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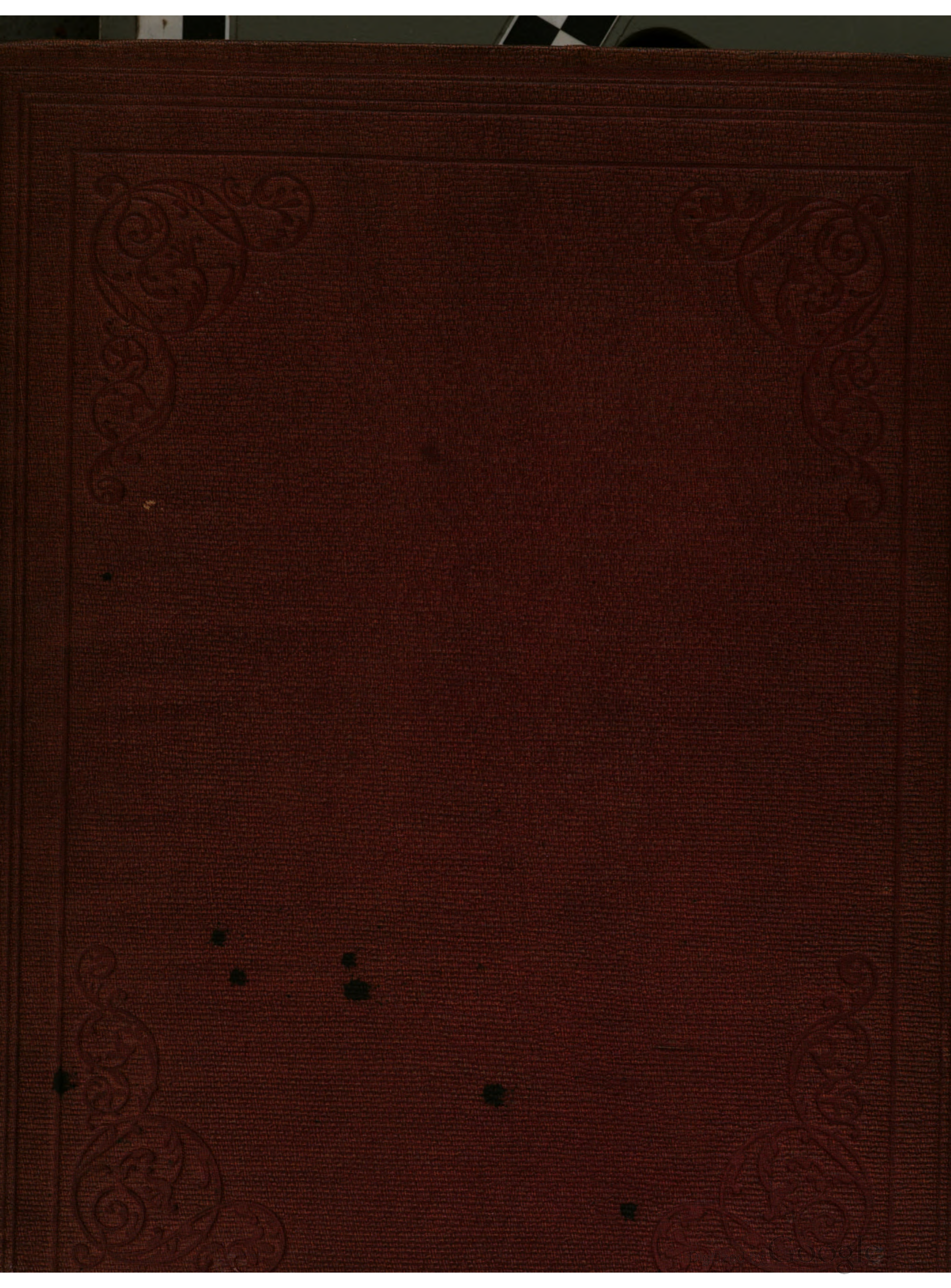
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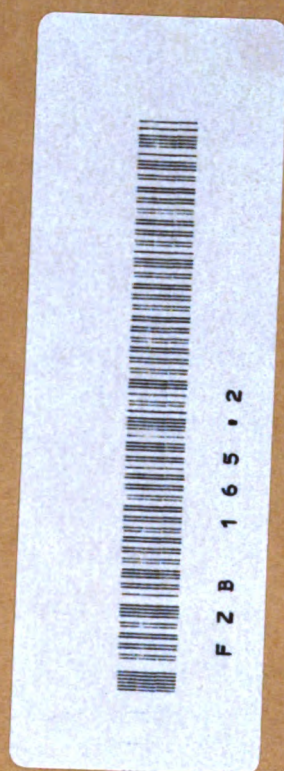
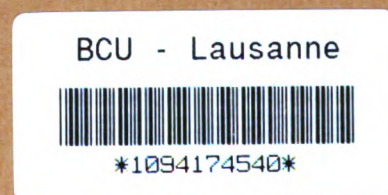
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RECORD
OF THE
EXPEDITION TO ABYSSINIA

COMPILED BY ORDER OF THE
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR

BY
MAJOR TREVENEN J, HOLLAND, C.B. BOMBAY STAFF CORPS
AND
CAPTAIN HENRY M, HOZIER, 3RD DRAGOON GUARDS

VOL. II



UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
COLONEL SIR HENRY JAMES, R.E. F.R.S. M.R.I.A. &c.
DIRECTOR OF THE
TOPOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL DEPARTMENT.
WAR OFFICE.

1870.

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(IN TWO VOLUMES, AND CASE OF MAPS.)

VOL. II.

LONDON:

Printed under the Superintendence of Her Majesty's Stationery Office,

AND SOLD BY

W. CLOWES & SONS, 14, Charing Cross; HARRISON & SONS, 59, Pall Mall; W. H. ALLEN & Co., 13, Waterloo Place;
W. MITCHELL, Charing Cross; and LONGMAN & Co., and TRUBNER & Co., Paternoster Row:

Also by

A. & C. BLACK, EDINBURGH;
ALEX. THOM, Abbey Street, and E. PONSONBY, Grafton Street, DUBLIN.

1870.

173 165



(P. 256—525. 5 | 70—H & S. 7550.)

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RECORD
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CHAPTER XIII.

OPERATIONS FROM THE 10TH TO THE 20TH MARCH.

On the 10th of March, the following Order was issued authorizing Commissariat Officers to make issues and purchases on the public service on certificates on honour :—

“ The difficulties of obtaining regular vouchers for issues, and of making purchases on a regular system of accounts, having been brought to the notice of the Commander-in-Chief, and his Excellency being fully aware of the fact, hereby authorizes Commissariat Officers to make all necessary issues and purchases, whether duly supported or not, so long as they are *bond fide* on the public service (to officers and others with the Force inclusive), such issues and purchases being considered as adjusted when supported by the Commissariat Officer's certificate on honour of their correctness.

Commissariat Officers authorized to make purchases on certificates on honour.

“ All dead stock, such as empty boxes, cans, tins, and bags, not required for public service, should be thrown away, and not carried, the transport of the Army, and the circumstances of the campaign, not admitting of their disposal otherwise.

“ This order to have retrospective effect from the date of the commencement of the operations of each dépôt and field commissariat.”

On the 11th of March, savings banks were established, and the following Order was issued :—

“ Savings banks will be re-established in British batteries and regiments serving in this command.

Savings Banks Established.

“ As it has happened that in some corps savings banks' ledgers have been left in India, and that new ones cannot now be procured, the following system will be adopted :—

“ Deposits will be made once a month only.

“ The amount deposited will be entered in the men's small book, and also in the day-book ; the signature of the officer commanding the company being attached to the latter entry.

“ Each month's deposit will be kept separate, and interest will not be calculated or added to principal until the end of the campaign.

“ No withdrawals to be allowed.

“ On the return of the regiment or battery to England or India, the company

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"and regimental ledgers will be written up from the entries in the day-books and men's small books, interest being calculated month by month, and added to principal every three months. The accuracy of the accounts will be vouched for in the usual manner by the Commanding Officer, second in command, and Adjutant, and then submitted for audit."

Advance
from
Antalo.

Amba Alaji.

Masgah.

Mashik.

Amba
Alaji.

Atsala.

On the 12th March, Sir Robert Napier left Antalo and moved southwards: with him marched three troops of the 3rd Light Cavalry, "A" Battery of the 21st Brigade Royal Artillery, the 10th Company Royal Engineers, the 4th (King's Own) Regiment, and two companies of Belooches. The Commander-in-Chief moved by the more westerly route, which led by Mashik and the Alaji Pass to the Atsala Valley, instead of by the one which had been unfortunately selected by the reconnoitring party, wasting the toil of the Pioneer force in needless efforts to render the rugged Gurubdek-dek Ravine and Mesno Hills passable for Artillery. In this unnecessary task several days were consumed before the easier route by Amba Alaji was adopted. The troops which moved with the Commander-in-Chief halted on the 12th at Masgah, and on the 13th at Mashik, where they remained for the following day, and assisted in clearing the route towards Masgah on the one hand, and Atsala on the other. The distance from Antalo to Masgah was $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles, from Masgah to Mashik, 8 miles; Mashik to Atsala, $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The road from the Antalo camp of Buyah to Masgah led over the Chaffit plateau, which attains a relative height of about 500 feet, descended through a steep ravine to the Adi Kutani rivulet, and crossed the fertile valley watered by the stream. Thence, to the camp on the Mai Masgah was a distance of 3 furlongs over a rugged road. Immediately below the camp the river entered the gorge of Gurrub Kumayli, on both sides of which might be seen defences erected by Gobaze's troops, constructed of rough stones, whilst on the southern side of the river could be traced the remains of his camp. There were several small villages on the surrounding hills, but only small patches of ground were cultivated in the valley itself. From Masgah to the camp on the Mashik the road traversed an open undulating country, until, near the villages of Aibeto and Melato, it entered the valley of the Mai Mashik. It led either through the fertile cultivated bottom of the valley, or crossed the sparsely wooded hill slopes on its sides. The valley above the camp of Mashik was narrow for some distance; beautiful woods covered the mountain sides. Near the church of Bet Mara it again opened, and there were cultivated fields and plenty of forage. Beyond, the road ascended to the pass below Amba Alaji, a mountain stronghold of Waldo Yesus, which rose to a height of 800 feet above the Pass. The height of this Pass was about 10,000 feet. The descent into the valley of Atsala, 2,000 feet below it, proved rather difficult. Traces of zigzag road made by King Theodore could still be traced here. Atsala itself was a well cultivated valley, about a mile wide. Below the camp the river entered a gorge formed by spurs from the mountains on either side of it.

