilvy and Major E. L. Fraser.

Sir Cromer Ashburnham has also submitted to me that No. 2213, Sergeant William Nix, is deserving of notice for his conduct in action.

1st Gordon Highlanders.—The 1st Gordon Highlanders were commanded by Lieut. - Colonel D. Hammill, C.B., and showed great steadiness on all occasions.

Colonel Hammill mentions Major A. E. Cross and Captain J. J. B. Menzies as having specially distinguished themselves.

Private Daniel M'Pherson received a spear wound in the face at El Teb, and after being taken to hospital was, at his own urgent request, allowed to march with his battalion next morning to Tokar.

2nd Royal Irish Fusiliers.—The 2nd Royal Irish Fusiliers were commanded by Lieut. - Colonel B. S. Robinson, and were conspicuous for steadiness in formation during action, and for good discipline on the march.

Captain J. Gordon performed duty as major at the action of Tamai, and commanded the Battalion during the advance on Tamanieb, when the senior officers of the Battalion were on the sick-list; and I beg to recommend this officer to your notice for the zeal and ability displayed by him.

Captain and Adjutant C. R. Rogers is also favourably mentioned; and Surgeon J. Pedlow, A.M.D., showed great devotion to duty.

2nd Infantry Brigade.—The 2nd Infantry Brigade was commanded by Major-General J. Davis, who has done his utmost to preserve steadiness and good discipline on all occasions.

Major-General Davis, as senior military officer, superintended the disembarkations at Trinkitat and at Suakin, both which operations were very successfully carried out.

2nd Brigade Staff.—Major-General Davis wishes to bring to notice his Staff—Captain T. B. Hitchcock, Shropshire Light Infantry, Brigade Major; and Lieutenant C. C. Douglas, Scottish Rifles, Aide-de-Camp.

1st Royal Highlanders.—The 1st Royal Highlanders were commanded by Lieut. - Colonel W. Green, whom I noticed exerting himself to keep order and discipline at both the actions of El Teb and Tamai.

In my despatch of the 2nd March I referred to the 1st Royal Highlanders as having been somewhat out of hand at El Teb by

their over-eagerness to fire on the enemy. I have now, however, the satisfaction of reporting that since that action this fine battalion has shown an excellent spirit, and a determination to prove itself worthy of the high reputation earned by a century and a half of splendid service in all parts of the world.

At Tamai the Black Watch charged most gallantly, only fell back when forced to do so, losing more men in close fighting than any other battalion, and rallying to a man when the opportunity offered.

The following officers have been specially brought to my notice for coolness and gallantry in action: Major C. J. Eden, Captain N. W. Brophy, and Lieutenant Norman MacLeod.

Surgeon F. H. Treherne is specially mentioned for attention to the wounded in action.

The following non-commissioned officers and men have been specially noticed—viz., Sergeant J. Sutherland, Private Henry Shires, and Drummer Henry Mumford, for distinguished coolness, and for encouraging their comrades at Tamai.

Hospital Sergeant W. Davidson is mentioned for his devotion in attending to the wounded in action.

Private Thomas Edwards especially distinguished himself in defence of one of the naval guns at Tamai.

Commander Rolfe, in a letter marked "C" annexed,¹ states that he saw Private Edwards beside the gun, with Lieutenant Almack, R.N., and a bluejacket. "Both the latter were killed, and Edwards, after bayoneting two Arabs, receiving a cut on the knuckles from a spear, rejoined the ranks." I beg to concur in Colonel Green's recommendation of Private Edwards for the Victoria Cross.

1st York and Lancaster.—The 1st York and Lancaster were commanded by Lieut.-Colonel W. Byam. This fine battalion of seasoned soldiers only landed on the evening of our march to Fort Baker on the 28th February. During the action on the 29th February, in which they took a prominent share, being in the fighting line, the York and Lancaster gave me great satisfaction by their steadiness, and by the firmness with which they met and repulsed the charges of the enemy. When advancing on the first battery captured, Captain H. C. T. Littledale rushed in front of his company and had a hand-to-hand

¹ Not reprinted.

encounter with several of the enemy. He was knocked down, receiving a severe spear wound in the left shoulder, but was rescued by his men coming up. He then rose, and although bleeding profusely, continued to lead his company throughout the engagement. Major R. W. Dalgety, although injured by the fragments of a shell at El Teb, continued to lead his men, and at Tamai displayed the utmost gallantry in rallying his men until severely wounded.

Several other officers distinguished themselves at El Teb, and especially at Tamai. Among them was Quartermaster F. H. Mahony, who also attended to the supply of ammunition, and proved himself a very efficient officer.

Of the non-commissioned officers and rank and file the following are mentioned by their Commanding Officer as distinguished for gallantry at El Teb: Colour-Sergeant Wake (badly wounded), Colour-Sergeant Hayward, Sergeant Doyle, Sergeant Webb, Lance-Sergeants Haycock and James, Corporals Baxter and Dossett; also Privates Edwards and Callanan, who were both killed.

Sergeant Howell and Private P. Foy are also mentioned for their coolness and gallantry at Tamai.

It is on occasions of repulse and retreat, such as that which temporarily befell the 2nd Brigade at Tamai, that the individual efforts of officers and men show most clearly and are of greatest value, and it is on this account that I have so many names to mention in the two leading battalions of the 2nd Brigade, the 1st Royal Highlanders and 1st York and Lancaster. The men who died, nobly doing their duty to the last, I submit, also deserve the tribute of having their names recorded.

The 1st Royal Highlanders lost a good officer in Major W. Aitken, who had been previously mentioned for his gallantry at El Teb, and who fell fighting bravely at Tamai. With him fell Sergeant Ronald Fraser and Lance-Corporal Percy Finlay, who nobly went back to assist their officer. Colour-Sergeant Michael Johnston and Sergeant William Campbell, and many others, all of the Royal Highlanders, were seen bravely fighting to the last.

One officer and 15 men of the 1st York and Lancaster were killed at the right front corner of the square, where the storm first burst upon them. These men, as Lieut.-Colonel Byam

(who was himself in the thick of it) reports, "stood their ground and would not be forged back." Their bodies were afterwards picked up on the margin of the ravine where they fell.

Their names are: Captain C. W. Ford, Corporal W. Maynard, Lance-Corporal R. Mayors, Privates W. Webb, J. Richards, J. Roy, S. Le Blancq, G. Higginson, W. West, J. Brophy, R. Cripps, I. Hope, P. Molloy, J. Pilbeam, C. Read, C. Rookyard.

Royal Marines.—The Royal Marines, under Colonel H. B. Tuson, C.B., A.D.C., Royal Marine Artillery, were in the fighting line at El Teb, and by their steadiness and gallantry contributed largely to the success of that day's operations. At Tamai they were in the square of the 2nd Brigade, and assisted in forming the rallying line.

Brevet-Major W. G. Tucker, Royal Marine Artillery, showed great readiness and intelligence in at once turning the captured Krupp guns, taken in the first position at El Teb, on the enemy's remaining battery, thereby facilitating the advance of the infantry.

Staff-Surgeon Martin, R.N., is favourably mentioned for attention to wounded in the field.

The following officers, non-commissioned officers, and men have been specially brought to my notice: Major G. H. T. Colwell, R.M.L.I.; Surgeon Cross; Sergeant-Major J. Hurst, and Privates Birstwhistle and Yerbury, R.M.L.I., H.M.S. Temeraire; Privates F. Patterson, J. Davis, D. Brady, and Gunners Rolf and A. Bretwell, R.M.A. •

Army Medical Department.—The Army Medical Department, under Deputy Surgeon-General E. G. M'Dowell, was most ably administered, and the wants of the wounded carefully provided for and promptly attended to.

As soon as we were in possession of the position at El Teb on the 29th February, about 4.25 P.M., I signalled to Fort Baker, at the instance of Deputy Surgeon-General M'Dowell, for tents, medical comforts, &c., to be sent on immediately.

As mules had been kept ready laden, the convoy, under Surgeon J. Prendergast, arrived at 6 P.M., and the serious cases were at once placed under cover for the night.

Additional blankets were provided for the slighter cases, which were kept in the open.

Immediately after the action Surgeon-Major B. B. Connolly,

who was Principal Medical Officer of the Cavalry Brigade, by my orders took out eight mule cacolets with a cavalry escort, and proceeded over the ground where the cavalry had charged, to make sure that no wounded were left, and, as far as possible, to bring in the dead.

After the action of Tamai the wounded were at once brought into the zeriba and promptly attended to. As the Surgeon-General remarks in his report, "Though many of the wounded had injuries of the severest form, still we had no deaths from hæmorrhage, a fact which exhibits in the strongest light the skill and attention of the Medical Officers working under the most trying circumstances."

The following Medical Officers are especially brought to your notice for their care and attention to their important duties in the field on the occasion of the actions at El Teb and Tamai: Surgeon-Major W. D. Wilson, Principal Medical Officer of the Infantry Brigade; Surgeon-Major B. B. Connolly, Principal Medical Officer of the Cavalry Brigade; Surgeon J. Prendergast, who was badly wounded while attending a wounded man at Tamai; Surgeon-Major W. A. Catherwood, Principal Medical Officer at the Base; and Surgeon-Major J. J. Greene, at El Teb. Surgeon-Major W. Venour had charge of the sick on hospital ship at the base (H.M.S. Jumna), and, assisted by a Detachment of the Army Hospital Corps, made every possible provision for the care of the wounded on their passage to Suez.

I also beg to bring to your notice the services rendered by the Army Hospital Corps. Quartermaster Enright, Army Hospital Corps, is reported as having carried out his duties with indefatigable energy and devotion.

Staff-Sergeants Clarke and Genese, also Sergeant A. G. Chalk (whose leg was broken by a fall from a mule), are favourably mentioned.

The names given are of officers whose conduct came most prominently to notice, but all the Medical Officers attached to the force have contributed to the excellent results attained.

Commissariat and Transport Corps.—The Commissariat and Transport Department, under Assistant Commissary-General R. A. Nugent, have given me very great satisfaction by the indefatigable zeal and intelligence with which they have worked to bring up supplies to the front. The task before this depart-

ment was a very difficult one. The supply of food, water, and ammunition, in a waterless country with no roads, required a good organisation, abundant means of transport, and great energy in working it. The water transport alone required incessant watching, as many of the skins supplied from stores were found to leak so much as to be worthless. Fortunately Egyptian camel-tanks had been brought, and the navy furnished some breakers. The greatest vigilance had to be exercised to prevent the native camel-drivers and soldiers from drinking and wasting the water on the road. The storage of the water at the base, and at the advanced depot or zeribas, was of vital importance. Here again the navy came to our assistance with empty barrels and large canvas tanks, which latter proved invaluable.

I must, in connection with this subject, acknowledge my sense of the great service rendered to the expedition by Mr Crook, Chief Engineer of H.M.S. Euryalus, and those under him.

Nothing could exceed the ability and devotion with which Assistant Commissary-General Nugent threw himself into his work, and he was ably supported by those under him, who literally worked night and day when the service required it. I must especially mention Deputy Assistant Commissary-Generals M. E. R. Rainsford and G. V. Hamilton, who proved themselves most valuable officers.

Major J. F. Forster, Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry; Lieutenant C. C. Turner, Shropshire Light Infantry; and Lieutenant R. L. Bower, 3rd King's Royal Rifles, employed in transport duties, and Conductor Hickie, also deserve mention for their zeal and energy.

Ordnance Store Department.—The Ordnance Store Department, under Assistant Commissary-General of Ordnance H. J. Mills, has worked most satisfactorily. The supplies of reserve ammunition have come up without any delay. The organisation for storage and transport was good, while officers and men worked hard to meet all requirements. I have especially to bring to notice Deputy Assistant Commissary-General of Ordnance E. Houghton, for his zeal and intelligence.

Army Chaplains.—I have to record my sense of the services of the Army Chaplains attached to the force.

The following Chaplains, the Revs. G. Smith, Church of England; J. M'Taggart, Presbyterian; and R. Brindle, Roman

Catholic, were present in the field, and assiduous in their attention to the wounded.

The Rev. J. Webster, Wesleyan, also accompanied the expedition.

Army Veterinary Department.—The duties of the Veterinary Department were satisfactorily carried on by Principal Veterinary-Surgeon C. Clayton and those under him.

Army Pay Department.—The Army Pay Department was well administered by Major R. B. Farwell.

I have also to express my thanks to Mr Wyld (now at the head of the police of Suakin) for the services rendered by him to the expedition when giving information as to the locality, and when in charge of the Abyssinian Scouts on the 12th and 13th of March.

Naval Brigade.—In my previous despatch I have already mentioned the splendid services of the Naval Brigade.

At El Teb they fought under the eyes of their Admiral, who accompanied the force into the field, and cheerfully bore his share of danger when the square came under fire.

With Admiral Hewett was Captain Wilson, commanding H.M.S. Hecla, who was not content with the position of a spectator, but took such an active share in the defence of the sailors' guns in a hand-to-hand combat, that I have in my report to the Admiral recommended this officer for the distinction of the Victoria Cross.