Sir Robert Napier himself, with a small escort of the 3rd Light Cavalry, made a double march on the 13th to Atsala, where he came up with one portion of the Pioneer force. Here he found the head-quarters and five companies of the 33rd Regiment, two companies of the Punjab Pioneers, and 150 sabres of the Sinde Horse. These troops were at once set to work to improve the roads. The Punjab Pioneers were sent to the top of the Alaji Pass to improve the road up the northern side; the 33rd worked between the top of the Pass and Atsala. By the evening of the 14th the whole road was cleared. Orders were sent back to Antalo that the Armstrong Battery of Artillery should at once move to the front on elephants, escorted by the main body of the Punjab Pioneers. On the

following day (15th March), the Commander-in-Chief halted in his camp on the Atsala, and the troops quartered there were employed in clearing the route towards Makan, over the steep hills of Debra Musa. On this day Sir Charles Staveley marched into Atsala with "A" mountain battery, the 4th King's Own, the Beloochees, and the 3rd Light Cavalry.

From Atsala, orders were sent that the Lowland Transport Train was to extend its operations and henceforth work as far as Adigrat, the Highland Train taking up the working from that station to the front. In the meantime two squadrons of the 12th Bengal Cavalry had left Senafè on the 9th and 11th March, and moved by double marches for the front, escorting 200,000 dollars and the Artillery reserve ammunition, and relieving the postal detachments between Adigrat and Antalo. The detachments so relieved proceeded to join their regiments in the front. The 23rd Punjab Pioneers left Adigrat on the 9th, the Naval Brigade on the 10th, and the Light Engineer Park on the 11th. The head-quarters and six companies of the 45th left Zula for the front on the 9th March. The left wing of the 3rd Native Infantry arrived at Adigrat on the 11th. The head-quarter squadron of the 12th Cavalry, with 100 camel-loads of Snider ammunition, arrived at Senafè on the 11th, and left, to move to the front by double marches, on the following day. It was reported from Antalo that the "B" Battery 21st Brigade, Royal Artillery, and the "K" company Madras Sappers had arrived there on the 13th March.

Lowland Train to work from Zula to Adigrat.

Movements of troops.

"At this time, the last return received from the Director of Transport Train, dated 8th March, showed that there were on that date, 4,682 Camels, 9,793 Mules, 954 Ponies, 4,278 Pack bullocks, and 534 Draught bullocks, in the train.

Captain Holland's Report of 14th March.

"Of these, 8,000 mules and ponies had been specially told off for duty with the Highland Train, to work from Senafè to the front; the whole of these animals had not, however, entered upon their duties in the highlands. There were, however, on the above date 5,562 mules and ponies with the Highland Train, and of these, 684 were reported sick. No return of the number of sick in the Lowland Train had been received.

Strength of Transport Train.

How employed.

"The Lowland Train was fully employed in pushing commissariat and military stores and troops from Zula up to Senafè; and it had now the assistance of 273 mule-carts and 262 bullock-carts which had been brought into work.

"The strain upon that portion of the Transport Train working on the highlands had, in a great measure been reduced by local transport procured for the conveyance of Commissariat stores, such as flour, grain, &c., from Senafè to Antalo; large numbers of native pack bullocks, mules, and donkeys were daily employed for this purpose, and the system had, so far, been found to answer admirably. The natives in the neighbourhood of Antalo, however, were not so willing to enter into an engagement for the conveyance of supplies to the front, through fear of the Gallas, whose territory the army had now entered. An officer had been sent to Berbera with directions to purchase as many camels and donkeys as possible, and orders had also been sent to Egypt for a further supply of transport animals of every description to replace casualties, and to reinforce the Lowland Transport Corps, the strain upon which was still very great.

Local Transport.

Purchases in Berbera.

"The last report received (13th March) regarding the progress of the railway from Zula to Kumayli showed 6 miles and 576 yards of the line to have been completed on the 26th ult., leaving 5 miles 1,184 yards still to be completed.

Railway.

"The Commanding Engineer reported that many and great difficulties had had to be contended against from the different descriptions of plant forwarded from India. He stated that the rails received from Kurrachee differed in size from those sent from:

"Bombay, that many of them were bent, and that the fish plates attached were not bolt-drilled in a uniform manner. In addition to this, there had been a paucity of skilled workmen and an insufficient amount of ordinary labour, on account of the number of other works in hand at Zula, but orders had been issued for every available man to be put upon this work. The officers commanding at Zula and Senafè had been directed to render every assistance in their power, by placing strong working parties at the disposal of the Commanding Engineer.*

Lieut.-Col.
Wilkins'
Report on
Engineering Works
at Zula,
11th March.

Progress of
Railway.

* The following letters, dated the 11th and 18th of March, show in detail the progress made in some of the engineering works at Zula, and the difficulties to be met in carrying on the railway :—

"Sir,

"Camp Zula, 11th March, 1868.

"With reference to my letter of yesterday's date, concerning the railway, I have the honour to report this morning for his Excellency's information, that the last piece of cutting and embankment where the line debouches on to the Kumayli Plain from the rugged ground near the large torrent, is now being finished off. Lieutenant Merewether's three miles of finished earthwork meets Captain Darrah's at this point, consequently, rapid progress in the works may be expected, if we can only get the line freed from the shipping.

"2. Since the beginning of the month, two Cavalry regiments have been landed, and a very large number of camels are being landed daily; this has much interfered with the landing of railway plant. The camels are an intolerable nuisance, their debarkation is such a protracted operation, and the piers and lighters are absorbed in the business.

"3. The Commissariat claims upon the railway service are so heavy, and, of course, their business takes priority over everything else, even railway progress; night trains for railway plant must be run. This is objectionable, but must be done.

"4. I am happy to say that this morning water was found in Lieutenant Merewether's well, made by Madras Sappers, just at the junction of the works. The well is no less than 85 feet in depth, the water is good, and with the well at the sixth mile, will water the working parties. Nothing, however, can be spared for others.

"5. I will place one and a-half companies of Madras Sappers in the Suru Pass to get out such boulders as may be removed with safety, unless his Excellency would send up another company to the front.

"6. The No. 1 Company Bombay Sappers had better return to Zula; one company is always required there.

"I have, &c.,

"(Signed)

H. ST. CLAIR WILKINS, Lieutenant-Colonel,

"Commanding Engineer."

"To Captain Holland, Assistant Quartermaster-
General, Army Head-Quarters."

Lieut.-Col.
Wilkins'
Report of
18th March.

"Sir,

"Camp Zula, 18th March, 1868.

"In the Progress Report of Engineering Operations up to the close of last month, forwarded this day, his Excellency Sir Robert Napier, G.C.S.I. and K.C.B., will observe the progress made with the railway up to the close of last month.

"2. Although some progress, under the head of 'Completed Line,' has been made this month, with his Excellency's permission I would suspend making any daily reports for a few days, until more progress under this head can be shown.

"3. The mile and a-half near the seventh mile has been the heaviest on the line as respects bridges, cuttings, and embankments, and also as regards plate-laying, owing to the curves. All these works have been sadly retarded by an adverse combination of circumstances arising at the same time. The plate-laying has never yet been delayed for earthworks, owing to the skill of the 23rd Punjab Pioneers, and the full assistance of troops kindly given by the Zula Brigade authorities.

"4. The heavy earthworks were more than half finished when the Pioneers suddenly left for the front, causing a derangement in Captain Darrah's works not to be remedied. Some of the 45th Sherwood Foresters were subsequently sent out, but the greater number left again in a few days, and only 150 remain. The Army Works Corps on the railway were also reduced to 150 men, owing to most pressing requirements at Zula on other engineering works, the brigade being unable to give any working parties. Then, again, the rails had been fixed over a long length, and required the skilled platelayers to adjust and ballast, when the three best men suddenly fell ill. The weather also became most oppressively close and hot. Combined with these circumstances, the Commissariat required for some days extra trains. The engines were overworked, and two out of the three on shore, already old and worn, speedily succumbed, and had to go into the fitters' workshops, and this robbed the railway of plant trains.

"The telegraph lines were complete and in working order to Adigrat, a distance of 101 miles from Zula, though interruptions constantly occurred by breaks in the line, generally supposed to be caused by natives of the country, who stole the wire. The progress of the line onwards to Antalo was delayed on account of a want of poles; none suitable were procurable in the neighbourhood, and the transport animals were fully employed in carrying up provisions and moving troops. Telegraph lines.