The Naval Brigade suffered severely in the actions of El Teb and Tamai. Lieutenant Royds (a most promising officer, since dead) was dangerously wounded at El Teb, and, by the direction of the Admiral, Surgeon Grinlette, R.N., and twelve men were told off to carry Lieutenant Royds back to the fleet.

Those men, who had been previously dragging their guns over heavy ground and then through the three hours' fight, arrived with their wounded officer about eleven o'clock that night at Trinkitat. So anxious were they not to miss the advance on Tokar that they started off again at about 4 o'clock the next morning, arriving at El Teb in good time to take their share in the severe toils of that day.

This is merely an illustration of the gallant spirit that animated the whole Naval Brigade from its commander to the last man.

I beg to be allowed to express my high admiration, and that of the force I have had the honour to command, at the thoroughly cordial co-operation of the Royal Navy throughout the expedition. Nothing could exceed the courtesy and readiness of Admiral Sir W. Hewett to meet all our requirements, and the work of loading and unloading the ships under Captain Andoe, R.N., proceeded smoothly and swiftly, the officers and men of both services working cordially together.

I beg to attach to this despatch a letter received from Admiral Sir W. Hewett (see enclosure marked D), in reply to one of mine thanking him for the great services rendered by the Royal Navy to the expedition.

In concluding this despatch, I wish to express my deep sense of the admirable spirit in which the duties that have fallen to the officers and men have been carried out during this short but arduous campaign.

The shifting of the base from Trinkitat to Suakin entailed severe fatigues and labours, as, owing to the dangerous character of the coast, ships could only move by day; and the time at my disposal being short, it was necessary to hurry on the operation of embarking and disembarking men, horses, camels, stores, &c., so that the work had to be carried on day and night. Officers and men understood this, and worked cheerfully. They also bore the toils and privations of long marches in the desert, under a burning sun, with a necessarily short supply of water.

On the night preceding the action at Tamai there was little sleep, as the enemy were firing on us continuously from past midnight to dawn. This, too, was borne silently and without flinching.

As regards strength and endurance, I beg to point to the remarkably low sick-rate (less than 2 per cent), and to the fact that not one man was lost by sickness.

The distances marched under a burning sun were also creditable. On the return from Tokar to Trinkitat the distance marched was about 16 miles, and the two return marches to Suakin from the front were about the same distance. On all these occasions the troops marched in easily, with scarcely a man falling out, though there were many cases of blistered feet from the burning sand.

It is true that many men were prostrated by the intense heat during the march out on the first day of the last advance, yet the same men, with few exceptions, advanced cheerfully the next day towards Tamanieb.

Late that afternoon I had to call up the Royal Highlanders and Royal Rifles in expectation of resistance, and the men marched cheerily to the sound of song and pipe, not a man falling out when the next move was to bring them in presence of the enemy.

This could not have been accomplished without a thoroughly sound system of interior economy in the regiments, battalions, and corps composing the force; and the greatest credit is due to the regimental officers who kept their men in such a high state of efficiency. Considering the way in which the hardships were borne and the obstacles overcome, also that the foe was far from being a despicable one, it is in no spirit of boasting I venture to submit that, although containing many young soldiers in the ranks, and although hurriedly got together, partly composed of troops on passage home from India, who had to be equipped from local sources, the force sent on this expedition has shown itself worthy of the British army.—I have, &c.,

G. GRAHAM, Major-General,
Commanding Expeditionary Force.

ENCLOSURE D.

*From Rear-Admiral Sir William Hewett, to Major-General
Sir G. Graham, Commanding Expeditionary Force.*

H.M.S. EURYALUS, SUAKIN, 21st March 1884.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of yesterday's date, and in reply thereto I need hardly tell you what deep gratification it has afforded me to hear of the high praise which you accord to the officers and men of the Royal Navy; and although we have suffered the loss of some gallant officers and men, I rest satisfied that the example of their devotion can never be lost to our service, accompanied by such a tribute as you have deemed fit to pay them.

Allow me, sir, to express to you how I have esteemed the value of your cordial co-operation with me at all times; and from my experience of, I may now say, many campaigns, it is only another instance which shows what thorough cordiality exists between army and navy, and so long as that continues we may look for similar success to that your forces have obtained here.—I have, &c.,

W. HEWETT, Rear-Admiral.

APPENDIX IX.

ACTION AT HASHIN, March 20, 1885.

Printed in Parliamentary Papers, Egypt, No. 9 (1885), C 4345, No. 57.

Lieut.-General Sir G. Graham to the Marquis of Hartington.

(Received March 20.)

(*Telegraphic.*)

HASHIN, 20th March 1885.

MOVED out from camp 6.15, leaving Shropshire and details as guards. Reached first hill 8.20. Enemy retired and occupied other hill one mile and a quarter distant. After short halt, ordered Berkshire and Marines to clear high isolated hill; Indian Contingent and Guards in support. This was done very effectually. Enemy, being driven off ridge, streamed away south towards Tamai, and were charged by two squadrons Indian Lancers in bush. Cavalry retired on Guards. Many of enemy passed Guards at foot of hill and made for hill west of Hashin valley, and were shelled by Royal Horse Artillery. Other parties moving round our right were engaged in bush by 5th Lancers. Meanwhile zeriba, with four intrenched posts on hill commanding it, is being formed.

Advanced troops have all returned to this position, and will return to camp, leaving East Surrey and two Krupp guns, four Gardners, water-tanks, and signal appliances at intrenched position.

Killed.—Scots Guards: Captain M. D. D. Dalison, Private Ashley. 5th Lancers: Troop Sergeant-Major Nicholls, Private Edwards. 9th Bengal Lancers: 1 non-commissioned officer 4 sowars.

Wounded.—Surgeon-Major Lane, Army Medical Staff, severely; Scots Guards, 6 men; Coldstream, 8 men; Grenadiers, 8 men; Berkshire, 2 men; 5th Lancers, Major A. B. Harvey severely, 2 men slightly; 9th Bengal Cavalry, Major Robertson severely, 7 sowars; 15th Sikhs, 1 man; 70th Sikhs, 2 men.

Infantry behaved with great steadiness. Strength of enemy estimated 4000. Loss unknown, but considerable.

Printed in Parliamentary Papers, Egypt, No. 13 (1885), C 4392, No. 27, &c.

Lieut.-General Sir G. Graham to the Marquis of Hartington.
(Received April 14.)

SUAKIN, *March 21, 1885.*

MY LORD,—In amplification of my telegrams, I have the honour to report that on the 19th instant I executed a reconnaissance on Hashin (distant about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Suakin) with the Cavalry Brigade, G Battery, B Brigade, Royal Horse Artillery, and the Mounted Infantry. The Indian Contingent moved out in support.

Having previously inspected the whole force drawn up in line to the south of the West Redoubt, I advanced with the Cavalry Brigade, the Indian Contingent following.

My orders to the force were to reconnoitre as far as the village of Hashin, examine the wells there, and avoid an engagement, if possible.

The enemy, in small force, were seen occupying the first hills A, B, C, D [See plan] [See plate IV.], but fell back before us. Their scouts on these hills and on both flanks appeared to fall back on the main body at Hashin, and the whole force then retreated westwards up the Hashin valley, one party, however, appearing to move round the west side of Dihilibat Hill.

Hashin village was reached about 9.40 A.M., and found to consist of about thirty mat-huts. The latter had been recently occupied, but were cleared out. Three Remington rifles and a few cartridges only were found.

There appeared to be two wells in which the water-level is about 10 feet below the ground, and the depth 7 feet. The

water is reported to be good. The Hashin wells appear to have been comparatively recently sunk to meet the requirements of the enemy's occupation of this position.

During the cavalry advance the enemy showed in small groups of about ten men each, mounted on camels, and evidently acting as vedettes to a larger force.

The enemy occupied the top of Dihilibat Hill, and fired occasionally upon my cavalry, and a small party charged down the hill upon a patrol of the 20th Hussars. One private of this regiment was killed and a sergeant wounded.

Lieutenant Birch of the Mounted Infantry behaved with great courage. Having mounted one of the spurs of the Dihilibat Hill in order to obtain a better view, he found himself suddenly attacked by five or six of the enemy and forced to defend himself alone, in doing which he was wounded.

At 10.15 A.M. I ordered a retirement, the Horse Artillery taking up a position on the low hill A to cover the movement, and the force returned to camp about 12.30 P.M. On my retirement the enemy reoccupied the hills A, B, C, D.

The Indian Brigade, which had advanced about 3 miles towards Hashin in support of the Cavalry, returned to camp previously.

The whole country is covered with dense mimosa scrub from 6 feet to 8 feet in height. Beyond the first hills A, B, C, D, and up the Hashin valley, this scrub is even more thick. This scrub renders it impossible to follow the movements of an enemy on foot, who can conceal himself perfectly within a short distance of our vedettes.

I have selected a position on the hills B, C, D, F, which I shall occupy to-morrow night with the East Surrey Regiment, two Krupp field-guns, and some Gardner machine-guns.

On the 20th instant I moved out to Hashin with the whole force, except the Shropshire Regiment and details left as camp guard, my object being to occupy the hills B, C, D, F, with defensive posts, and to establish a zeriba at E. The position proposed for occupation was required in order to protect my right flank in the impending advance on Tamai, to obtain a post of observation near to the mountains, and to assist in overawing the tribes.

The Cavalry moved off at about 6.10 A.M., the Infantry following at 6.25 A.M., in the following order: The Guards, in column

of companies, on the right; the 2nd Brigade (East Surrey Regiment and Marines), in line of company columns of fours; the Indian Brigade, in column of companies, on the left; the Horse Artillery Battery on the right of the line. The water-camels and transport animals followed in rear of the 2nd Brigade.

The advance was made in a direction nearly due west, and the first halt took place from 7.45 A.M. to 8.5 A.M. The Infantry reached the foot of the hills A, B, F, at about 8.25 A.M. The 17th and 24th Companies Royal Engineers, the Madras Sappers, and the 70th East Surrey Regiment were ordered to commence work at once.

The enemy had fallen back on Dihilibat and the Beehive Hill, exchanging shots with my advanced guard at about 8 A.M.

I now determined to clear these hills, and gave orders to the Infantry to advance in the following order:—

2nd Brigade in first line, Indian Contingent in support, Guards in reserve; the Horse Artillery to take up a position on Beehive Hill—H.

At about 9 A.M. the force had reached the foot of Dihilibat Hill.

The Berkshire Regiment advanced up the steep slopes of the Dihilibat Hill in attack formation, with one half-battalion Royal Marine Light Infantry on the right rear, and the other half-battalion in rear of the centre of the Berkshire Regiment as supports.

The ascent was very steep and difficult, but the first spur J was occupied without opposition. This spur is separated from the main ridge by a deep ravine. The enemy now, however, opened a heavy fire from the summit K and from a position farther to the right. The Berkshire Regiment replied by volleys, and the half-battalion of Marines, on the right, was advanced to flank the enemy's position. The enemy then abandoned their position, and the Berkshire Regiment advanced to the summit K, and detached one company to a spur on the left, from which an effective fire was opened upon the retiring enemy.

Meanwhile the Indian Brigade had taken up a position between the foot of Dihilibat and the Beehive Hill, H—as shown on plan attached. The Guards also were formed up near the foot of the north-east spur of Dihilibat Hill.

The Horse Artillery, which moved out with the Guards Brigade as far as the first hill, received orders to follow the

Indian Brigade in its farther advance, and to take up a position on Beehive Hill. While passing under the hill Dihilibat they were heavily fired upon, losing two horses." The slopes of Beehive Hill proving impracticable for the guns, the battery, after firing a few rounds of shrapnel into the bush, detached three guns to a position on a low spur to the west of Beehive Hill, where they remained in action for some time shelling parties of the enemy, who were visible across the valley on the spurs of the Waratab range.

The battery subsequently retired with the Guards' Square and took up a position on the hill A. Here several rounds were fired, subsequent to the retirement of the infantry, at parties of the enemy which appeared on the low spur L.

At about 9.40 A.M. two squadrons of the 9th Bengal Cavalry were detached by Colonel Ewart, Commanding Cavalry Brigade, to pursue the enemy, who, driven from the hill Dihilibat by the Berkshire Regiment, were retiring south in the direction of Tamai.

Colonel Ewart¹ ordered two squadrons to dismount and fire volleys. These squadrons were charged by the enemy in considerable strength, and retired with loss on the square formed by the Guards at the foot of the Dihilibat Hill.

During the morning the 5th Lancers were employed in securing the right front. At about 10.45 a considerable force of the enemy endeavoured to advance down the Hashin valley from the north-west, apparently attempting to turn my right flank. Both the 5th Lancers and a portion of the 9th Bengal Cavalry were engaged with the small advanced parties of this force, and succeeded in checking the movement.

During this time work was carried on by the Royal Engineers and Madras Sappers, assisted by parties of the East Surrey Regiment, and by about 2.30 P.M. four strong posts, B, C, D, F, had been formed and a seriba commenced at E.

At 12.25 I recalled the Indian Brigade, the Berkshire Regiment and the Marines covering the movement. The latter

¹ On 10th May Sir Gerald Graham requested that this paragraph might be modified to read as follows: "Colonel Ewart ordered part of one of these squadrons to dismount and fire volleys. These squadrons were, in turn, attacked by the enemy in considerable strength, and retired, not without some loss, on the square formed by the Guards at the foot of Dihilibat Hill." (See Parl. Papers, Egypt, No. 18, 1885, C 4598.)

then joined the Indian Brigade, and, forming a single square, retired to the more open ground south of the hill A. The Guards' Square and the Artillery remained at the foot of the Dihilibat Hill till 1 P.M., and then retired, taking a direction somewhat to the south of that followed by the 2nd and Indian Brigades.

During the retirement of the Guards the right face of the square received a hot fire from parties of the enemy concealed among the bushes, and suffered some loss. By firing steady volleys into the bush the enemy's fire was effectually silenced, and the brigade halted close to the south foot of the hill A.

The general retirement of the whole force began about 4.30 P.M., and the camp was reached at 6.15.

The conduct of the force was satisfactory in all respects. The Dihilibat Hill was carried by the Berkshire Regiment with the greatest spirit, and the behaviour of the Guards' square under a heavy fire from an unseen enemy was marked by extreme steadiness.

During the formation of the fortified posts the presence of the enemy in rear rendered it necessary several times to order the East Surrey Regiment to stand to their arms. This was done without any confusion, and the Royal Engineers and Madras Sappers quietly continued their work on the defences.

It is impossible in such a country to estimate the numbers of an enemy who is able to remain completely concealed until he chooses to attack; but it is probable that on this occasion the number of Arabs present was about 3000, of whom at least 250 were killed, much of this loss being caused by the fire of the Berkshire Regiment from the commanding position they had taken up on Dihilibat Hill.

The scouting was very efficiently performed by the cavalry, considering the great difficulties of the country with which they had to contend.

I enclose sketches made by officers of my Intelligence Department (marked X and Y), which will serve to explain the operations above described. [See Plate IV.]

The detail of casualties has been already reported by telegraph.—I have, &c.,

GERALD GRAHAM.

APPENDIX X.

ACTION AT TOFRIK OR M'NEILL'S ZERIBA, March 22, 1885.

From Egypt, No. 13 (1885), C 4392, No. 28.

Lieut.-General Sir G. Graham to the Marquis of Hartington.

(Received April 14.)

HEADQUARTERS, SUAKIN, *March 28, 1885.*

MY LORD,—In continuation of my despatch of the 21st instant, I have the honour to report that on the 22nd instant I ordered the force, as per margin,¹ under Major-General Sir J. M'Neill, V.C., K.C.B., &c., to march from Suakin, taking a line leading directly to Tamai.

My intention was to form a zeriba about eight miles from Suakin, to act as an intermediate depot for the supplies and water required for an advance in force on Tamai. I further intended that the Indian Brigade on returning should leave one battalion in an intermediate zeriba, about four miles from camp.

The force advanced in echelon of brigade squares, the 2nd Brigade leading; the Indian Brigade, under Brigadier Hudson, following on the right rear. I myself proceeded with the force for about 2½ miles, then returning to camp.

At about 2.45 P.M. heavy firing was heard in the direction taken by Sir J. M'Neill's force, and I immediately ordered out the Guards Brigade and the Horse Artillery Battery and proceeded

¹ One squadron 5th Lancers, Naval Brigade with four Gardner-guns, Detachment Royal Engineers, Berkshire Regiment, Royal Marines, Company Madras Sappers, 15th Sikhs, 17th Bengal Native Infantry, 28th Bombay Native Infantry, one squadron 20th Hussars patrolling rear between force and Suakin.

about three miles, following the line to Tamai. Receiving a message from Sir J. M'Neill that he was in no need of assistance, I returned to camp with the Guards.

Sir J. M'Neill's convoy, on its march through the dense scrub which lies between Suakin and the hills, experienced much difficulty. The great mass of camels enclosed in the Indian Brigade Square was continually getting into disorder, owing to the high prickly bushes through which it was obliged to force its way.

Thus frequent halts were necessary in order to get the camels back into position, and restore the chain of defence with which it is necessary in such a country to surround the transport animals and non-combatants.

It was soon apparent that the original plan could not be carried out in its entirety; since, if the force advanced eight miles, there would not remain sufficient daylight to allow a zeriba to be formed, and then for the Indian Brigade to return and form an intermediate zeriba.

Sir J. M'Neill, therefore, determined to halt and form his zeriba at about 6 miles only from the camp at Suakin.

The force was formed up as follows: the Indian Brigade took up three sides of a square fronting nearly east, south, and west; the transport animals were in the centre. The Berkshire Regiment, Marines, and the Royal Engineers and Madras Sappers began at once to cut brushwood.

The zeriba was traced out as shown in the sketch plan attached.

The work proceeded steadily, and the south zeriba A, B, C, D, was told off to the Berkshire Regiment, with two naval Gardners; the north zeriba, E, F, G, H, to the Marines, also with two naval Gardners. The central zeriba, P, C, F, O, was intended to contain the stores.

At about 2.30 P.M. the disposition of the force appears to have been as follows:—

(See sketch plan attached.) [See Plate V.]

Half the Berkshire Regiment were south of the zeriba A, B, C, D, cutting brushwood; their arms were piled inside. The line A, L, was held by six companies, 17th Native Infantry, their left being somewhat *en l'air*; the line D, K, by the 15th Sikhs; K, N, by the 28th Bombay Native Infantry; N, G, by two companies

of the 17th Native Infantry. Outposts *a, a, . . .* consisting of groups of four men each, were thrown out from 80 to 120 yards to the front of the three Indian regiments. These three regiments themselves were formed in two-deep line. The other half-battalion of the Berkshire Regiment were having their dinners at about the point *R*, 250 yards to the east of the zeriba. The Marines were inside the north zeriba, *E, F, G, H*, having just finished cutting brushwood. The camels had been unloaded in the central zeriba, and had begun to file out in order to be formed up outside ready for the return march. The Squadron 5th Lancers formed a chain of Cossack posts (each four men), at a distance of about 1000 yards from the force, the rest of the squadron being held in support on some open ground about 500 yards to the south-west of the zeriba. A squadron of the 20th Hussars was patrolling the ground between the zeriba and Suakin.

Shortly after 2.30 P.M. three messages were sent in from the 5th Lancers' outposts, announcing first the presence of the enemy on their front, and immediately afterwards his advance. Very soon after this the cavalry galloped in, closely followed by the Arabs.

The 15th Sikhs and 28th Bombay Native Infantry stood firm and maintained an intact line, receiving and repulsing successive attacks with a heavy fire.

The attack was delivered mainly in the direction shown by the arrows. A large number of the enemy entered the south zeriba at the salient *B*, where there was no brushwood and merely an unfinished sandbag parapet. The Gardner guns were being placed in position at the time, and could not be got into action, so that their detachments, who stood their ground gallantly, suffered severely.

Other parties of the enemy, following the retreat of the 17th Native Infantry, dashed into the central zeriba, *P, C, O, F*, and caused a stampede among the animals and panic among the native drivers. A general rush of the latter took place both to the open side *P, F*, and also through the north zeriba, where a portion of the Marines were for the moment carried away by it.

In a short time the whole of the Arabs in the south zeriba were killed or driven out by the half-battalion of the Berkshire

Regiment, who captured a flag which the enemy had planted on the sandbag parapet at B.

The Marines cleared the north zeriba, and, assisted by the Berkshire, the central zeriba also.

Meanwhile the half-battalion of the Berkshire Regiment, which was dining near R when the alarm was given, formed a rallying square, and succeeded in repelling two successive attacks without loss, afterwards fighting their way back to the zeriba.

Other small bodies of men, who were outside the zeriba at the moment of the attack, were similarly collected by the exertions of their officers, and succeeded in making their way back to the zeriba.

A large number of camels which were outside of the zeriba before the attack took place, or had stampeded on its occurrence, were unavoidably shot, as the enemy rushed in among them, cutting and hamstringing them in all directions.

The whole affair appears to have lasted about twenty minutes, and the attack seems to have been delivered in two main rushes. The enemy's force was not less than 2000 strong, but under the circumstances it was impossible to form an accurate estimate. The attack was delivered with extreme determination, the Arabs charging at full speed, and in some cases even leaping over the low bushes forming the unfinished zeriba.

The great loss of transport animals was due to the rush of the enemy through the south and central zeriba. The animals stampeded, became mixed up with those already formed up outside the zeriba, and the enemy being amongst them in all directions, they were shot in large numbers by our own men.

The detachment of the Naval Brigade in the south zeriba gallantly stood to their guns and suffered very severely. The Marines also behaved very well, and though their zeriba was broken through by the rush of transport animals, they re-formed at once and contributed effectively to the repulse of the enemy.

The 15th Sikhs had to sustain several rushes of the enemy, and together with the 28th Bombay Regiment maintained an unbroken front.

The loss in officers was severe, and was due to the fact that in the confusion arising from the sudden attack, individual

attempts were gallantly made to collect isolated bodies of men, to stem the determined rush of the enemy.

I may mention Major von Beverhondt^d of the 17th Native Infantry, Captain Romilly and Lieutenant Newman of the Royal Engineers, as instances of officers who lost their lives in the brave efforts to check the enemy's fierce onslaught; while Lieutenant Seymour, R.N., with his gun detachment, also met death at the post of duty.

Although our sacrifice has been severe, I am convinced that the complete repulse and heavy loss which the enemy has sustained, involving (as it has done) the destruction of more than 1000 fighting men, will prove to have produced an impression which will definitely facilitate my future operations.

The zeriba has since been strengthened considerably, and no attempt has been made to attack it. I am now storing water and provisions there, with a view to a further advance as soon as possible.—I have, &c.,

GERALD GRAHAM.

APPENDIX XI.

CAPTURE OF TAMAI, April 3, 1885.

From Egypt, No. 13 (1885), C 4392, No. 41.

Lieut.-General Sir G. Graham to the Marquis of Hartington.

(Received April 21.)

SUAKIN, April 8, 1885.

MY LORD,—1. As I have already reported to your Lordship, having received information from a reconnaissance made on the 1st April that bodies of the enemy were still occupying Tamai, I decided to advance on that place on the 2nd instant and attack Osman Digna in his chosen position, although it had been ascertained that there was some doubt whether he would accept battle, notwithstanding his proclamation and his endeavours to impose upon his followers by asserting the power of his arms.

2. The troops as per margin¹ paraded at 3 A.M. on the 2nd April near the left water-fort, and were drawn up in a rectangular formation, which for the sake of brevity will be referred to as the "Square," although it was actually an oblong, with sides about 500 by 200 yards.

3. In the front face were three Companies of the Coldstream Guards, the remaining Companies being on the left face; on the right face were the Scots Guards, the East Surrey Regiment, and the 28th Bombay Native Infantry. On the left face were five Companies of the Coldstreams, the Marines, and the Shropshire Regiment, the 15th Sikhs taking the rear face. The four Companies of the New South Wales Battalion (Guards Brigade)

¹ Not reprinted, but the number amounted to some 7000 strong.

were at first placed in reserve on either face of the Square, but were afterwards brought into line. The two (screw) 7-pr. mountain guns on mules, and the two 7-pr. (200 lb.) mountain guns in draught, with the Rocket Troop and four Gardner guns, were in rear inside the Square. The Madras Sappers were in rear of the 28th Bombay, and the 17th Company Royal Engineers in rear of the left face. The ambulance waggons, litters, and dandies, with the two field hospitals, were in the front portion of the interior space.

4. The formation of the convoy, strength as per margin,¹ and posting it in its proper position in column in the Square, necessarily occupied some time, and the difficulties were increased by the darkness, the moon being obscured by clouds.

5. One day's ration of provisions and forage was carried by men and horses, and two days' supplies and one of forage were carried by the Brigade Transport.

6. The Square moved off at 4 o'clock, and was joined by the Cavalry and G Battery, B Brigade, R.H.A., which had paraded at daybreak. The Battery was placed inside the Square, in rear of the front face, and the Cavalry were sent out well in advance, two Squadrons of the 9th Bengal Cavalry covering the front and part of both flanks of the force with scouts and advanced parties, the right flank and right rear being protected by the two Squadrons 5th Lancers, and the left flank and rear by the two Squadrons 20th Hussars.

7. The Square advanced steadily through the bush, although frequent halts were necessary to readjust or shift the loads of the transport animals. A proportion of spare camels was ordered to remain in rear, and the Senior Transport Officer was directed to station himself there, under the orders of Brigadier-General Hudson, who was in command of the rear.

8. Zeriba No. 1, six miles from the left water-fort, was reached at 9 A.M., and the force halted until 10.15 A.M. to rest the men and enable them to take food. During this time arrangements had to be made for the occupation and defence of the zeriba, at which were left the 28th Bombay Native Infantry and two Gardner guns manned by the Royal Marine Artillery. The balloon was filled and made ready for use for reconnaissance

¹ 1639 camels, with provisions and water (14,500 gallons); 930 mules, with ammunition, hospital equipment, intrenching tools, &c.; and 1773 followers.

purposes. The force was joined by the Grenadier Guards, the Berkshire Regiment, the 24th Company Royal Engineers, and two Gardner guns, Royal Navy; and by the Mounted Infantry and one Troop 9th Bengal Cavalry, which had reconnoitred towards Tamai on the previous day.