"The 2nd Company Bombay Sappers and 53 Lascars had been placed at the disposal of Lieutenant St. John, R.E., Director of the Telegraphs, to assist in putting up posts and laying the wire.

"The head-quarters of the 10th Company Royal Engineers, including the photographers and signallers, generally marched with the head-quarters camp. The photographers had been employed in photographing plans and views, as well as surveys of the route onwards, prints of which were handed over to commanding officers of corps previous to the march. Ten non-commissioned officers and men of Her Majesty's 33rd Regiment had been instructed in the use of flags, for the purpose of signalling, and the men of the 10th Company Royal Engineers had occasionally been practised with the army night signals. Photo-graphers. Signallers.

"Lieutenant Le Messurier, R.E., with a party of the 10th Company Royal Engineers, had been engaged in improving the supply of water, and the arrangements for watering animals at all the posts occupied by troops from Kumayli to the front. Water supply.

"The supply of water at Kumayli, the largest dépôt on the line, was now reported ample, and was distributed by means of six Norton's tube-wells, one Bastier's 2.5" chain-pump, one fire-engine, and six dipping-wells. At Upper Suru troughs and tubs had been fixed, and 18,000 gallons of water stored by the roadside, and a second road to lead to the supply made, to avoid the high road at any time becoming blocked up. A tube well had also been driven, which afforded pure drinking water, and a separate tank had been reserved for the native Shohos. Kumayli.

"At Undul the supply was also reported good. One Bastier's 2.5" chain-pump had been fixed and two Norton's tube-wells driven. Troughs and shoots had been erected to Undul.

"5. The well at the sixth mile is only auxiliary to the Pioneer Wells in supplying the working parties with water. His Excellency will doubtless see that it is not an easy matter watering these working parties from wells three miles distant.

"6. There are now 648 men on the works at this end. Captain Darrah is about to shift camp again from the sixth mile, and he states to-day that, glad as he would have been of 500 men a week ago, the heavy work being just completed, he does not wish for more now, as he could not water them.

"7. Captain Darrah's works are now emerging into the plain again, and I am very hopeful for the future progress, and that the late most vexatious delay will not occur again.

"8. I have sent by the last mail to Bombay, enquiries as to the fifth and sixth engines, which have not been heard of here. I have desired that, if not already sent, new ones should be ordered out from England. I have also asked for three foremen platelayers.

"9. Please inform his Excellency that the Pile Pier is finished. It is 1,204 feet in length, but I would have carried it out much further had there been piles long enough. As it is, those at the head have been driven to low water and joined above. Pile Pier finished.

"10. In conclusion, I have only to express my grateful thanks to his Excellency for allowing the 23rd Punjab Pioneers to remain so long on the railway works. I shall take a further opportunity of expressing to his Excellency my sense of the skilful aid rendered to our public works by Major Chamberlain and his splendid corps.

(Signed)

"To Captain Holland, Assistant Quartermaster-General, Army Head-Quarters."

"I have, &c.,

"H. ST. CLAIR WILKINS, Lieutenant-Colonel,
"Commanding Engineer."

- “receive the supply from these wells, and one other dipping well had been dug, about
 “28 feet deep, with an average depth of about 4 feet of water in each.
- Enderta.** “At Enderta, half-way between Undul and Rahagedi, two wells of 30 and 40 feet
 “deep, had been dug in close proximity to the road, but no water reached. Small reserve
 “tanks had been made where the spring issued from the rock above, and ladders had been
 “erected against the face of the three cascades, so that the water above might be
 “more easily reached. At Rahagedi the drinking water for the camp ran from springs
 “into six tubs placed on stones, and tanks had been built by the road-side, from which
 “the water ran by its own gravity into 54 feet of troughing, erected for watering
 “animals.
- Senafè Ghât.** “At the foot of the Senafè Ghât arrangements for the water supply had been made,
 “and tanks had been dug, and four tubs placed for watering animals.
- Senafè.** “At Senafè the supply was ample, and had been well developed. Drinking water
 “was obtained from six Norton's tube wells; water for camp purposes was provided in
 “11 tubs fed by two additional Norton's tube wells. Water was supplied to the transport
 “animals in 80 feet of troughing, fed from a pond by a stone duct, and the surplus water
 “was utilized in irrigating the soldiers' gardens, which had been commenced at Senafè.
- Adigrat and Antalo.** “At Adigrat and Antalo the arrangements for water supply had been perfected.”*

Amba Alaji. The march from Maschik to Atsala lay over one of the great passes of the
 country, about 10,000 feet in height, above which scowled sullenly the almost inaccessible
 peak of Amba Alaji. The labour for baggage animals was very heavy, but, with good
 packing, they managed to ascend and descend without so much difficulty as might have
 been expected. The troops had by this time, from constant practice, much improved in
 their method of adjusting the loads on the animals; but many of the pack-saddles were
 of a very indifferent pattern, consisting solely of pads, across which the loads were
 slung in nettings called “sulleetahs.” Some were not even supplied with means of
 securing the loads, and in going down steep descents, the weight would be jerked forward
 on to the neck of the animal, which almost immediately fell. The incessant halts caused
 by the consequent delays were most vexatious, and the march was often so much retarded,
 that it was at last recognised that on such roads the infantry of the army could only be
 considered as a large baggage-guard. In consequence, Sir Charles Staveley adopted the
 system of distributing the regiments along the line of animals, and making each
 fighting man lead a mule. This reform was marked with success, for, though the track
 was steep, winding, and covered with loose stones, the march was accomplished in good
 time, and not a single load was left behind. Transport animals, unless provided with a
 driver each, are always under a great disadvantage in a rough country, from the
 necessity of tying them together in strings of three or four. Even with the most
 experienced and careful muleteers, this is a cause of much distress to the animals in
 passing over obstacles. The great advantage of a driver to each animal was amply
 demonstrated in Sir Charles Staveley's march to Atsala, as well as the freedom from falls
 or accidents of the mules which carried the batteries of the 7-pounder mountain guns.
 On the 16th March, the Commander-in-Chief, who from this time assumed in person the
 direction of the Pioneer Force, marched with it from Atsala to Makan, improving the
 road on the way. On arrival at the latter place, orders were sent back to Sir Charles

Each soldier
 to lead a
 mule.

* Fortnightly report by Captain Holland, Assistant Quartermaster-General, to the Horse Guards, dated the 14th March, 1868.

Staveley to march the following day to Bulago, and, halting there, to make the road practicable for the elephants which carried the mortars and Armstrong guns. On the following day the Commander-in-Chief halted at Makan, sending on five companies of the 33rd Regiment to Haya, half-way to Ashangi, to make the road practicable for mules to that place.

The 33rd regiment had constantly, since its landing at Zula, been employed on fatigue duties in making roads, improving approaches, &c. With 31 officers and 818 men, it left Kurrachee for Abyssinia on the 21st November, and arrived in Annesley Bay on the 4th December, 1867. Two companies, under Major Lacy, landed on the 7th, and occupied Kumayli, being the first detachment of a British regiment in Abyssinia. These two companies were employed in sinking wells. The head-quarters of the regiment remained on board ship till the 28th, when it was disembarked and encamped at Zula. Previous to this, one company had been sent on shore to catch stray mules, and to water and feed them. This company was joined by another after five days, and the two companies continued at that duty for 16 days, until all the stray mules were collected. When the regiment was on board ship, parties were landed twice a-day to take charge of the water tanks. The regiment finally moved up to Senafè in small detachments, the last arriving on the 12th January, 1868. At Senafè, large fatigue parties went out daily, cutting grass and wood, and road making, even the band and officers' servants were so employed. One company was sent to Goose Plain in charge of mules; from Goose Plain parties were sent out daily to protect the grass-cutters. Two companies assisted in making the road from Senafè to a short way beyond Focada. Two companies also made the road from Focada into Adigrat. One company went to the head of the Senafè Ghât, remaining there five days, cutting telegraph poles. From Adigrat, strong working parties were sent to the front, making roads. Wells were also sunk there by the regiment. From Dolo two companies made the road to the front. At Antalo the whole regiment was employed for five days road-making, clearing and preparing the site for the camp. The working parties were so strong that the band, as on a former occasion, had to go out. The left wing subsequently at that station assisted in making the fortification, working at it for three days. Large wood and grass-cutting parties were also sent out from Antalo for the Commissariat Department.

Fatigue
duties per-
formed by
33rd Regi-
ment.

Two companies joined the Pioneer Force on the 4th March, under Brigadier-General Field. They assisted to make the road to Mesno; returning from Mesno to Masgah, they made the road to Antalo. They were employed for about a fortnight on this duty. From Antalo three companies worked back, clearing the road. The head-quarters of the regiment joined the Pioneer Force on the 10th March. From Antalo, three companies worked to the front, making the road up the hill. The day the regiment advanced two companies were employed as working parties. Two companies worked on the road from Makan to Ashangi. The day after the regiment arrived at Ashangi every available man (band included) was sent back to make the road, for about five miles.

On the 17th March, in accordance with his orders, Sir Charles Staveley moved with his first brigade from Atsala to Bulago, and on the 18th pushed forward to Makan. The march from Atsala to Makan, a distance of about fifteen miles, was a very severe one, over a series of ascents and descents, which so sorely tried the baggage animals that many of those that accompanied the Pioneer Force broke down and had to be relieved of their loads, while a great number did not arrive till the following morning, though they left Atsala very early in the day. Three mountain-passes, separated from each other by the valleys of Aiba and Haya, had to be crossed in order to reach Makan, viz., the passes of Debra Musa, Debar, and Sahafti. Of these the Pass of Debar is the

Makan.