9. At 10.15 A.M. the march was resumed with the force as per margin,¹ the Square being re-formed—three Companies of the Grenadier Guards being placed in the front line.

10. The direction of the Square was guided by an officer of the Intelligence Department, who had reconnoitred the road on the previous day, and was at first south-south-west in order to avoid the thickest scrub, but was gradually changed until it was direct on Tamai. The Cavalry, now joined by the Mounted Infantry, were scouting well in front, preserving the disposition detailed in paragraph 6. Endeavours were made to reconnoitre from the balloon at the head of the column, and it was reported that parties of the enemy were descried some miles in front. The wind, however, increased so much as to render the balloon unserviceable, and at 11 o'clock it had to be packed up.

11. The Square advanced slowly with frequent halts, owing to the density of the bush in the neighbourhood of the zeriba.

12. At 12.15 P.M., about three miles from zeriba No. 1, the Cavalry and Mounted Infantry reported the presence of the enemy in the bush in scattered groups, a few being on camels and the main portion on foot. These appeared to be at first advancing through the bush, but gradually fell back before the advance of the Cavalry.

13. At 12.45 P.M. the force halted for a short time, and at 1.30 P.M. the enemy were reported as retiring towards the Tesela Hills and Tamai. At 2 P.M., about three miles from the Tesela Hills the force halted for water and food, and the Mounted Infantry and a Squadron of the 9th Bengal Cavalry were ordered to reconnoitre the position on these hills, reported to be lined with the enemy. The reconnaissance was well executed by the Squadron Bengal Cavalry, which sent out flanking parties to feel for the enemy, the Mounted Infantry acting in support and moving up in echelon of companies.

14. At first the enemy seemed inclined to defend the position,

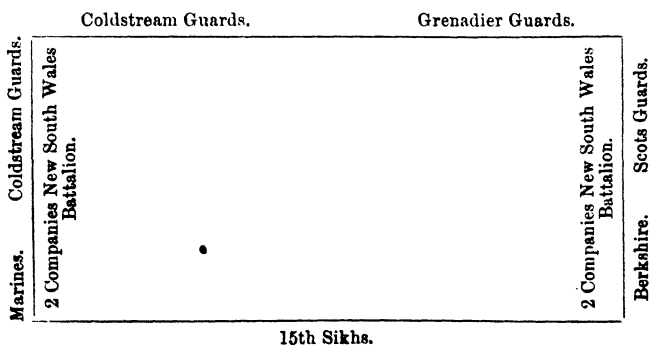
¹ Not printed, but the number amounted to over 8000 strong.

but their flanks being threatened, they fell back on Tamai. Tesela, a group of bare rocky hills, about 100 feet high but practicable for guns, was occupied by the Mounted Infantry and Bengal Cavalry at 3 o'clock, and heliographic communication was opened with Suakin. From these hills an excellent view was obtained of the scattered villages of New Tamai, lying between the ridges of low hills beyond Tesela and the deep ravine of Khor Ghoub, beyond which the country becomes exceedingly mountainous and intersected by ravines with precipitous sides.

15. The Mounted Infantry were ordered to push on to the village, find out if it was occupied, and then, if practicable, move on to the water and water the horses. One Company advanced about a mile south through a village, when fire was opened on them from another village farther south; while the Company moving towards the water in the Khor Ghoub were fired upon by the enemy on the ridges near. The fire was returned, and the Mounted Infantry fell back to the Tesela Hill, where they were ordered to join the Cavalry and return to No. 1 zeriba for the night.

16. The main body of the force arrived at the Tesela Hills at about 5 P.M., and the following dispositions were ordered:—

A zeriba, about 300 yards square, with the troops occupying it as shown below, was at once formed in the valley (running east and west) between the hills. Four Companies of the Grenadier Guards occupied a hill on the S.W., and three Companies of the Scots Guards and one Company New South Wales Infantry a hill on the N., where two Horse Artillery 13-pr.



guns were posted, the horses being placed in the zeriba below. The south hill on the left flank was occupied by the Shropshire Regiment and two Horse Artillery 13-pr. guns, while the East Surrey Regiment occupied a hill to the N.E. on the right flank.

17. Notwithstanding the tedious and exhausting march through deep sand under a hot sun, the troops set promptly to work to cut down bushes and form the zeriba, while those on the hills collected stones and formed parapets for the defence of their positions. The 17th Company Royal Engineers assisted at the left face, the Madras Sappers working at the south and east faces, and the 24th Company Royal Engineers at the remainder of the east and on the north face.

18. The position was a very strong one, and the rapid way in which the defences were constructed reflects great credit on the troops.

19. Everything was complete before dark, and rations and water were served out. The troops bivouacked in the order shown above (par. 16).

20. *3rd April*.—About 1 A.M. shots were fired into camp from about 800 to 1000 yards. The moon shone brightly; the men stood to their arms, and the fire was answered by a volley from the Grenadier Guards on the S.-W. hill. This, and a shrapnel shell from one of the 13-pr. Horse Artillery guns on the S. hill, silenced the enemy in about ten minutes; but our loss was, I regret to say, one killed and two wounded. The loss of the enemy could not be ascertained, as they were able to remove any killed or wounded under cover of the night.

21. The rouse was sounded at 4.30 A.M., and the following dispositions were ordered: The East Surrey and Shropshire Regiments, with the Gardner guns, occupying the defensible posts on the right and left hills, to remain in the zeriba under Major-General Sir J. McNeill for the protection of the transport. The transport animals were subsequently moved by Sir J. McNeill to the front line of the zeriba, and a small work was constructed in one of the rear corners of the zeriba and occupied by two Gardner guns and two Companies of Infantry.

22. The main body to form up in front of the zeriba towards Tamai in the following order:—

The 2nd Brigade (Berkshire, Marines, and 15th Sikhs), under

Brigadier-General Hudson, in front; the Marines, in column of companies, on the right; the Berkshire Regiment, deployed in line, in the centre; and the 15th Sikhs, in column of companies, on the left.

The Guards Brigade to form in line of column in rear of the 2nd Brigade.

The guns, G Battery, B Brigade, Royal Horse Artillery, were to take post on the right flank; the Mountain Guns to take post in rear of the Right Company of the Berkshire; the Rocket Battery and Ammunition Column in rear of that regiment; the Madras Sappers and Bearer Company in rear of the left.

23. The troops formed up in this order and advanced upon Tamai at 8 A.M. The Cavalry and Mounted Infantry, which had arrived from No. 1 zeriba at 7.20 A.M., were directed to reconnoitre for the enemy and cover the advance. The 5th Lancers covered the right flank, a Squadron of the 9th Bengal Cavalry supported by the Mounted Infantry on the right or south-west and front, the remainder of the 9th Bengal Cavalry being on the left rear of the Infantry; the 20th Hussars were employed in covering the force to the left and left rear.

24. My object was to gain possession of the cluster of villages at New Tamai, which have so long been the headquarters of Osman Digna, and to occupy the water-supply, by attacking the position of the enemy, or by drawing them into an engagement on the more open ground near the villages.

25. The ground between the Tesela zeriba and the Khor Ghoub is formed by three successive ridges, between which the clusters of huts and enclosures of New Tamai are placed.

26. It was soon evident that the enemy were unable to oppose any serious resistance to the advance of the force.

27. Fire was opened on the Mounted Infantry and 9th Bengal Cavalry about 8.45 A.M. from the east side of the ravine, and soon afterwards from the gullies to the south.

28. The advance of the force was continued through the villages, which were found to have been recently deserted, the lines of the leading brigade occasionally forming fours deep, or advancing by fours from a flank to pass through bushes and huts, until at 9.30 A.M. the crest of the north side of the Khor Ghoub was gained.

29. The Mounted Infantry and 9th Bengal Cavalry were at

this time engaged with the enemy on the right flank, but were unable to draw them from their positions.

30. I now ordered the leading (2nd) Brigade, under General Hudson, to descend the khor, inclining to the right, so as to avoid a steep hill immediately in front, which was occupied by a Company of the 15th Sikhs.

31. The Brigade moved to its right, advanced across the khor, which was at this point about 100 feet deep and 400 yards wide, and ascended the hill on the opposite bank. The Berkshire Regiment was posted on the highest point in the centre, the Marines on the right, with their right thrown back, while the 15th Sikhs crowned the heights on detached hills to the left front and left.

32. The Berkshire Regiment opened fire on the enemy, marksmen were thrown out about 30 yards in front of the Marines, and the Scots Guards, who had advanced into the khor in reserve, threw out a company to fire up the khor on their right. The Guards Brigade and New South Wales Battalion moved forward in support of the 2nd Brigade, crowning the ridges on the north side of the khor.

33. The G Battery, B Brigade, Royal Horse Artillery, came into action on the left flank of the 1st Brigade, and opened fire on some parties of the enemy.

34. During those operations the enemy were keeping up a distant fire which resulted in the casualties I have already reported by telegraph—viz., one man killed, one officer and 15 men wounded. The enemy's numbers and loss it is impossible to estimate with any accuracy, but a steady, well-aimed fire was kept up on such bodies as showed themselves, and the effect of the fire was to overcome any opposition they may have intended to make.

35. On descending to the bed of the khor, I found that at the spot where last year we had found running water there was no sign of water beyond a little moisture and well-holes partly filled in. By digging about 4 feet down, a small supply of brackish water could have been obtained, and at a short distance there was a shallow pool of water on a bed of black fetid mud.

36. In view, therefore, of the retirement of the enemy, and their evident inability or indisposition to meet the force under

my command, it appeared to me to be best to withdraw, as it would have been fruitless to attempt to follow Osman Digna into the mountainous country with no water for my transport animals.

37. At 10.20 A.M. I therefore ordered the withdrawal of the force, by alternate brigades, from the position which had been taken up. By 10.40 A.M. the troops had recrossed the khor, the movement being covered by two Horse Artillery guns on the ridge to the north, which fired a few rounds of shrapnel at detached parties of the enemy.

38. I ordered New Tamai to be destroyed, and it was fired as the troops retired through it. Considerable quantities of ammunition were destroyed, and Osman Digna's residence is believed to have been among the number of the huts burnt.

39. At 12 noon the force reached No. 2 zeriba on Tesela Hill.

40. An order had been despatched to Sir John M'Neill to load up the transport, so that on arrival I found everything was ready, and having allowed time for food and water, the march back to Suakin was commenced. The Infantry and Transport, under command of Major-General Lyon-Fremantle, covered by the 5th Lancers and 20th Hussars, with a Squadron of the 9th Bengal Cavalry, were directed on No. 1 zeriba. The remainder of the Cavalry and the Horse Artillery returned to Suakin. The Infantry marched in from No. 1 zeriba on the following day.

41. In a country like this, where either water is not to be found at all, or where it is impossible to rely absolutely upon the scanty natural supply to be got as sufficient for the wants of a large force, the question of transport becomes of even greater importance than in ordinary campaigns; and with the excessive strain upon men and animals in the marching of the 2nd and 3rd instant, it might have been expected that many casualties would have taken place.

42. The force was under arms and on the march for sixteen hours on the 2nd, and for thirteen and a half hours on the 3rd; marching about 13 miles on the first day, at a slow pace, through bush and in deep sand, and 12 or 13 miles on the 3rd. The camels could not be supplied with water on these days, and the mules received a very limited quantity. Notwithstanding this, there were only six casualties altogether (three mules and three

camels), and two of these were from the enemy's fire. Of 1257 horses, 740 mules, and 1673 camels (cavalry, artillery, and transport together), only 42 horses, 7 mules, and 60 camels are on the sick-list, and this fact reflects much credit on the officers of Cavalry, Artillery, and Transport who had the care of these animals.

43. Ample arrangements were made for the care of the sick and wounded. There were two Bearer Companies. No. 1, with six ambulance waggons, eight Maltese carts with equipment, eight stretcher detachments, and fifteen dandies. No. 2, with cacolets and litters capable of carrying fifty-six men, and fifteen dandies. Two Field Hospitals accompanied the force, with accommodation for 200 men.

44. On the 3rd the wounded were carried by dandies back to No. 2 zeriba at Tesela, and were transported in the ambulance waggons and dandies to No. 1 zeriba. The sick and wounded were amply supplied with medical comforts and ite. A medical reserve depot of medicines and surgical appliances accompanied the force. The ambulance waggons got over the rough ground very well, and the transport allotted to the Bearer Companies and Field Hospitals has been very favourably reported on.

45. I have already informed your Lordship of the remarkable steadiness and energy with which the troops marched and worked under great stress. Throughout these operations officers and men displayed the utmost cheerfulness, and their perfect steadiness on the march and under fire, which, though distant, caused some loss, was everything that could be desired. The number of men who fell out on the march was only 11, which fact bears witness to the spirit and physical capabilities of the troops, while the number (33) on the sick-list at the end of the operations is very small, considering the largeness of the force and the great fatigue and privations which had to be undergone by all.

46. As I have already reported, the New South Wales Contingent bore themselves admirably on the march and under fire; and, both by the report of the General Officer Commanding the Guards Brigade and from my own observation, I can testify to the soldierlike spirit and endurance shown by her Majesty's Colonial forces.

47. In conclusion, I desire to express my opinion that these operations will have had a salutary effect on Osman Digna and

his following. He was unable to meet the British forces with any serious resistance, or to prevent the destruction of his headquarters at New Tamai.

48. In this kind of warfare it is impossible to state with perfect certainty that operations of this nature will have a lasting effect, but all those that have taken place up to the present date have inflicted great loss on the enemy, and the occupation of Osman's position must have contributed to detach wavering followers from his side, and show them that his boasted power did not exist.

49. It is not possible to prevent desultory attacks being made in a campaign such as the present, and with an enemy whose mode of warfare is, as a rule, essentially of a guerilla kind; but the reverses which Osman Digna has met with at the hands of her Majesty's troops will, at least, greatly contribute to the further prosecution of the campaign.

50. I attach report of ammunition expended,¹ and plans [see Plate I.] to illustrate the march of the 2nd instant, the bivouac on that night, and the position occupied by the troops during the operations of the 3rd instant.—I have, &c.,

GERALD GRAHAM.

¹ Not reprinted.

APPENDIX XII.

RAID ON THAKUL, May 6, 1885.

From Egypt, No. 18 (1885), C 4598, No. 10.

General Lord Wolseley to the Marquis of Hartington.

(Received May 26.)

SUAKIN, 13th May 1885.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to forward the accompanying despatch from Lieut.-General Sir G. Graham, giving an account of the raid on Thakul on the 6th May.—I have, &c.,

WOLSELEY.

Lieut.-General Sir G. Graham to General Lord Wolseley.

SUAKIN, 13th May 1885.

MY LORD,—1. I have the honour to report that on the morning of the 6th instant a combined attack from Suakin and Otao was made under my command on the position held by Muhammad Adam Sardoun at Thakul, in the valley of the Abent.

2. This chieftain is sheikh of the Abderrahmanab clan of the Amarars. He has always been the trusted lieutenant of Osman Digna, and a devoted adherent to his cause, and up to the date of the attack, commanded the only organised body at present remaining in this part of the country.

3. On the arrival of the force under my command at Suakin, Sardoun was at Hashin with Ibrahim Dhow, at the head of 2000 men. These took but little part in the action of the 20th

March at that place, and none in the attack of the 22nd idem on zeriba No. 1, but they were active in their attacks on our convoys on the 24th and 26th March. His men were thus not so much disheartened as the majority of the tribes, having suffered little loss. Since the operations at Tamai, Sardoun has remained chiefly near Therobit, at the west end of the Khor Abent, whither his followers carried off such of the flocks as escaped when the Mounted Infantry captured 500 sheep on the 15th April.

4. Sardoun was joined by Onoor, from the north, at the beginning of this month, and on the 3rd instant moved to the Thakool position. From this position he was able to send detachments to fire by night upon Otao and Tambouk, to molest the railway, and generally to attempt to harass our line of communications by night.

5. At the date of the operations, Sardoun's force, consisting, according to the report of the prisoners, of about 1000 men, was holding Thakul, a valley of the Abent, about 18 miles as the crow flies west of Suakin, and 10 miles south of Otao, although farther by the routes which had to be followed. Here he had established himself at the site of a large and deep well, with flocks and herds from which he was furnishing Osman Digna with supplies, and what was even more important, he was able from this position to bring his influence to bear on the adjacent Amarar tribes, endeavouring, by appeals to their religious prejudices, and by threatening them with the cruel vengeance of Osman Digna, to compel them into taking up a position of active hostility against us.

6. It appeared, therefore, to be an object of paramount importance to break up the nucleus of a possible combination of some power, to disperse the collection of desperadoes from various tribes who had enlisted under his banner, and to deprive Osman Digna of a strong offensive position. It was necessary to act quickly, before he moved to a more inaccessible position, and also because it appeared to me desirable to strike a blow at him while the moon remained to assist night operations. The project having received your sanction, I therefore decided to put it into effect at once.

7. From Suakin to Thakul the route to be taken is through bush, and nearly due west by Hashin, and then enters the

valley of the Abent by Deberet, along a broad shallow khor, or dry watercourse, on either side of which there is a good deal of bush, which is, however, not so thick as that in which the troops have had so often to operate. The country between Otao and Thakul is difficult for the movements of troops, for between these places is a range of high granite mountains, intersected by ancient river-beds, or khors, of deep sand and loose rock.

8. The Column from Suakin was under my personal command, and was composed of the 9th Bengal Cavalry, the Mounted Infantry of the Royal Engineers and Guards, and the Camel Corps.

The Column from Otao was under the command of Major Inglis, 15th Sikhs, and comprised one Company Mounted Infantry and the 15th Sikhs, with about 200 Native Scouts. The 15th Sikhs had been brought to Otao from Suakin on the previous day by train.

9. The Suakin column paraded at midnight at West Redoubt, and marched at 12.50 A.M. on the 6th. The night was dark, the moon being obscured by clouds, and movement was consequently slow. The following was the order of march: Native guides, 9th Bengal Cavalry in column of troops, Mounted Infantry in column, and Camel Corps in column of troops. The advance was covered by the 9th Bengal Cavalry, with the usual advanced party, scouts, and flankers, the rear being protected by a Troop of the same Regiment.*

10. Hashin was reached at 2.40 A.M., and by this time the clouds had somewhat cleared away. After a short halt the force entered the valleys of Hashin and Deberet, and arrived at a point two miles from Thakul at daybreak. As it was possible the enemy might escape us if the rate of march were not quickened, I pushed on with the 9th Bengal Cavalry and Mounted Infantry, directing the Camel Corps to follow in support as fast as possible.

11. The valley of Thakul is at right angles to the valley we had been following, and slopes from north to south to the Abent. It is about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles wide and 3 miles long, and is bounded on the east and west side by mountains, through which, on the west side, lateral valleys run whose general direction is south-east and north-west.

12. The encampment of the enemy was discovered to be about 1 mile from the mouth of the valley. The force had moved in a south-westerly direction for a short distance clear of some low hills in the Abent, under cover of which it approached the valley, so as to be able to close the entrance and prevent the enemy from escaping across the Khor Abent, where the bush would have aided them in their retreat.

13. The line by which the enemy would retreat when pressed was south-west towards Therobit, but as it was possible some might endeavour to escape on the east side, a Detachment (twenty rifles) of Mounted Infantry was sent to the east side of the mouth of the Thakul valley. Shortly after daybreak the main body turned northwards, closing the south entrance to the valley. Parties of Arabs were seen bearing off to our left flank, and were pursued by a detachment of the 9th Bengal Cavalry, while the Cavalry and Mounted Infantry commenced skirmishing and exchanging shots with the enemy in front. The latter retreated rapidly up the valley, and took up a position on the hills on the west side.

14. The troops advanced through the encampment, which was found completely deserted. The suddenness of the surprise was shown by the confusion in which the property of the enemy was left—camel-saddles, grain, food, clothing, household implements, skins of water being littered about. Sardoun's men had evidently only just received warning from the scouts that we were upon them from the south, so that they had barely time to seize their arms and rush up the hillsides.

15. Two Companies of Mounted Infantry were pushed to the front, and crowned successively the lower heights on the west, quickly gaining the higher ridges, and drove the enemy from spur to spur. The Cavalry then advanced up the valley, which bears south-west. The Camel Corps now came up at a trot, having to cross several khors on the way. It formed in close column of troops, the camels knelt down and were secured, one company being left with them as a guard.

16. A small conical hill was the first objective of this part of the attack. The Guards Company of the Camel Corps moved in front, supported by the Shropshire Company, and the Native Infantry Company a little to the left. Volleys were fired at the enemy, who were occupying positions in the valley or on the

hills, and firing on the advance, while other parties were trying to drive off their flocks.

17. Meantime the Otao column had gained the north end of the Thakul valley at about 5.30 A.M., and had effectually closed it in that direction. A force of the enemy with camels had been seen moving up towards this column, unaware at the time of the advance of the column from Suakin. They first retired, but subsequently advanced, and were at once engaged by the Mounted Infantry from Otao, whose fire threw them into confusion. They now inclined to the west, up a valley trending from west to east, and situated to the north of that attacked by the Suakin force.

18. The two columns were by this time in communication, the Officer Commanding the Mounted Infantry having sent a message to me stating that his party and the Friendly Natives were following the enemy up the valley above mentioned. This information was accordingly communicated to the force under my command, so as to prevent any possibility of fire being opened on our allies, a mistake which might easily have been made in the mountains over which the enemy were being pursued.

19. The Mounted Infantry and Camel Corps drove the enemy from all the spurs and knolls of the more southern valley, until they reached a point where it divided. At this fork a portion of the enemy took the northerly route, but were met and turned back by the Mounted Infantry of the Otao column.

20. The 9th Bengal Cavalry were at this period of the action actively pursuing the enemy along the lateral valley, while they also swept the main valley, capturing the flocks of sheep and goats which the Arabs were endeavouring to drive off. The Sikh Company of the Camel Corps advanced at the "double" down the lateral valley, and contributed materially to the capture of the sheep by the Bengal Lancers. The enemy did not make any determined resistance, but kept firing from the tops of the hills until the whole of the valley was in our possession. I ordered the troops to halt at the place where the valley forked, sending forward to the left, a Squadron of the 9th Bengal Cavalry to try and capture some more of the enemy's sheep.

21. As mentioned in paragraph 19, the Company of Mounted

Infantry of the Otao column had pushed on with the Native Scouts and Friendly Arabs ahead of the 15th Sthks. The latter came into position on and in rear of a high ridge on the north side overlooking the valley along which the Suakin column was operating, and were thus ready to support the right or left line of attack.

The Mounted Infantry, with the Native Scouts and "Friendlies," had moved forward some miles on the right flank, and at the time the halt was made were considerably in advance, having crossed the mountains and descended into a wide valley, which appeared to be a continuation of the Abent. They inflicted severe loss upon the enemy, and captured about 1100 sheep and goats and some camels.

22. By about 7 A.M. all firing had ceased, and the troops returned to the rendezvous at Thakul, where the men breakfasted and the horses were watered and fed.

23. At 9 A.M. the Column from Otao returned to that place, and at 10 A.M. the Column from Suakin marched for camp, under the command of Colonel Palmer, 9th Bengal Cavalry. I accompanied the former column.

24. On the march back, parties of the enemy coming from the direction of Tamai, since ascertained to have been sent by Osman Digna to reinforce Sardoun, showed themselves in the bush on the flank of the column, but their desultory fire was soon silenced by the steady and accurate volleys of the Mounted Infantry and Camel Corps.

25. During the action parties of the enemy were seen from the signal station on Dihilibat Hill, which was protected by a Company of the 28th Bombay Native Infantry. These reconnoitred the station, and advanced towards it up to 300 yards, when they were met by steady volleys from the 28th, and retired, carrying off their dead and wounded.

26. The immediate results of the operation will be considered, I venture to think, highly satisfactory. The enemy were completely surprised, abandoned their encampment, and were then driven from their position, suffering the loss of altogether about 100 men, 10 prisoners, 3 standards, 3 war-drums, to which they attach great value, and about 2000 sheep and goats, besides camels and donkeys.

That this success was effected with so few casualties to the

troops under my command was due in a great measure, in my opinion, to the suddenness of the surprise, and to the judgment shown by the officers in command of the various corps in their advance over the mountains.

27. The further result of the attack and surprise of Sardoun's position is already shown by the offer which a body of the tribes have made to submit to the British flag. A severe blow has also been struck at the influence and prestige of Osman Digna. It must be remembered that this man is not the leader of a collected and organised body, nor has he himself ever appeared on the scene when fighting is contemplated, or taking place. Guarded by a cordon of trusted followers, whose perfect scouting enables them to warn him of the approach of any hostile force, he moves from place to place, and is content to work by means of such men as Muhammad Adam Sardoun. The successful surprise of this leader is therefore as much a direct blow to Osman Digna as if it had been possible to deliver it against himself.

28. The lesson taught the enemy, that British columns can operate quickly over long distances, and are ready to punish attempts to harass the line of communications, cannot be without its value; large supplies have been prevented from reaching Osman Digna, and he has been deprived of a base of operations for any offensive movements, from whence detachments could proceed to harass the line of communications.

29. The conduct of all the troops was, admirable, whether as regards their gallantry and steadiness in action, or their good discipline and endurance on the long march of over 40 miles made by the mounted column from Suakin.

30. The 9th Bengal Cavalry were invaluable in scouting and in their pursuit of the enemy. The Mounted Infantry showed much steadiness in their fire, and were conspicuous for the quickness with which they scaled the heights occupied by the enemy. The Camel Corps, only recently organised, proved of the greatest service, and vied with the Mounted Infantry in their forwardness to drive the enemy from their positions. The 15th Sikhs made a long march of over 20 miles in their usual admirable manner, and had the resistance of the enemy been more prolonged, they would have reinforced the front line of attack with great advantage. Some of the Native Scouts acted

as guides to the two columns, while the greater body, about 200, under Captain G. S. Clarke, R.E., and Mr Brewster, of the Intelligence Department, acted with the Mounted Infantry from Otao, and are reported as having been of considerable service in scouting and in pursuing the enemy.