- most considerable and exceeds in height the Pass of Alaji. The mountains rising above this pass consist of granite, but to the south of it volcanic rocks prevail. It not only constitutes a geological boundary, but also a political one, for the countries to the south of it are tributary to the Wagshum Gobaze, and most of the inhabitants are Moham-medans. The difficulties of the road rendered a halt of the Pioneer Force necessary for one day. Advantage of this was taken to re-arrange the postal duties between the front and Zula. The mails were after this date carried by troopers of the 10th Bengal Cavalry between Zula and Senafè, and thence by troopers of the other Cavalry regiments, who were posted in small detachments along the whole line of commu-nications. At the same time the transport for sick and wounded, which was to accompany the force beyond Antalo, was definitely decided upon; and it was arranged that dhoolies or dandies should be taken forward in the proportion of three to every hundred fighting men. On March 18, Sir Robert Napier, with the remainder of the Pioneer Force, marched to Ashangi. The last part of the road was found bad, but it was made practicable for mules by the Sappers and Pioneers as they marched. An order was sent back to Sir Charles Staveley to halt at Haya, and with his first Brigade to further improve the road, so as to render it practicable for elephants. Orders were also sent to Antalo for the head-quarter wing of the 10th Native Infantry to move to the front as soon as it was relieved by the 3rd Native Infantry, and on overtaking the ele-phants with the guns and mortars, to march with them as an escort. The Head-Quarter wing of the 45th Regiment and head-quarter wing of the 3rd Native Infantry were also ordered to move to the front as soon as possible. Reports came in from Zula that animals and followers for the Transport Train were daily arriving; also from the in-termediate stations that the troops were quickly closing up to the front. The Head-Quarters and six companies of the 45th Regiment arrived at Senafè on 19th March, escorting a convoy of 300,000 dollars and of 400 rounds of ammunition per man, and pushed forward the next morning towards Adigrat. The 3rd Regiment Native Infantry arrived at Senafè on the 14th; two companies of Bombay Sappers and Miners reached Adigrat, from the same place on that day. The 23rd Punjab Pioneers, 485 strong, and the Naval Brigade, arrived at Antalo on the 16th, and on the 17th pushed forward with a detachment of Sind Horse, the "B" Battery of the 21st Brigade of Royal Artillery, and the left wing of the 33rd Regiment, which mustered 325 men, escorting 155,000 dollars. On the same day there arrived at Antalo small detachments of the 12th Bengal Cavalry, of the 3rd Light Cavalry, and of the Sind Horse, and the Royal Engineers engaged in the water supply, as well as the Engineer Park.
- By the 17th of March the following buildings had arrived at Zula from Bombay :— six Commissariat sheds, 120 feet by 24 feet each; one store shed, Ordnance Depart-ment; two store sheds, Land Transport; two store sheds, Engineer Park; one tem-porary hospital, with various quarters and outhouses, in all 21 buildings; one medical store depôt, and quarters for medical storekeeper, in all three buildings; two field powder magazines; six quarters, each for two officers; six ranges for European soldiers, each for thirteen men, with outhouses, in all six buildings; quarters for railway officers' servants, &c., in all ten buildings.
- Of the above there had been erected six Commissariat sheds. The only shed being erected at this time was the railway store shed.
- The Commanding Engineer reported that these sheds would require about two months for erection; the materials were being landed.
- Ten sheds, 100 feet by 24, of an inferior description, received from Aden, had also been put up. They were—Two for Native General Hospital, one for Chinese
- Postal Ar-rangements.
- Sick Car-riage.
- Haya.
- Ashangi.
- 45th Regi-ment arrive at Senafè.
- Movements of troops.
- List of buildings at Zula.

carpenters, one for gowndies (masons) and smiths, one as a railway office and store; four for Commissariat Department, and one for the Ordnance Department, and three additional were being put up for the Ordnance Department.

The route from Makan to Lake Ashangi lay round the foot of the Sarenga mountain range covered with juniper trees and mimosas, which formed a thick jungle. The path was irregular and winding. After crossing a deep valley, the Ashara summit was gained, whence the first view of Lake Ashangi could be obtained. Much had been said of this lake, and it was expected to be a wide sheet of water. Such was not the case, it was only about four miles long and three broad, but it was surrounded by noble hills, which enclosed besides the lake, a luxuriant and fertile valley, covered with waving crops of standing corn, while numerous villages were clustered on the hill-sides, as if sentinels on the fertility beneath them. The uninhabited borders of the lake were treacherous and deceitful, being nearly everywhere morasses, into which men sank without notice, and where more than one sportsman, too intent upon his game, sank down, and with difficulty escaped without being suffocated. The lake, though fresh water, had no apparent outlet.

The villages in the vicinity of Lake Ashangi are perched on high conical rocks, or on elevated situations on the hill-sides, and are surrounded by fences of Kolqual, to defend them from the attacks of the Azebu Gallas, who live not far off, are professors of the Mahometan faith, and are bound by the laws of their tribe each to kill a Christian before they can take a wife. The inhabitants of the villages near the lake, though themselves Mohammedans, do not hesitate to retaliate, and thus bloodshed is common in this district.

Some stragglers from the army suffered at the hands of the Gallas, but probably more on account of their own carelessness in violating the susceptibilities of these people, than because of any desire of the Gallas to enter into hostilities with the British troops.

The distance from Makan to the camp at Ashangi was about fourteen miles.

On arrival at Ashangi, the Commander-in-Chief received a report that Major-General Russell had reached Zula. He was immediately ordered to assume command at the port of debarkation, and Brigadier-General Stewart was moved up the pass to take command of the post at Senafè.

The following were the instructions issued by Sir Robert Napier for officers commanding stations on the line of march:—

“ They must be careful to keep up friendly relations with the people of the country, and must do their best to prevent any one under their command from illtreating them. Particular care should be taken to make friends with the chief men of districts and villages, who should, from time to time, be sent for, and received with a certain amount of attention.

“ The people of the country should not, however, be allowed to enter the camp,* and police should be placed on duty by day and night to prevent them doing so, except they are passed in by permission, as deputations, passengers, &c., or as small parties of visitors anxious to see the camp.

“ A spot close to the camp should be fixed upon as a market-place, and a flag hoisted there, to show the people where they are to come to sell their goods. All provisions,

Lake Ash-
angi.

Arrival of
Major-Gen.
Russell.

Instructions
for Officers
commanding
stations.

* Notice of this prohibition was ordered to be given by beat of drum in Abyssinian fashion, and also to be sent to chief men of villages in the neighbourhood of camp.

“ and grain, wood, and grass should be brought to the market place, and private purchases in other parts should be forbidden.

“ Grain and grass should only be bought by the Commissariat officer, or his agents, and an equal distribution of them made to the different corps and departments daily.

“ No fire-arms should be allowed to be brought into the market; police should be placed on duty there to keep order, and a guard should also be near at hand.

“ Every exertion should be made to get grain, wood, and grass brought in from the neighbouring villages in large quantities, so as to form, if possible, a reserve stock.

“ The officers in command of stations, whilst making every provision to ensure the safety of their camps, must be especially careful that guards are not unnecessarily strong. By day but few sentries can be required, and it would be better, therefore, to reinforce guards at night, instead of mounting at once the total number of men required. Should there be a necessity for a strong day guard, of course officers commanding stations will act on their own discretion in this matter.

“ Cavalry piquets, pushed forward to a good distance from camp, are the most efficient protection against surprise in a country such as we are at present campaigning in.

“ The vedettes should be ordered to patrol right and left along the arc of a circle, of which the camp should be considered the centre.

“ The troops in camp should be instructed how to act in case of a night attack, the signal for a general turn-out being ‘the assembly,’ which should never sound at other times, not even at Light Infantry drill, when the word of command can be employed instead of the bugle sound.

“ Orders should be issued for the guidance of camp followers in the event of a night attack. Muleteers and horsekeepers should be made to stand to the heads of the animals in their charge, and all other followers should have a distinct post assigned to them, where they must remain until the troops are dismissed to their lines. It will be the duty of the Provost-Marshal and his assistants to keep order amongst the followers.

“ Strict orders should be given that no soldier is to fire without a distinct order from his commanding officer.

“ The assembling for a night attack should be practised once or twice by daylight, and then when the Officer Commanding is thoroughly satisfied that every fighting man and follower is acquainted with his post, the troops should be occasionally turned out after dark.

“ Troops should be accustomed to moving over broken ground and up steep ascents as often as practicable.

“ Light Infantry movements should be specially practised, and soldiers should be instructed, when in skirmishing order, to be careful not to waste their ammunition. By taking advantage of ground a line of skirmishers should be able to push that of the enemy back, almost without firing a shot. No skirmisher should fire unless the odds are in favour of his hitting his man. The duty of the officers and non-commissioned officers will be to see that the privates act up to these instructions.

“ A Provost-Marshal, with an efficient establishment, must be appointed to every standing camp. The camp police will be under his orders. Natives of the country should never be flogged, except with the approval of the Chief attached to the station for the settlement of disputes, &c.

“ At stations where depôts have been formed for the reception of soldiers pronounced temporarily unfit to accompany their regiments, daily inspections should be made of such men by the Senior Medical Officer, in order that all who are fit for duty should take their turn of guards, fatigues, &c. No officer, non-commissioned officer, or

“ private, on the sick list, should be permitted to proceed to the front with the regiment
“ or corps to which he belongs, as sick carriage is intended for the conveyance of those
“ who fall sick on the line of march, and who consequently must be carried on, and not
“ for those who are on the sick list when the order to march arrives. Whenever a non-
“ commissioned officer or private who has been left behind sick is pronounced fit for duty,
“ a medical Committee, if possible, should be assembled to report as to whether he is fit
“ to join his regiment at the front ; and all who are declared so should be forwarded, as
“ opportunity offers, to the stations in advance, for ultimate delivery to the corps or
“ regiment to which he belongs.