31. I attach¹ a field state, lists of casualties, and of the ammunition expended, also a sketch to illustrate the march and operations of the two columns.—I have, &c.,

GERALD GRAHAM.

¹ These are not reprinted. The strength of the two columns was about 1600. The casualties were three wounded severely. The ammunition expended was between 5000 and 6000 rounds. Consult Plate I.

APPENDIX XIII.

FAREWELL GENERAL ORDER.

From the 'London Gazette,' May 29, 1885.

WAR OFFICE, 28th May 1885.

A DESPATCH and its enclosure, of which the following are copies, have been received by the Secretary of State for War from Lieut.-General Sir Gerald Graham, K.C.B.:—

P. & O. Steamship DECCAN, 19th May 1885.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to forward for your Lordship's information copy of a Special General Order issued by me on relinquishing the command of the Suakin Field Force.—I have, &c.,

GERALD GRAHAM, Lieut.-General.

SPECIAL GENERAL ORDER.

SUAKIN, 16th May 1885.

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

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

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

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

5. In the action at Hashin the enemy was dislodged from his position on the flank of the line of advance, and in the subsequent fight at the zeriba his sudden and desperate onslaught, made with fanatical determination, was repulsed with heavy loss, by the coolness and discipline of British and Indian troops. By the march and operations at Tamai, the main position of Osman Digna was occupied and destroyed, and it was shown to him and to the tribes that he was unable to offer any further serious resistance to our advance.

6. Throughout these operations nothing could have been more admirable than the courage and endurance of the troops.

7. Since then the energies of the force have been employed in the advance to Handoub, Otao, and Tambouk, and in preparing the way for the railway. The bush has been cleared, roads and defences made, and permanent posts formed, while large working-parties have been given to the railway, which reached Otao in a little over three weeks after the operations at Tamai had allowed it to be pushed on.

8. Frequent and successful reconnaissances have been made into the enemy's country, and on the 6th instant, in the attack on Thakul, Muhammad Adam Sardoun, Osman Digna's chief leader, was surprised and driven from the position he and his followers had taken up.

9. Throughout the campaign the work of the British and Native Cavalry has been incessant, and whether in action, in

scouting and reconnaissances, or in the protection of convoys, their important duties have been performed in the most admirable manner. .

10. The Royal Artillery have added to the reputation of their distinguished regiment, and have adapted themselves quickly and well to the special organisation and work required in this country.

11. The Royal Engineers and Queen's Own Madras Sappers and Miners have executed most useful and laborious work in all the many engineering operations required in a land which offers no resources, while they have again shown their value as soldiers in the field.

12. The Infantry, whether British or Native, has been foremost in fighting and in hard work ; and the presence of her Majesty's Guards has brought out a spirit of generous emulation which is always conducive to efficiency.

13. The Brigade of Guards has taken its full share of the hard work and fighting. During the period of the railway construction, two Battalions of the Guards, with the New South Wales Contingent, were always in the front, and to them fell the heavy duties of cutting through the bush by day and warding off attacks by night.

14. The Guards, Infantry, and Royal Marines have also furnished men to the Mounted Infantry and Camel Corps, both of which have attained remarkable efficiency in a short time, and have proved of the greatest value. .

15. The Royal Marines and Royal Marine Artillery, who for so long a time have manfully endured the enervating climate of the Soudan, showed by their conduct in action in the recent operations that they had preserved the characteristics which have always so greatly distinguished these fine corps.

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

17. The Indian Contingent came to the Soudan admirably equipped and organised, and has fully justified all that was expected of such a force, and whether in fighting, in marching, or in camp, it could not be surpassed in conduct and appearance, or in discipline and efficiency.

18. My best thanks are due to the Staff-officers of the force for their able assistance, and for the self-devotion with which they have worked in this trying climate.

19. The administrative departments of the army, the Commissariat, Transport, and Ordnance, upon which the mobility and effective condition of an army so greatly depend, have been everything that could be desired. The sick and wounded have been well attended to at all times by the Medical Department, and have been supplied with every comfort. The Corps of Army Signallers have proved of the highest value. The Chaplains have been unremitting in attention to their duties. The Pay and Veterinary Departments have been well managed and have given satisfaction.

20. To the Royal Navy we owe a debt of gratitude for heavy and unceasing labour in aid of the land operations, and their gallantry was ever conspicuous.

21. In the force which I have had the honour to command the highest discipline has been maintained, crime has been practically unknown, and the labour of command has been thereby greatly lightened. Amidst the regrets I feel at laying down the command of this splendid force, there is the feeling that I shall ever recollect with pride my association with such a body of troops.

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

GERALD GRAHAM, Lieut.-General.

APPENDIX XIV.

FINAL DESPATCH, CAMPAIGN OF 1885.

Supplement to the 'London Gazette,' 25th August 1885.

From General Lord Wolseley to the Secretary of State for War.

CAIRO, 16th June 1885.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to forward for your Lordship's consideration the accompanying despatch from Lieut.-General Sir G. Graham, in which he describes the operations near Suakin that were carried out this spring under his immediate orders.—I have, &c.,

WOLSELEY, General.

The Rt. Hon. the MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON.

From Lieut.-General Sir G. Graham to General Lord Wolseley.

ALEXANDRIA, 30th May 1885.

MY LORD,—Her Majesty's Government having decided to withdraw the greater portion of the Suakin Field Force from the Eastern Soudan, I have the honour to submit my final report on the operations of the campaign which has now been brought to a close.

2. I was appointed on the 20th February to the command of the troops to be collected at Suakin, and my instructions of the same date, from the Secretary of State for War, directed me to organise a field force, and to make such transport arrangements as were possible, so as to secure the first and most pressing object of the campaign—viz., the destruction of the power of Osman Digna.

3. I was directed to arrange next for the military occupation of the Hadendowa territory, lying near to the Suakin-Berber route, so as to enable the contractors to proceed with the railway which it was proposed to construct from Suakin to Berber. In the Secretary of State's letter of the 27th February 1885 my attention was again drawn to the necessity for rapidly constructing this railway. The direction of the works was to be entirely under my orders, their details and execution being in the hands of the contractors.

4. It will be thus seen that there were two distinct phases of the campaign contemplated, after organising the force and its transport—viz. :

1st, The destruction of the power of Osman Digna, and the clearance of the country for the construction of the railway.

2nd, The construction of the railway and the location of the troops for its protection at points where the summer heats could be best endured.

5. In the first days of March the troops began to arrive in quick succession, and on the 12th of that month, when I landed at Suakin, a force of 10,482 officers, non-commissioned officers, and men had been collected.

The work of disembarkation of men, animals, supplies, and stores, the formation of camps, the completion of the defences, the arrangements for the water-supply, the general organisation of the force in every branch and department, was heavy and unceasing. A week before the above date there were only two or three officers of the Commissariat and Transport Staff, very little transport, but an accumulation of supplies. Officers and men soon, however, began to arrive from home, also camels from Egypt, Berbera, and Aden. The Government of India furnished large numbers of camels with drivers, organised in divisions, under transport officers, and thoroughly equipped. The organisation and allotment of 10,000 animals and 7000 transport men, collected from various sources, and of the supply establishments for a large force, was necessarily a work of magnitude; but, by the 18th March, both supply and transport arrangements were fairly efficient.

6. From the sea-coast of Suakin a sandy plain rises gently in a westerly direction to an elevation of a few hundred feet above the sea-level in a distance of ten to twelve miles, where it meets

the foot of the mountains which bound it on the west. These mountains are of volcanic or metamorphic formation, and in many of the passes there stand up huge water-worn boulders of granite. In the immediate vicinity of Suakin, towards the north and west, the country is fairly open for a mile or two, but beyond this radius, and south-west towards Tamai, the bush is thick.

The scrub is chiefly composed of the prickly mimosa-bush, growing sometimes to a height of six or eight feet, and of a growth of small shrubs in belts, following the shallow beds of the numerous watercourses or "khors," which carry off (in a north-easterly direction) the water flowing to the sea from the mountains during periodical summer and autumnal rains.

The slope of the plain being so very gradual, these watercourses or khors are rarely deep or abrupt, except at special points, as, for example, the "Khor Ghoub," near which Tamaniab and Tamai are situated. This great khor is 50 yards to 200 yards wide at the bottom, and from 20 feet to 60 feet below the general surface of the ground.

7. To appreciate properly the operations and the work of the troops in this campaign, it is necessary to bear in mind not only the nature of the country, but also the style of warfare practised by the enemy, which consists in long-range firing from cover, combined with desperate hand-to-hand assaults from the bush, through and under which they can steal unobserved.

8. The main difficulty in this campaign has been want of water. Here and there a well of brackish water might be found, and with labour the supply could be developed. But such an operation requires time, and for a force moving quickly it would be impracticable. Thus it became a principle that water to drink must be carried for the men, and this entailed the employment of a large number of transport animals, who all required to drink, whether that water were carried for them or derived from the scanty local supply obtainable at the place of halt.

9. The line to be taken by the railway was in a north-westerly direction from Suakin. This, the caravan route, passes through a country, part of which is inhabited by friendly or neutral tribes, and is the easiest line for the railway. The military operations would have been simplified had Osman Digna's

position and headquarters lain on this line. As it was, it was necessary to advance on Tamai, which is in a south-westerly direction from Suakin, and having accomplished the task of overcoming him, and of clearing the country for the construction of the railway, to make a fresh advance in a north-westerly direction.

10. Early in March the enemy occupied the line Tamai, Hashin, Handoub, south to north, but the main strength of their force was at Tamai, where about 7000 men were reported to be concentrated. Handoub was subsequently evacuated by the enemy, and Hashin became a position of some importance as it threatened the right flank of my advance on Tamai. Screened by the bush and mountains, the enemy were able to reinforce this point from Tamai, and it was from here that they sent parties to creep up through the bush and harass our camps. During the first period, up to the advance on Hashin on the 20th March, the troops were subjected to continual night alarms. The enemy showed great audacity at this period, creeping through the advanced posts, unseen, in small parties, and attacking isolated sentries, stragglers, &c.

11. The first operation necessary, therefore, was to break up the concentration at Hashin. Having ascertained by a cavalry reconnaissance on the 19th March that the enemy were in force, I attacked them on the following day, the 20th, and established a post for a short time to discourage them from reoccupying the position. I have already reported in detail on this reconnaissance and action in my despatch of the 21st March. Although the troops behaved admirably, the action at Hashin was not decisive, as the enemy would not charge our squares at close quarters as they did on the next occasion.

12. On the 22nd March the action under Sir John McNeill [Despatch 28th March] was fought at the zeriba, six miles on the road to Tamai. The position of this fort was selected with a view to making it a depot for operations against either Tamanieb or Tamai according to circumstances. The attack of the 22nd March was the only serious attempt of the enemy to stop our advance. They were driven back with great slaughter, though not without severe loss on our side.

13. The next week was occupied in storing the zeriba with supplies and water, and in preparing for the advance on Tamai.

On the 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 28th, and 30th strong convoys proceeded to the zeriba. Those of the 24th and 26th were attacked in the bush, the enemy being repulsed on each occasion with great loss.

As the enemy were reported to have withdrawn from Tamai, a reconnaissance was made on the 1st April, which proved that they were still in some force, and I determined to advance and endeavour to compel them to fight.

14. And here I may be permitted to remove a somewhat confusing idea that Osman Digna is a great and warlike leader. The facts as ascertained are that he himself never appears on or near the scene of conflict, but is content to urge on his men from some safe position or inaccessible fastness.

15. On the 2nd April the force advanced to the zeriba, and thence to the Tesela Hills, near Tamai, and on the 3rd occupied and destroyed Tamai itself [Despatch 8th April], the absence of any formidable opposition proving that Osman Digna, notwithstanding his boasted intention of driving the British forces into the sea, had not forgotten his defeat at the battle of Tamai last year; and that the actions at Hashin and the zeriba, and the repulse of the attacks on the convoys, had rendered him quite unable to collect any body of men to meet us in the field.

16. I did not advance to Tamanieb because there seemed little or no probability of the enemy making any stand, and much labour would have been required to make the water at Tamai sufficient for the horses and transport animals of the force preparatory to a further move.

17. The enemy had now been driven from the positions they had taken up at Hashin and Tamai, and their forces were destroyed or dispersed. I therefore determined to endeavour to fulfil the second part of my instructions, and to proceed to open up the route for the railway. This work could not have been commenced earlier with advantage. Indeed, had time permitted, it would have been better to have delayed the commencement of the railway until more rolling stock and plant had been disembarked.

18. The troops returned on the 4th April, and as there was no reason to continue to occupy the zeriba, the garrison was withdrawn on the 6th April. On that date an advance was made towards Handoub, which was occupied on the 8th, Otao

on the 16th, and Tambouk on the 19th. The railway reached Otao on the 30th April, in a little over three weeks from the date on which the dispersion of the enemy's force was completed.