“ The forwarding of provisions to the front by local transport should be carefully
“ watched, and every exertion made to keep up a constant supply.

“ When convoys of mules arrive at a station, and halt there for one or more days, the
“ officer commanding the station should make it his duty to inspect them closely, in order
“ to ascertain that they have been properly attended to whilst on the march. Should it
“ appear that there has been any neglect on the part of any officer belonging to the
“ Train, a strict enquiry should be instituted, and a report made to head-quarters of the
“ circumstances of the case.”

CHAPTER XIV.

OPERATIONS FROM THE 20TH TO THE 23RD MARCH.

Mussagita. ON 20th March, Sir Robert Napier, with the main body of the Pioneer Force, marched from Lake Ashangi, over the plain of Wofela, to Mussagita. The distance was short, not more than eight miles, and the road was not bad according to Abyssinian estimate, except for the first few hundred yards. The pass beyond Mussagita, leading over the Womberat chain of hills to Lat, was reported to be very difficult; therefore two companies of the Pioneers and two companies of Bombay Sappers were moved forward on the 20th to improve it, and the Commander-in-Chief halted on the 21st at Mussagita, sending forward a wing of the 33rd Regiment to assist them in their labours. On the 22nd, the A Battery of the 21st Brigade of Royal Artillery, and four companies of Beloochees, under Sir Charles Staveley, marched in one day from Ashangi, and joined the Commander-in-Chief at Lat. The distance from Mussagita to Lat was nearly seven miles, a steep and rugged zigzag up to the village of Adi-Woka. The road ran along the hill side, and was narrow and dangerous. Some laden mules fell over the precipitous rocks on this march. From Adi-Woka the road led by another rugged and steep fall to the ravine and thence across the Womberat range to the valley of Lat. Here arrangements were made to complete, if possible, the Highland Transport Train to the strength ordered of 8,000 mules, south of Antalo. It consisted, as stated in Chap. XI., of four divisions, each division consisting nominally of 2,000 mules, but, as at Lat, measures were adopted for striking sick and non-effective animals off the muster-rolls, and placing them in stationary hospitals or depôts along the line of communications: in the further advance the Highland Train actually counted only about 6,000 efficient mules. To each division were attached one Captain and three Subalterns, while the whole was under the command of Captain Hand, of the 82nd Regiment, who was responsible alone to, and received orders from, the officer at head-quarters conducting the duties of Quartermaster-General. Three permanent staff officers were attached to the Train, one of whom worked under Captain Hand at Head-Quarters; one was stationed at Antalo and one at Adigrat. It was the duty of these officers to supervise the gear, the arrangement of convoys, the hospitals and depôts, and to replace mules who arrived sick, footsore, or galled, by sound ones from the depôts at their disposal. There was besides an inspector, who continually passed up and down the line from station to station, took care that the proper arrangements were properly carried out, and reported daily confidentially to the Assistant Quartermaster-General at the Head-Quarters of the Force. By this time also the muleteers who had been despatched from Persia, Syria, and Egypt had been almost entirely replaced by natives of India, who could understand and be understood by their officers and by each other. A considerable proportion of the new muleteers were Punjabees, who had acquired experience in the mule trains of Lahore and Rawul Pindee, and were disciplined and armed, while for the others native arms were bought, which placed them on an equality at least with the Abyssinians. It was learnt from the experience of

Womberat chain.

Transport Train arrangements.

Highland Train.

Inspecting Officer.

Punjab muleteers.

this campaign that it is of great importance that the drivers of a transport train should be armed, as they are then enabled to dispense to a great extent with escorts, especially when the animals are sent out to graze; the side-arms are also available for cutting grass.

Advantage
of armed
muleteers.

At Lat new arrangements were made for the distribution of the troops, and it was ordered that all should proceed without baggage. The First Brigade was now to consist of the Head-Quarters, 3rd Sind Horse; A-21 Steel Battery; 33rd Regiment; Head-Quarters and six companies 23rd Punjab Pioneers; 10th Company Royal Engineers; and Head-Quarters wing, 27th Native Infantry. The Second Brigade consisted of the Head-Quarters, 3rd Light Cavalry; B-21 Steel Battery; Naval Rocket Brigade; and the 1st Battalion 4th King's Own Royal Regiment; and the Third Brigade, whose duty it was to make the road onward to Magdāla practicable for laden elephants, and to join the First and Second Brigades as soon as that work had been accomplished, consisted of four guns G-14 Royal Artillery, Nos. 3 and 4 Companies Bombay Sappers and Miners, two Companies Punjab Pioneers, two 8-inch mortars of 5-25 Royal Artillery, K Company Madras Sappers and Miners, one Company of the 33rd, and a Company of the 4th Foot.

Re-distribu-
tion of
troops, and
advance
without
baggage.

It had been no easy task to bring the four guns of the G Battery 14th Brigade up as far as Lat; and all ranks in the battery had worked hard under their indefatigable Commander, Captain Murray, to accomplish this end. As far back as December 22, 1867, the battery had left Zula, and marched to Kumayli. The road, for the first half of the distance, was then over a deep sandy plain; and the gunners had hard work in spoking the wheels of the carriages. They arrived in camp, however, without a single man having fallen out. The horses were not allowed to be watered at Kumayli, but were marched off in the afternoon, with the drivers, to Suru, *en route* for Senafè. From December 23 to the early part of February, the head-quarters of the battery, with the guns and wagons, had remained at Kumayli. The gunners were employed in Transport Train work, a detachment being sent to Zula to fit harness and packs for mules, and the remainder kept at Kumayli breaking in mules for draught, and rescuing stray animals from starvation. As many as 300 mules were at times in the battery lines, where they were groomed and fed, and, when fit for work, handed over to the Transport Train. During this time, the battery also relieved the station of Hadoda, some 6 miles distant, of a heavy quantity of Commissariat stores (1,200 camel loads and 118 cart loads), the mules sent out from Zula to be broken into harness being employed for this work. A week in the hands of the G Battery 14th Brigade made them quite tractable. The horses during this time were at Senafè.

March of
the G-14
Royal
Artillery
with the
Armstrong
guns.

On the 4th February, the battery left Kumayli at 9 o'clock in the morning, with six guns, forge and store carts in bullock draught, and marched to Upper Suru, where it arrived at 9 P.M., having been six hours in getting through the pass. The bullocks did very well on level ground, but as soon as they came to any difficulty they gave in, and in the end they had to be taken out, and, with the assistance of a party of the 25th Native Light Infantry, sent out by Lieutenant-Colonel Little, the carriages were dragged up the pass by hand. On the 7th the battery arrived at Goose Plain. The horses were waiting on the Senafè Ghât, and took on the carriages, and on the 10th it marched to Guna-guna; on the 11th to Focada. The road was rugged and narrow; in several places there were not 6 inches to spare between the outer wheel and the edge. The shaft horse of one of the guns was killed, the whole team having been dragged over the side by one of the centre horses slipping. In one place the men had to go to work with entrenching tools, the road being only $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, while the axle-trees were 6 feet 10 inches. On the 16th the battery marched from Focada at 9 A.M., and, on reaching the top of the Kharsaba Ghât the men took out the horses, and let the

carriages down over the side of the ghât by means of drag-ropes. It took two hours getting the battery down. The gunners had severe work, their number only allowing the formation of two detachments. Each detachment had to make four trips down the ghât, which was so steep and rough that the men in the shaft were several times taken off their legs. The battery arrived at Adigrat at 4 P.M., without accident to the men or damage to the guns. Two guns were left to protect Adigrat, and the remainder of the battery left Adigrat and arrived at Antalo on the 2nd of March. On the 11th, the elephants arrived, and commenced training. Sheers had been sent from India for the purpose of loading, but the tackle sent with them was found rotten and useless, and some of the rope too large to admit of reeving through the blocks, so the men had, on each march, to load and unload the carriages by hand, increasing greatly the amount of manual labour to be performed. On the 18th, the battery marched to Masgah on wheels; and on the next day to Mashik. On the 20th, they marched to Atsala, the battery on elephants. On the 21st to Makan. The elephants left at 8 A.M., and arrived at 11.30 P.M., except one, which had to be left out for the night, at a place 6 miles off, with the Serjeant-Major and two gunners, the animal totally unable to proceed. They came into camp next morning. On the 23rd, they marched to Ashangi; left at 7.30 A.M., arrived at 4 P.M. On the 24th, they marched to Lat; left at 7.30 A.M., arrived at 6 P.M.

Services of
Silladar
Cavalry.

Among the Silladar Cavalry Regiments, the 3rd Regiment Sind Horse had perhaps to perform the most arduous work in Abyssinia up to this time, owing to the casualties in the 3rd Bombay Cavalry and the late arrival of the 10th and 12th Bengal Regiments.

3rd Regi-
ment Sind
Horse.

This regiment marched from Jacobabad on the 28th October, 1867, *en route* to Kurrachee, and on that day was of the following strength:—6 British officers, 20 Native officers, 438 non-commissioned rank and file, 458 horses, 15 officers' horses, 437 followers, 189 ponies, 158 camels, 42 bullocks (subsequently 339 ponies, 38 bullocks), and 12 asses.