19. Looking upon all these operations merely as trying the qualities of the troops, it cannot be denied that they were severe tests, and that no troops could have stood them better. The harassing night alarms with enemies having all the stealthy cunning and ferocity of wild beasts, prowling about in their midst, only served to increase the vigilance of the men on outpost duties, and, while teaching caution, made them more eager to meet their enemy in fair fight. The long marches and toilsome convoy duties under a tropical sun; the repulse of the enemy's sudden charges in the bush; the toilsome ten nights' watch in the zeriba amid the carnage of a battlefield, are achievements of which any troops may be proud. As an instance of the high spirit that animated the whole force, I may mention that the 1st Battalion Berkshire Regiment, who bore so glorious a share in defeating the enemy's sudden and desperate onslaught of the 22nd March, continued to form part of the garrison of the zeriba until the final advance, and, though suffering great hardship, declined to be relieved.

20. During the progress of the railway the troops were not annoyed by the enemy beyond desultory firing at night, and some attempts to injure the telegraph and railway. They had, however, heavy duties to perform in clearing the bush, and the heat continued to increase. Although the enemy was now cowed, full preparation had to be made to meet any attempt to interrupt the progress of the railway, and successful reconnaissances¹ were directed in advance, and also into the neighbouring valleys, to clear them of Arabs, who, according to the information received, were collecting for the purpose of harassing our line of communications. The troops who took part in the reconnaissances showed great spirit and powers of endurance. On one occasion the 2nd Battalion Scots Guards marched a distance of nearly twenty miles over rough mountain passes without a man falling out. The 15th Sikhs, on several occa-

¹ Reconnaissances: To Otao, 13th April; Khor and Abent, 15th; Tambouk, 17th; Khor and Abent, 18th; towards Es Sibil, 24th; Khor and Adit, 29th; surprise and attack of Thakul, 6th May.

sions, displayed their splendid marching powers, and at the surprise of and attack on Muhammad Adam Sardoun, in the Thakul valley, the Camel Corps and Mounted Infantry marched all night, dismounted at daybreak, came fresh into action, and then, after climbing steep hills in pursuit of the enemy, they returned to camp, having made a march of over forty miles, half of which had been under a hot sun. This was done without any loss from over-fatigue.

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

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

23. It was unfortunate that the campaign should have been closed just when I had obtained the means of organising flying columns so as to move across the country as I did on the 6th May. The Camel Corps was most successful, but, owing to the lateness of the arrival of the camels, its organisation could not be commenced before the 18th April. Five hundred riding camels had been asked for by me before leaving England, and that number was ordered from India: out of these only about 300 were used for service with the Camel Corps, as no more men could be spared from the Infantry. These riding camels were very fine animals, and were equipped with saddles for two men each, so that 300 camels would carry about 500 fighting men, besides one native to every third camel. The

remaining camels were employed to carry infantry on the "ride-and-tie" system. The New South Wales Battalion and the 3rd Battalion Grenadier Guards were specially trained in this mode of camel riding, and as the Camel Corps could also apply the "ride-and-tie" system to any untrained infantry, I had the means of moving for an emergency about 1800 Infantry, one-half being always mounted. With the Camel Corps, Mounted Infantry, and Cavalry I could form a formidable flying column, and was preparing to make a simultaneous advance on Sinkat and Tamanieb when the announcement of the intended recall of the troops rendered further movements on an extensive scale inadvisable.

24. At the same time that the Camel Corps furnished me with the means of rapid movement notwithstanding the great heat, the arrival of pipes and pumps under the contract of Messrs Edwards & Tweddle promised to solve the greatest difficulty of the campaign—the want of water. The supply of water to troops in the front before the railway was made, and in advance of the line, was a most difficult service involving great labour and responsibility. The weight of water for each man's daily ration was at least 12 lbs., his ordinary rations weighing less than 4 lbs. The work of cleaning and filling the water-tins preparatory to a march had to be done at night. They had to be packed on camels, every camel carrying two tins of $12\frac{1}{2}$ gallons each, and were then started off before daybreak to join the convoy. On arrival at their destination the tins were either emptied into storage-tanks or piled and guarded preparatory to issue to the troops. Much water was, of course, lost in transit, from leakage and other causes. Incessant vigilance was required to guard the water amongst soldiers and camp-followers, many of whom suffered from intense thirst, and the fact that so little was stolen is another proof of the high sense of duty and discipline that pervaded the force.

25. From the date of my arrival at Suakin I endeavoured to establish confidence on the part of the Amarar tribes, hoping to be able to induce them to form a league which would include all tribes hostile to Osman Digna, or wearied of his cruel despotism. Little progress in this direction could be made, however, until the preliminary operations were concluded, and the advance along the Berber road began. On the 20th April

I appointed Major-General Lyon-Fremantle as Political Officer at the front, furnishing him with detailed instructions for his guidance. The main difficulty with which it was necessary to contend was the impossibility of giving any formal guarantee of protection to the tribes.

26. The capture on the 15th April of a large number of cattle intended for Osman Digna acted as a strong discouragement to those of the Amarar tribes who were still supplying him with provisions, while the break-up of the force under Muhammad Adam Sardoun on the 6th May produced a deep impression throughout the country. As a result, many chiefs at once opened direct communication, and large numbers of tribesmen gathered at and in the neighbourhood of Otao. Had the force remained in occupation of this advanced post, the whole of the Amarar tribes lying north of the Berber road would have been at our disposal, and I have no hesitation in saying that large numbers of the nominal adherents of Osman Digna would have followed suit.

27. At the period at which the evacuation of the advanced posts commenced the political question was practically solved. A large number of the Amarars had placed themselves unconditionally at my disposal, and a movement in our favour, which even embraced some of the Hadendowa clans, was on foot. It will be a matter of regret if the evacuation of the advanced posts prevents any advantage being derived from this movement, and the more so since the dissolution of the Amarar league in its infancy may serve to restore Osman Digna's prestige, and to throw increased power into his hands.

28. This campaign will be at least memorable as the first in which her Majesty's Colonial Forces have taken a part with British and Indian troops.

The New South Wales Contingent took its share in all hardships and dangers. The New South Wales Infantry had three men wounded at Tamai, and during subsequent operations they were always in the front. Had the contemplated advance on Sinkat and Tamanieb taken place, they would have formed a portion of the troops engaged. The officers and men were, as I have stated previously, trained to camel-riding, in which they soon acquired sufficient proficiency. The New South Wales Battery moved to Handoub, and by constant

drilling became fairly efficient, considering the many difficulties they had to contend with. The spirit of 'good fellowship' between the men of the Australian Contingent and the British troops was very noticeable. The highest credit is due to Colonel Richardson, and to the officers under him, for the excellent discipline and cheery readiness shown on all occasions.

29. In bringing to special notice the admirable conduct of the troops I had the honour to command, I wish to record my sense of the loyalty and devotion shown by the Staff and Regimental Officers, who never spared themselves, and set the troops a bright example of courage and endurance. The Departmental Officers also worked with the utmost zeal and intelligence. I wish specially to express my high appreciation of the value of the services rendered to the force by Major-General Sir G. Greaves, K.C.M.G., as Chief of the Staff. That officer combines rare qualities, being a thorough soldier in the field and very hard working in office. Having a perfect knowledge of every detail of duty, and being himself full of zeal and energy, Sir G. Greaves was invaluable in assisting me to organise the force and in carrying on the arduous work of Chief of the Staff during the campaign. He has brought to notice the following officers among those who have done good service under him: Brevet Lieut.-Colonel R. H. Murray, Seaforth Highlanders; Major K. S. Baynes, Cameron Highlanders, who acted as his Assistants; and his Aide-de-Camp, Major A. N. Rochfort, R.A. Colonel W. Arbuthnot acted as Deputy Adjutant-General, and is a most able Staff Officer. He carried on the duties of the Adjutant-General's Department to my entire satisfaction. I would also notice the services rendered by Major W. R. Cooke-Collis, Royal Irish Rifles, D.A.A. and Q.M.G.; Major C. W. H. Douglas, Gordon Highlanders, D.A.A. and Q.M.G.; and Lieut.-Colonel R. W. T. Gordon, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, Provost-Marshal. In the Intelligence Department Major G. E. Grover, R.E., the head of that department, and Captain G. S. Clarke, R.E., performed very excellent service. The latter officer also acted as Assistant Political Officer under Major-General Lyon-Fremantle, and displayed great ability and discretion.

30. Brigadier-General H. P. Ewart, C.B., commanded the Cavalry Brigade, and did his best to secure its efficiency. The

duties of the Cavalry were, owing to the nature of the country, very difficult—the thick bush in many places obstructing the view, while the rocky khors often hampered movements on horseback. Cavalry duty was well performed by the 5th Lancers and 20th Hussars, and I would mention Captain L. H. Jones, 5th Lancers, Lieut.-Colonel C. Mangles, and Major F. J. Graves, 20th Hussars.

The Mounted Infantry was ably commanded by Lieut.-Colonel H. F. Grant, 4th Hussars, and did excellent service. It was brought into a state of high efficiency in a very short time, and this result was due to the exertions of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, who took great interest in their work, and displayed much gallantry in action.

I would specially mention Captain F. B. Briggs, Prince of Wales's Own Yorkshire Regiment, and Captain A. St L. Burrowes, Royal Marine Light Infantry; Company Sergeants-Major Birch, Coldstream Guards, and Scudamore, Royal Marine Light Infantry.

31. The Camel Corps was formed under novel conditions, and the success attained was in great measure due to the energy and ability displayed by the commandant, Major W. C. James, of the Scots Greys, well assisted by the other officers of the corps, among whom I would notice Lieutenant Watson, Central Indian Horse, and Lieutenant Sparrow, New South Wales Infantry; also the following non-commissioned officers: Sergeants Wilmot, Indian Transport Corps, Redstone, Berkshire Regiment; and Corporal Reddie, New South Wales Infantry.

32. The Royal Artillery had peculiar difficulties to contend with, due to the nature of the operations and of the country in which these took place.

The Battery of Royal Horse-Artillery, under Major J. F. Meiklejohn, was maintained in a high state of efficiency.

The organisation of the Mountain Battery, the Ammunition Column, the Rocket Detachment, and the Gardner Battery had to be undertaken *ab initio*; the transport and drivers had to be trained, and the equipments got ready. All was quickly organised, and great credit is due to Lieut.-Colonel Stuart Nicholson, and the officers and men under him, among whom I would mention Major J. J. Congdon, R.A., Captain E. R. M. Crooke, R.M.A.; and Lieut.-Colonel Spalding, Major Airey, and Lieu-

tenant Nathan, New South Wales Artillery. The Royal Marine Artillery also did good service.

The Naval Detachment, under Commander Domville, R.N., with the Gardners, displayed in action the usual gallantry of the Royal Navy.

33. Colonel J. B. Edwards, C.B., commanded the Royal Engineers in an exceptionally able manner. His military knowledge and soldierly qualities render him a most valuable officer, and I am greatly indebted to him for his unfailing assistance in carrying out the many engineering operations which had to be undertaken in the campaign. He was most efficiently assisted by Major H. Whistler-Smith, R.E., as Brigade-Major. Lieut.-Colonel E. Wood, R.E., Captain and Brevet Colonel E. P. Leach, V.C., R.E., with Lieutenants F. C. Heath and A. G. Thompson, R.E., also rendered very important services throughout the campaign. Major H. F. Turner, R.E., was Director of Telegraphs. Lieut.-Colonel F. A. Le Mesurier, R.E., carried on the arduous duties at the base to my satisfaction. The following non-commissioned officers should be mentioned as having done good service: Sergeant-Major M. Dalton, Sergeants Donaldson and D. Lowry.

34. The work done by the Royal Engineers was of a very extensive and varied character. In the construction of zeribas, and in forming defensive posts at Suakin, Hashin, Handoub, Otao, and Tambouk; in the clearance of dense bush, and in the formation of ground for the railway; in the development of the water-supply, and in generally supplying the numerous engineering requirements of an army in the field, the energies of the officers and men were heavily taxed, and I cannot speak too highly of the way in which all this work was performed. The officers on all occasions proved their readiness and resource, while the men worked cheerfully under the most trying circumstances. The telegraph service was admirably carried on, and proved of the utmost use to the force. During the action of the 22nd March communication was maintained by telegraph with the zeriba. The railway owes much to the Royal Engineer officers employed in connection with it, while the 10th Company worked and maintained the narrow-gauge line and took charge of the water-supply at the base. This Company, which only landed on the 7th April, had 39 men

from the Engineer Volunteers, who had enlisted for the campaign. Of these 30 came from Newcastle-on-Tyne and Durham, and the remainder from the 1st Lancashire Engineer Volunteers. These men were all of trades suitable for railway work, and their services would have been of great value had the campaign lasted longer. As it was, the Volunteers worked well with their comrades of the Royal Engineers, and the Officer Commanding the Company reports most satisfactorily on the admirable spirit and discipline shown by them. It is interesting to note this fact, as it may be considered the first experiment in associating the Volunteer Force with a combatant branch of the regular army on active service.

The Balloon Detachment under Major J. L. B. Templer, 7th Battalion King's Royal Rifles, was attached to the Royal Engineers, and proved useful in reconnaissances on several occasions. On the 25th March a balloon accompanied the convoy to the zeriba, and probably frightened the natives, as no attack was made. Unfortunately the prevalent high winds generally made it impossible to employ the balloon.

The services of the Engineers were not, however, confined to the execution of works. The 17th Company, a portion of the 24th Company, and the Madras Sappers were present in the action of the 22nd March, and suffered severely while contributing materially to the heavy defeat there inflicted on the enemy.

As this despatch treats only of the military operations, I have not specially dealt with the railway construction, which forms the subject of a separate report.

35. Major-General A. J. Lyon-Fremantle, Commanding the Brigade of Guards, showed himself on every occasion an able and devoted officer. Having held command at Suakin during the summer of 1884, he had acquired a knowledge of the natives, and I therefore appointed him an Acting Political Officer when in command at Tambouk. In that capacity he rendered good service, showing great consideration, discretion, and tact in dealing with the friendly natives.

Major-General Lyon-Fremantle specially mentions the services rendered by Captain the Hon. F. W. Stopford, Grenadier Guards, who did duty as Brigade-Major after Captain the Hon. North Dalrymple, Scots Guards, was wounded. I

would mention Colonel R. T. Thynne, Grenadier Guards, Colonel A. Lambton, Coldstream Guards, and Colonel the Hon. W. R. Trefusis, Scots Guards, as thoroughly efficient Commanding Officers of Battalions. The following have also distinguished themselves: Captain H. P. St J. Mildmay, Captain and Adjutant A. F. Luttrell, Grenadier Guards; Lieut.-Colonel J. B. Sterling, and Captain and Adjutant the Hon. H. C. Legge, Coldstream Guards; Colonel H. H. D. Stracey, and Lieutenant H. D. H. Barnett, Scots Guards; Sergeant-Major Hall, Colour-Sergeant Garstin, Private Thompson, Grenadier Guards; Sergeant-Major Dickenson and Privates Chinner and Sheldon, Coldstream Guards; and Colour-Sergeant Livesay, Sergeant Gray, and Private T. Hammond, Scots Guards.

The Brigade of Guards had their full share both of fighting and of hard work throughout the campaign, and have well maintained the high character of her Majesty's Guards. During the latter part of the operations two battalions of the Guards and the New South Wales Infantry were always in the front, and had to clear the bush and perform the many arduous duties incidental to an advanced position in the field.

36. The Battalion of New South Wales Infantry was attached to the Brigade of Guards, and is highly praised by Major-General Lyon-Fremantle for its good discipline. It was commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Wells, and I would also mention the following officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of this fine battalion: Majors Mackenzie and Morris, Lieut.-Colonel Paul, Captain and Adjutant Bartlett, and Lieutenant Burnside, Sergeant-Major Tuite, Colour-Sergeants Liggins, Shipway, and J. Burns. I have ventured to submit so many names for favourable notice, considering the case of the New South Wales Infantry as quite exceptional.

37. The 2nd Brigade was commanded by Major-General Sir John C. McNeill, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.M.G. This officer led the troops who crowned the Dihilibat Hill at Hashin on the 20th March [Despatch 21st March], and on the 22nd had command at the action of the zeriba [Despatch 28th March], which he held until the final advance on Tamai.

Sir John McNeill afterwards commanded the force covering the advance of the railway to my entire satisfaction. He was ably assisted by Brevet Lieut.-Colonel W. F. Kelly, Royal

Sussex Regiment, Brigade-Major. Colonel W. H. Ralston, 2nd Battalion East Surrey Regiment; Lieut.-Colonel A. G. Huyshe, 1st Battalion Berkshire Regiment; Lieut.-Colonel R. H. Truell, 1st Battalion Shropshire Light Infantry; and Lieut.-Colonel N. F. Way, R.M.L.I., commanded their respective battalions with energy and efficiency.

The 2nd Brigade was composed of three remarkably fine Battalions and of the Royal Marines. Throughout the campaign this Brigade displayed all the qualities of the best troops.

The Battalion of Royal Marines did excellent service, and bore their share in gallantly repulsing the formidable attack on the zeriba on the 22nd March, and in the subsequent hard work. This Battalion did arduous duty during the summer of 1884, when it held Suakin against the attacks of the Arabs, and had to bear up against the trying climate.

The following officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the 2nd Brigade are specially noticed:—

2nd Battalion East Surrey Regiment: Lieut.-Colonel J. R. Collins, Major L. Hornby, Orderly - Room Quartermaster-Sergeant R. H. Curson, Quartermaster-Sergeant J. Cranitch.

1st Battalion Berkshire Regiment: Lieut.-Colonel W. J. Gillespie, Major C. B. Bogue, Captain St G. J. Rathborne, Sergeant-Major W. Mathieson, Colour-Sergeant Cloke.

1st Shropshire Light Infantry: Major H. D. Rooke, Lieutenant and Adjutant G. C. Vesey.

Royal Marines: Major S. V. Alston, Captain T. Bridge, Sergeants Joseph Gibbons and C. W. Martin, Lance-Sergeant Thomas Reed, Privates John Anderson, Charles Clarke, and William Bailey.

38. The Indian Contingent was most efficient. The 9th Bengal Cavalry, 15th Sikhs, and 28th Bombay Infantry were conspicuous for their gallantry in the field and smartness on parade, while the 17th Bengal Infantry did good service in garrison at Suakin. The Queen's Own Madras Sappers and Miners again proved themselves first-rate troops, whether for fighting or for work. Brigadier-General J. Hudson commanded the Indian Contingent. He is a thorough soldier, with great coolness and marked capacity for command, and from his long experience is thoroughly well qualified for the command of Indian troops.

Brigadier-General Hudson received able assistance from his Staff and Departmental Officers, among whom he mentions Major R. M'G. Stewart, R.A., A.A.G. and A.Q.M.G.; Major J. Cook, Bengal Staff Corps, Brigade-Major; Colonel Walcott, Chief Commissariat Officer; Major Shakespear, Chief Transport Officer; Brigade-Surgeons Thornton and Morice, Bengal Medical Service. Colonel A. P. Palmer commanded the 9th Bengal Cavalry with great dash and energy, and the services of this fine corps were very valuable. I would also bring forward the following as able and efficient officers: Colonel George Hennessy, Commandant 15th Sikhs, and Colonel H. Singleton, Commandant 28th Bombay Infantry; Captain C. B. Wilkieson, R.E., Commanding the Company of the Queen's Own Madras Sappers and Miners, who was wounded at the zeriba on the 22nd March. The following officers deserve mention: Major D. Robertson, Ressaldar Hakin Singh, 9th Bengal Cavalry; Major D. W. Inglis, Subadar Goordit Singh, 15th Sikhs; Captain and Adjutant F. M. Drury, 17th Bengal Infantry; Lieut.-Colonel R. Westmacott, Subadar Rama Kurrikur, 28th Bombay Infantry.

39. The Base and Line of Communications were commanded by Major-General C. B. Ewart, R.E., a most able, zealous, and hard-working officer, who carried out the difficult duties of his position with great judgment and discretion. He was ably assisted by Brevet Lieut.-Colonel H. G. M'Gregor and Major Hare.

40. The Signalling Department was most useful, and was soon well organised under the direction of Major E. T. Browell, R.A. Officers, non-commissioned officers, and men all worked well, and the following are specially mentioned: Captain E. Rhodes, Berkshire Regiment; Lieutenant A. H. O. Lloyd, Grenadier Guards; Corporal Graham, 5th Lancers; Lance-Corporal Taylor, Berkshire Regiment; and Colour-Sergeant Sibbald, Grenadier Guards.

41. The Chaplains attached to the Field Force, whether Church of England, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, or Wesleyan, were zealous and active in their duties; and I desire to acknowledge the services of the Senior Chaplain, the Rev. W. H. Bullock, and of the Rev. B. Collins, Roman Catholic chaplain, who displayed great coolness and presence of mind when at the fight of the zeriba on the 22nd March.

42. It may be fairly said that in few operations of war has such a large and efficient Commissariat and Transport been organised in so short a time. Lieut.-Colonel J. A. Robertson, Assistant Commissary-General, is an especially good officer and a most capable organiser, deserving great praise for his energy and resource. Lieut.-Colonel C. E. Walton, Assistant Commissary-General, the Director of Transport, organised a large transport under great pressure, and has kept it in a most efficient condition. Notwithstanding the marches and constant convoy duties, the casualties other than in action among transport animals have been very few; and I attribute this successful result to the exertions of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the Department. I beg to bring the following especially to notice: Major J. A. Clarke, Assistant Commissary-General; Captain E. W. D. Ward, D.A.C.G.; Captain E. A. de Cosson, acting D.A.C.G.; Captain E. F. Law, acting D.A.C.G.; Quartermasters F. L. Cassell, J. Howland, and W. Johnson; and Conductor H. E. Champion.

43. Besides the Commissariat and Transport of the Indian Contingent, which departments were excellently managed and satisfactory in every way, a large amount of transport for the British force came from India organised and equipped, and with its own officers, which proved of the greatest value. Lieut.-Colonel S. Beckett of the Bengal Staff Corps was in charge of the transport from India, and did good service, showing himself to be a capable officer. He was ably assisted by the officers and non-commissioned officers of the Indian Transport Department, among whom I would specially notice Brevet-Major G. H. E. Elliott.

44. The Medical organisation was most complete, and its working thoroughly efficient, and the same may be said of the medical arrangements of the Indian Contingent. My acknowledgments are due to Deputy Surgeon-General O. Barnett, C.I.E., P.M.O., Deputy Surgeon-General G. L. Hinde, Brigade-Surgeons J. Warren and W. Tanner, and to Surgeon-Majors J. A. Shaw, J. Fleming, and G. J. H. Evatt. The Nursing Sisters, among whom may be mentioned Sisters Ireland, Norman, King, and Burleigh, rendered excellent service, and were unremitting in their care and attention to the sick and wounded.

The army of Suakin is indebted to the National Aid Society

and to its Commissioners, Sir Allen Young and Mr Kennett Barrington, for many comforts, and its Medical Officers gave valuable aid.

45. The Ordnance Store Department was severely tried during the operations, for not only had it to deal with a vast amount of stores and munitions of war, but also with a large number of special articles of equipment. Great credit is due to all concerned, especially to Major E. G. Skinner, Assistant Commissary-General, a very energetic and capable officer, who, with the assistance of the departmental officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, was able to overcome all difficulties in a most satisfactory manner. I would mention Major H. St George, A.C.G., in charge of the Ordnance Depot, and Quartermaster C. Hunter.

46. Lieut.-Colonel R. G. Craig, the Chief Paymaster, performed his duties to my satisfaction, and his officers worked well.

Principal Veterinary Surgeon W. B. Walters administered his department with ability, and his officers satisfactorily attended to the sick horses and transport animals.

The Army Postal duties were carried out under Major Sturgeon, A.P.O.C.

47. From Commodore More-Molyneux and the squadron of the Royal Navy under his command I received the most cordial assistance. In the small and intricate harbour at Suakin much depended upon the way the large transports were handled; and that no accident happened, and that the heavy work of disembarking troops, animals, and stores was successfully carried on, was due to the zealous and energetic superintendence of Captain Fellowes, R.N., Naval Transport Officer, and his assistants.

Until the special ships arrived from England, the water-condensing work was done by extemporised plant prepared by the artificers of the squadron. In this work Commander Wilmot, H.M.S. Dolphin, and Messrs Spalding and Ford, Chief Engineers, did good service.

48. I have to acknowledge my obligation to Colonel H. Chermside, R.E., the Governor-General of the Red Sea Littoral, for the service rendered by him to the expedition. Colonel Chermside was appointed Egyptian Military Commissioner, and

was always most anxious to give me every information and assistance in his power.

Mr A. B. Brewster, Director of Customs at Suakin, acted as Chief Interpreter and Secretary to the Intelligence Department. His services have been of much value to that department.

49. Before concluding this despatch I wish to record my appreciation of the aid afforded to me by my Personal Staff.

Major E. H. H. Collen, Bengal Staff Corps, is an officer of exceptional ability and experience. He is an excellent Staff officer, and has given me most valuable assistance as Military Secretary. My Aides-de-Camp—Lieutenants the Hon. J. M. Stopford, Grenadier Guards, W. C. Anderson, R.A., and C. G. Lindsay, R.N. (Naval Aide-de-Camp)—also performed very efficient service.

50. My warmest thanks are due to all ranks of the Suakin Field Force for the loyal help they have given me. That force was composed of the British troops of her Majesty, and of the Native soldiers of Her Empire in India, and with them were united her Majesty's Colonial Forces and Detachments of English Volunteers. But though the troops were drawn from so many different sources, all were animated and bound together by a firm determination to preserve untarnished the reputation of the British army.

By their efforts the power of Osman Digna was so broken that for all practical purposes the country was completely cleared; the railway was being pushed on as fast as the plant could be landed; the tribes were rapidly submitting to us; so that, had circumstances permitted the continuance of the great enterprise on which the force was engaged, it would, I am convinced, have been successfully carried out.—I have, &c.,

GERALD GRAHAM, Lieut.-General.

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