As soon as the first ship conveying the regiment reached Annesley Bay, the detachment on board was landed and sent on to Senafè. On the 5th February, the Head-Quarter Detachment marched on Adigrat, and formed the escort of the Commander-in-Chief. 25 sabres were detached to Senafè, 50 to Guna-guna, and 50 to Focada. Detachments were also posted at Mai Wahez, Dongolo, Agula, Mai Makdum, Dolo, and Eikullet, for postal and convoy duties.

In addition to the above duties, the officers and non-commissioned officers detached, assisted the Commissariat Department; purchases and issues to a very large amount were entrusted to them; in the aggregate, many thousands of dollars passed through their hands. They performed these novel and trying duties satisfactorily, and no complaint was made either on the score of efficiency or of perfect integrity.

On the 20th February, the regiment arrived at Antalo, and formed part of its first garrison, performing at the same time the postal duties between Senafè and that place.

On the 4th March, the regiment marched on Atsala, and on the 6th of the same month made a most trying march from Mai Mesno to that place over a mountain, the ascent and descent of which were the most difficult pieces of ground met with in Abyssinia, so bad were they that the baggage did not arrive for thirty hours after the regiment; this route was, as stated in Chapter XII, afterwards abandoned.

10th
Bengal
Cavalry.

The 10th Bengal Lancers (2nd Hodson's Horse) sailed from Calcutta in December, 1867, and January, 1868; disembarked at Aden, and remained there till the 28th February, when the first detachment re-embarked, and by the 15th March the entire regiment had landed at Zula.

The composition of this corps was as follows :—Two troops of Sikhs, one of Punjabee Mahomedans, one of Afghans, one of Punjab Hill Rajpoots, and one of Jats. Thus there was one Sikh, one Mahomedan, and one Hindoo squadron; in the Hindoo squadron, however, there were many Sikhs, supernumeraries in course of absorption. Organiza-
tion.

The arms of the regiment were lance, sword, and pistol, with the exception of eight men per troop, who, in lieu of the lance and pistol, had carbines.*

The strength of the corps was 11 British Officers, 13 Native Officers, 54 non-commis- sioned officers, and 390 rank and file. Strength.

This regiment was on the same system as all the Bengal Cavalry, *i.e.*, Silladar; 20 Bargeers being allowed throughout the regiment, the remainder being "Khudaspch."

The Head-Quarter Wing of the regiment reached Dildi on April 14th; this was the farthest point reached by the regiment. On the march up, one troop was left at Antalo, one at Ashangi, one at Senafè, and two troops remained at Adigrat, from which troops, detachments were left at each stage between the sea and Adigrat, to carry the mails.

The duties performed by this corps were exceedingly arduous, although it was never engaged with the enemy; they consisted almost exclusively of escorts and guards, in addition to the postal duties already mentioned. Services.

The loss amongst their horses was great, as in addition to the hard marching, they had to contend against bad forage, and frequently were without corn: 457 horses embarked at Calcutta, and 13 were received in Abyssinia, making a total of 470: of these only 191 returned to India, showing a total loss in horses of 279. After landing in India, several horses of those that returned died from the effects of the sea voyage.

At Lat it became necessary to make another and final reduction of baggage and camp equipage. All followers, excepting those absolutely necessary for carrying sick and attending on hospitals, had already been discharged. The baggage, originally considerably reduced by the Quartermaster-General's Department at Zula and Adabaga, was now finally dispensed with, and all kits of officers, non-commissioned officers, and rank and file, were left behind, arrangements being made for their safe custody. Reduction
of baggage
and camp
equipage
at Lat.

Tents were allowed only in the proportion of one bell-tent to every twelve officers, and one to every twenty non-commissioned rank and file. Major-Generals commanding divisions were allowed one tent, and Brigadier-Generals were allowed one tent for themselves and for their personal and brigade staff.

Hospital tents were allowed to each regiment, battery, or detachment, according to the recommendation of the Principal Medical Officer only, and with these exceptions no other tents were taken for any purpose whatever.

The 33rd and Beloches took entrenching tools sufficient for one company each. A light hospital establishment accompanied each detachment, and all sick men and sick horses were left behind.

Fifteen days' rations, according to the following scale, were carried by each detach- ment and battery :— Revised
scale of
rations.

EUROPEANS.				NATIVES.			
Biscuit or flour	..	..	1 lb.	Flour ..	..	..	1 lb.
Vegetables ..	..	..	2 oz.	Ghee, if purchased locally ..	..	..	2 oz.
Sugar	..	..	1½ „	Salt ..	..	..	½ „
Tea ..	..	..	½ „	Vegetables (once a-week) ..	..	..	2 „
Rum	..	..	1 dram				

* Information regarding the organization, arms, accoutrements, &c., of the Sind Horse has been given at page 186, Chapter VI.

The Commissariat took on sufficient rice to meet casual demands, and made arrangements for rationing staff officers and their followers for 15 days.

No private baggage animals were allowed to follow the column under any pretext whatever. Carriage was allowed for cooking-pots of officers in the proportion of one mule to every twelve officers.

Weight of
baggage
per mule
reduced to
100 lbs.

No baggage mule proceeding with the force now carried more than 100 lbs., except in the case of boxes of small-arm ammunition and tents, when two of each were the load; 4 lbs. of grain was carried, in addition to the 100 lbs., to complete the day's ration.

Commissariat Officers made up the weight of their ration bags, and vegetable boxes to 50 lbs. each.

The cooking-pots of batteries and detachments were carried in the proportion of 50 lbs. weight to each company or troop.

Clothing of
troops.

Troops marched in serge or Khakee clothing, according to brigade arrangements (the suit of clothing which was not worn was carried for the soldier), and carried one blanket and a waterproof sheet in addition to the great coat and canteen.

Records
left behind.

Officers who did not possess riding-animals had two blankets and a waterproof sheet carried for each, under regimental arrangement. All records, company's books, &c., were left behind.

Sick
carriage.

Sick carriage was taken on in the proportion of three dhoolies per cent. of all ranks. All dhoolies, however, were brought on in the rear of the whole baggage of the brigade.

One man, inclusive of muleteers, was told off to every mule to lead him during the march; and if any load required readjusting, assistance was given him by the man in rear.

Movements
of troops.

It was from Lat that the real rapid advance on Magdāla began. Up to this point the Commander-in-Chief had been merely making his steady preparations, which enabled him to swoop swiftly down upon his adversary and seize his prey. Before leaving Lat, he received a report from Senafè to say that five companies of the 25th Native Infantry had left that place on March 16th, for the front, escorting the first reserve ammunition of A-21, B-21, and G-14 Batteries Royal Artillery, as well as thirty mule-loads of hospital stores, and twenty mule-loads of telegraph stores. It was also reported from Antalo that on March 18th, there left that place for the front four Armstrong guns of G-14 Battery Royal Artillery, two 8-inch mortars, K Company of Sappers, the Head-quarters of the 12th Bengal Cavalry, and Brigadier-Generals Schneider and Wilby, to assume command of the First and Second Brigades.

The Head-Quarters Wing of the 3rd Native Infantry having been relieved at Senafè on the 15th of March by five companies of the 25th Native Infantry, was moved forward to Adigrat.

Arrange-
ments made
for the event
of the early
termination
of the
campaign.

Sir Robert Napier, at this time foreseeing the possibility of an early termination of the campaign, addressed the Governments of the various Presidencies in India, to ascertain what mules were required in India to complete establishments, with a view to the subsequent disposal of the baggage animals of the force.

At the same time embarkation returns were called for, and orders were sent to the plains to provide such followers as had not been hutted, with tents.

CHAPTER XV.

OPERATIONS FROM THE 23RD TO THE 28TH MARCH.

ON March 23rd, Sir Robert Napier advanced from Lat to Marawah, a distance of ten miles and a quarter, with the Head-quarters and five companies of the 33rd Regiment; the Head-quarters and four companies of the Beloochees; A Battery 21st Brigade Royal Artillery, and the Head-quarters and three troops of the Sind Horse.

Sir Charles Staveley, with his force, removed to Lat. Reports were received at Marawah that the G Battery of the 14th Brigade Royal Artillery, two 8-inch mortars, with 41 elephants, a wing of the 12th Bengal Cavalry, and the Engineer Park, had arrived at Atsala on March 20th, from Antalo; a difficulty in obtaining native carriage was also reported, and Captain Moore, Persian and Arabic Interpreter, was sent back to arrange it. Reports were also received from Adigrat that the Head-Quarters and six companies of the 45th Regiment had arrived at that place on the 17th, and pushed forward on the 18th. The Head-quarters and right wing of the 3rd Native Infantry also arrived at Adigrat on the 18th, having made a double march from Guna Guna.

Notwithstanding the reduction of baggage, the road was so bad between Lat and Marawah that, although the distance was less than nine miles, it was considered fortunate that all the mules of the transport train reached the latter place before dark. From Lat to the top of Duffat Pass, 980 feet above it, was by no means difficult, except in two places, where the road was narrow and steep, and obstructed by rocks and trees. The descent on the southern slope of the Pass, to Assangalla in the Marawah, proved more formidable, the loose stones and a succession of rugged ravines on approaching the spot selected for a camp having tried the animals very much. The road along which the Army slowly toiled and clambered incessantly over mountain after mountain was so narrow that any halt or break-down in the column made every man and animal in its rear pause. Daily it became more apparent how impracticable had been the suggestions of those who had advocated from the outset a dash upon Magdāla. To diverge from the path was out of the question, as it ran along the side of steep sandstone hills, with a precipice below, and the densely wooded hill-face rising abruptly above. On the following day, the Commander-in-Chief moved from Marawah to Dildi, a distance of fifteen and a half miles. It had been anticipated that the nature of the road would prevent rapid progress; therefore, the first start was made at a very early hour, and every quarter of an hour groups of baggage animals were despatched, until the whole were well on their way by nine o'clock. The nature and length of the road far exceeded, however, the worst anticipations. The first few miles were passed without great difficulty, as the Army followed a route originally constructed by Wagshum Gobaze. Parts of the road were as difficult as that through the Suru Pass before any labour had been expended upon it. It was rugged, devious, and broken, numerous rivulets, tributaries of the Tzellare had to be crossed, and before some of the animals had cleared

Difficulties
of the road.

Dildi. Wg 672 335/41

half of the distance, the sun was already declining. Thunder had been heard in the surrounding hills during the afternoon, and towards evening a terrific storm broke upon the line of march. Night soon came on, and the rear of the column was surprised by pitchy darkness. It was, however, impossible to halt; the troops were forced to push on, and the last, the Beloochees, reached the camp of Dildi late in the evening. The Commissariat Train did not, however, come in till the following morning. The march was one of great severity for every soldier carried 55 lbs. weight, including his ammunition. All were drenched by the thunderstorm, and had no change of clothes. The tents of many did not arrive till next morning, and, wet and weary, they had to pass the night on the muddy ground.

Thunder-
storm.

Halt at
Dildi.

After the severe march of the preceding day, a halt was made at Dildi, to refresh the troops. Here much information of Theodore's movements, but little on which reliance could be placed, was received by means of spies. Some asserted that he was preparing for the defence of Islamgie; others that he meant to fight on the Bashilo; others that he would make a night attack on the British force as soon as it had reached the Talanta Plateau. Little credit was given to the last assertion; but no precautions were neglected, and the videttes and picquets were doubled. At Dildi, some small supplies of fowls and eggs, which were exceedingly grateful, were obtained from the people of the country, and here a dépôt was established.

March to
Wandach.

After a day's halt at Dildi, the Commander-in-Chief, with the 1st Brigade, to which now the 4thth (King's Own) Regiment was attached instead of the 33rd, moved to Wandach, followed at the interval of one march by Sir Charles Staveley with the 2nd Brigade, who was again followed at a similar interval by the 3rd Brigade, with the elephants and heavy artillery. The 4th King's Own Royal Regiment had to perform a double march to join the First Brigade, no easy task with the weight the men were then carrying, for as soon as they arrived at Dildi, and before many of the men had rested from their previous march (one of the longest and most harassing of the whole campaign), the regiment started again for Wandach, with their Commandant marching on foot, as he had done from the commencement of the operations, at their head. This regiment, overtaken by a succession of storms when climbing the Wandach Mountain, only succeeded at night in getting their baggage up the steep, slippery with hail, by the never flagging energy of the men, then half famished, and suffering from wet and cold.

Thunder-
storm.

At Wandach the force was again exposed to a terrific thunderstorm just as it reached its camping ground, which being ploughed land was quickly converted into a quagmire. When the 4th Regiment arrived at night, there was no dry ground for their tents, and the men had to lie down in their wet clothes on the swampy ground, with the thermometer below freezing point. The distance from Dildi to Wandach was not, however, more than eight miles; and a continuous ascent of 3,000 feet brought the force to the head of the Wandach Pass, 10,910 feet above the sea, whence there was a grand view of the valley of the Takazze, bounded on the south by the hills of Santara. On the following day, the 27th, the advance was continued to Muja, another distance of about seven miles.

Wagite 351

March to
Muja.

On the night the 1st Brigade halted at Muja, the camp was thrown into considerable excitement by the arrival of an officer with a letter from Colonel Phayre, who was reconnoitring with some horsemen a few miles ahead, reporting that M. Münzinger, who had been sent as an envoy to the camp of Wagshum Gobaze, was missing, and had possibly fallen into the hands of Theodore, while Theodore himself had crossed the Bashilo, and was advancing to defend the passages of the Takazze. This information subsequently was discovered to be without foundation; but Sir Robert Napier was determined that he would next day secure the passage of the Takazze and the steep ascent

Wagite 350
+ This is the
Reg. 1st 5000
1st ISANTBLIVAN
2nd 1842, 19
15.

Double
March by
4th King's
Own Royal
Regiment.

beyond it to the Wadela Plateau, in case Theodore might seek to take advantage of the favourable defensive position which the summit of the abrupt southern bank of the Takazze would afford him. On the following morning, accordingly, the force moved down from Muja to the Takazze, a distance of about six and a-half miles, where measures had been taken for the collection of grain to feed the animals, which were here unloaded and permitted to rest. Lieutenant-Colonel Milward, with a small force of Infantry, and a battery of mountain guns, pushed up the opposite bank of the river to secure a footing on the plateau. Strong working parties of the 4th, the Beloches and the Punjabees, were pushed forward, with Captain Goodfellow and Lieutenant Le Mesurier, of the Engineers, to form a practicable path up the steep and precipitous southern bank of the Takazze, which rose abruptly above the river to a height of more than 3,000 feet. After no great length of time the Signallers on the summit signalled that the road was prepared, and the force began to climb the steep ascent. Not without difficulty it crowned the summit, but before dark it did so, and the passage of the Takazze was secure for the whole of the force. That night the Commander-in-Chief halted on the river Santara, four and a-half miles from the Takazze, sending back word to Sir Charles Staveley to push on and join him. The Takazze, in March, was anything but a formidable river; it was, in fact, but a series of pools, yet in the rainy season it must be a magnificent mass of water, as it is the principal tributary of the Blue Nile, which sweeps down the rich soil of Abyssinia to fertilize the valley of Egypt.

March
to the
Takazze.

"At this time, 31st March, the latest reports received at the Head-Quarters of the Force showed the total strength of the Land Transport Corps in Abyssinia to be—
"5,322 Camels, 10,309 Mules, 1,460 Ponies, 15 Donkeys, 6,037 Pack bullocks, 534 Draught bullocks, 273 Mule carts, and 270 Bullock carts. Of these, 6,503 mules belonged to the Highland Train, of which 500 were sick.

Captain
Holland's
Report of
1st April.
Strength
of Land
Transport
Train.

"In the Lowland Train the sick were—1,856 mules and ponies, 897 Bullocks, and 264 Camels. All sick animals had been ordered to the lowlands in order to obviate the necessity of carrying up provisions for their attendants.

Sick
animals.

"Conventions for the carriage of Commissariat stores in advance of Antalo had been made with the natives of the country, from Antalo to Atsala, Atsala to Ashangi, Ashangi to Lat, Lat to Dildi, and Dildi to the Takazze. The convention, however, from Atsala to Ashangi, broke down on the 20th March, and arrangements were being made for another convention between those two stations.

Conventions
for native
carriage.

"The officer sent to Berbera to purchase animals for the Transport Train had succeeded in obtaining 1,069 bullocks and 15 donkeys. He was continuing to purchase animals of these descriptions there, but reported that the resources of the place had been much overrated, that mules and ponies were scarce, and the few he had seen had been of the worst description. Camels, he stated, could be purchased in large numbers, but no report of the number obtained had yet been received.

Purchases
in Berbera.

"Another officer sent to Hodeida had succeeded in purchasing about 400 powerful camels, which by this time were landed at Zula. Nearly the whole of the mules of the Highland Train were employed in moving troops, ammunition, &c., on to the front, and those of the Lowland Train in conveying Commissariat stores and provisions from Zula to Adigrat, and the intermediate stations.

Purchases
in Hodeida.

"The Commanding Engineer reported that, on the 21st of March, 8 miles and 80 yards of the railway from Zula to Kumayli had been completed, leaving 3 miles 1,680 yards of the line still to be completed, and that the earthwork had been completed for the whole distance. The Commissariat were working six trains a-day carrying provisions, &c., in addition to which other trains conveying railway plant to the Kumayli end of the line were being run daily.

Railway.

- Telegraph.** "On the 22nd of March, the telegraph line had been completed to Agula, 35 miles from Antalo, and Lieutenant St. John, R.E., the officer in charge, expected that it would reach Antalo by the 31st March. The line had been working fairly lately, though two more interruptions had occurred between Senafè and Adigrat. The traffic on the line was about 200 messages per diem.
- Photographers.** "The photographers had been employed in photographic printing and mounting plans (executed by the Quartermaster-General's Department) of the route followed by the Army. These plans were used as distribution maps. All the baggage of the Army having been left at Lat, the photographic apparatus was left there also, but had been ordered up.
- Signallmen.** "The signallers had lately on several occasions proved very useful in communicating and passing orders between the 1st and 2nd Brigades when one march distant from each other.
- Water supply.** "As far as Antalo, works for the water supply had been executed, and extra works had been carried out at Rahagedi and Suru in addition to those previously mentioned, owing to the diminution in the supply of the springs originally utilised. Beyond Antalo, with but few exceptions, the supply of water at the various camping grounds was abundant. Roads for mules had been made to and from the water, and arrangements for a readier access and greater facility of drinking made. The demand for water at Rahaguddy and Suru had been greater than was originally intended, but the supply had proved sufficient to meet these demands. The quantity of water obtainable in the Kumayli Pass was less than it was two months previous, excepting at the station of Undul Wells, where the supply was as full as ever. At the encamping grounds, where the water was liable to become fouled, owing to the scanty supply, pumps were driven to afford drinking water to the force, and drawn again the next morning previous to marching.
- Trigonometrical survey.** "Lieutenant Carter, R.E., the officer in charge of the Trigonometrical Survey, was at this time carrying on a traverse with theodolite, and making a rough sketch of the country from Antalo to the front. On the 29th March, he had reached Lat. His assistants, Lieutenants Dummmler and Holdich were working, the former from Antalo towards Adigrat, and the latter from Adigrat to Antalo, and hoped to complete a junction by the middle of April." *

* Extracted from the fortnightly Report, furnished to the Horse Guards, by Captain Holland, Assistant Quartermaster-General, dated the 1st April, 1868.

CHAPTER XVI.

OPERATIONS FROM THE 28TH MARCH TO THE 7TH APRIL.

ON the 30th and 31st of March, the 26th Foot (Cameronians), consisting of 29 officers and 816 non-commissioned rank and file arrived at Zula from India, and were at once moved up to Senafè. Arrival of
26th Foot.

On account of the difficulty in regard to native carriage, the 1st Brigade, which arrived at Santara on the 28th of March, halted there for two days. Here Sir Robert Napier received a visit from the uncle of Wagshum Gobaze, who arrived with a body of 400 Cavalry, whose appearance created a very favourable impression in the minds of the Europeans. Wagshum Gobaze himself wrote to Sir Robert Napier, expressing his regret that they could not have a personal interview, as he was necessarily absent in Begemder; but his uncle and emissary, Dejatch Mashsha, stated that he had instructions to render to the British all aid in his power. On the morning of the 30th, the 2nd Brigade, under Sir Charles Staveley, marched into Santara. Here the 3rd Brigade was broken up, and amalgamated with the 1st and 2nd Brigades; and Colonel Field, its Brigadier, reverted to the command of the 10th Native Infantry; Captain A. Durand, the Brigade-Major of this Brigade, also reverted to regimental duty.* Halt at
Santara.

Arrival of
Dejatch
Mashsha.

Santara, where the Commander-in-Chief halted for two days, to concentrate the 1st and 2nd Brigades, is on the edge of the table-land of Wadela, which has an average height of 10,500 feet above the sea level. The climate here and on the plateau was very variable; in the daytime the thermometer stood about 110 degrees in the tents, at night it fell to 19½ degrees, and ice was sometimes formed in a closed tent with twelve occupants. Between the Takazze and the Bashilo, besides the Wadela plateau, lie the two plateaux of Talanta and Daont, north of the Bashilo; and in the fork formed between that river and one of its tributaries, the Kulkulla, is grouped together the knot of mountains of which Magdāla is the key. In order to reach this fortress the route of the Army lay across the intervening plateaux of Wadela and Talanta. The formation of both of these is basaltic, and they are consequently intersected by steep and precipitous ravines. In the most important of these, which separates the highland of Wadela from that of Talanta, runs the river Jedda. Santara.

Plateaux of
Talanta and
Daont.

Wadela
Plateau.

Apparently the most easy route of approach to the Bashilo from Santara would have been round the upper sources of the Jedda, by a place called Kosso Amba; but from the information collected, including the useful report of Mr. Münzinger†—who had been despatched by Sir Robert Napier to visit Wagshum Gobaze, and had taken the

* The good services performed by Captain Durand as Staff Officer of the Advanced Brigade, and afterwards as Brigade-Major of the 3rd Brigade, were specially brought to notice by Brigadier-General Field.

† See page 435. Chapter XII.

opportunity to reconnoitre the country—it was ascertained that the ground about Kosso Amba was very rugged and broken, and that the most advantageous line of route would be in a south-westerly direction, along the Wadela plateau, to a place called Bethor, on the edge of the Jedda Ravine, where the road which Theodore had constructed, from Debra Tabor to Magdāla, for the passage of his heavy baggage and big mortars, dipped into the defile of the Jedda. From this point advantage could be taken of Theodore's own road to advance against him. On March 31st, accordingly, the 1st Brigade moved from Santara to Gahso, and on April 1st from Gahso to Abdikum, followed by the 2nd Brigade, which halted on April 1st at Gahso.

Captain
Holland's
Report of
1st April.

“On April 1st, the whole British force in Abyssinia consisted of 10,800 fighting men, with 14,500 followers, who were attached to the Land Transport Train, Commissariat Department, regiments, &c. Its distribution was as follows :—

“The Head-quarters of the force, with the 1st Brigade of the 1st Division, consisting of the following troops were at Abdikum :—

Strength
and Distri-
bution of
the Force.

1st Brigade,
1st Division.

“3rd Regiment Sind Horse	208
“Head-Quarter wing 12th Bengal Cavalry	150
“Naval Brigade Rocket Batteries	83
“A Battery 21st Brigade Royal Artillery (steel 7-pounder “guns)	122
“Head-Quarters 10th Company Royal Engineers	32
“4th King's Own Royal Regiment	530
“23rd Regiment Punjab Pioneers	671
“Head-Quarter wing 27th Native Infantry (Beloochees)	327
	<hr/>
	2,123
	<hr/>

2nd Brigade
1st Division.

“The Head-Quarters of the 1st Division, with the 2nd Brigade, were at Gahso, one march in rear of the Head-Quarters of the force and of the 1st Brigade. This Brigade consisted of the following troops :—

“Head-Quarters and four troops 3rd Bombay Light “Cavalry	171	} Guns, car- riages, &c., carried on elephants.
“G Battery 14th Brigade Royal Artillery (four “12-pounder Armstrong guns)	92	
“Detachment 5th Battery 25th Brigade Royal Artillery, “with two 8-inch mortars	35	
“B Battery 21st Brigade Royal Artillery (steel 7-pounder “guns)	109	
“Head-Quarters and K Company Madras Sappers and “Miners	131	
“Head-Quarters and 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Companies “Bombay Sappers and Miners	294	
“33rd (Duke of Wellington's) Regiment	700	
“Head-Quarter Wing 10th Regiment N. I.	217	
	<hr/>	
	1,749	
	<hr/>	

"The following troops were *en route* to join the 1st and 2nd Brigades, 1st Division, and were on this date at the following stations:—

Troops en route to join 1st Division.

"Head-Quarters and six companies 45th Regiment, at Wundach, two marches in rear of 2nd Brigade ..	385
"Head-Quarter Wing 3rd Regiment N. I. at Dildi ..	300
"One troop 3rd Light Cavalry at Dildi	73
"Wing 27th N. I. Regiment (Beloches) at Marawah ..	286
"Head-Quarter wing 3rd Dragoon Guards at Makan ..	220
"Head-Quarter squadron 10th Bengal Cavalry, on the march from Antalo	140
	<hr/>
	1,404

"The 1st Division left all baggage and stores at Lat; this baggage had since been brought on to Dildi, and the stores at that place were left under the charge of a guard of 50 dismounted men of the 3rd Regiment of Sind Horse. All troops in advance of Dildi were marching without baggage, and with a limited supply of bell-tents. A detachment of 130 men of the 10th Regiment of Native Infantry was at Atsala, escorting stores to the front; detachments, consisting of one duffedar and 12 men of the 3rd and 12th Cavalry, were at each postal station from Antalo to Lat, and parties of one duffedar and six men at each station from Lat to the front.

"The troops comprising the 2nd Division of the force, were stationed at Antalo, Adigrat, and Senafè, and were as follows:—

2nd Division.

"At Antalo, Brigadier-General Collings commanding—

Antalo garrison.

"1 Troop 3rd Bombay Cavalry	73
"1 Company Bombay Sappers and Miners	126
"Wing 3rd Regiment Native Infantry	375

"En route to Antalo—

"5/25 Battery Royal Artillery, with 6-pounder brass guns	90
"4 Companies 45th Regiment	280
"3 Companies 25th Regiment Native Infantry ..	190

"At Adigrat—

Adigrat garrison.

"1 Troop 12th Bengal Cavalry	70
"2 12-pounder Armstrong guns of G Battery 14th Brigade Royal Artillery	60
"Head-Quarters and 5 companies 25th Regiment N. I. ..	430

"At Senafè—

Senafè garrison.

"1 Troop 10th Bengal Cavalry	73
"No. 1 Company Native Artillery, with Mountain Train ..	60
"Wing 10th Regiment Native Infantry	337
"3 Companies 21st Punjab Native Infantry	240
"1 Company 21st Bombay Native Infantry (Marine Battalion)	87

"Detachments of one duffedar and 12 men of the 10th and 12th Bengal Cavalry were located at each postal station between Senafè and Antalo; and 50 men of the 12th Bengal Cavalry were at Agula, half-way between Antalo and Adigrat, and small detach-

ments of Cavalry and Native Infantry were at such stations between Senafè and Antalo as were considered advisable by the General Officer commanding the Division. The 26th Regiment (Cameronians) embarked at Vingorla on March 17, and were ordered, on arrival, to move from Zula, to supplement the garrisons of Senafè and Adigrat.

Zula
Brigade.

"The Zula Brigade was under the command of Major-General Russell, and consisted of the following troops stationed at Zula, and the different stations in the pass between Zula and Senafè:—

" At Zula, 18th Regiment Bombay Native Infantry ..	680
" „ Kumayli, 2nd Regiment Bombay Native Infantry	702
" „ Suru, 2 companies 21st Punjab Native Infantry ..	160
" „ Undul Wells, Head-Quarters and 2 companies	
" 21st Punjab Native Infantry	160
" „ Rahagedi, 1 company 21st Punjab Native Infantry	80

"The Zula command was to have been strengthened by the 5th and 8th Regiments of Bombay Native Infantry, but they did not arrive till after the fall of Magdala, and "never disembarked."*

Landing of
Naval small-
arm brigade.

On the 30th March Commodore Heath landed, at the request of Sir Robert Napier, for the protection of Senafè, a Naval Small Arm Brigade, composed of Captain Colin Campbell, commanding; Lieutenants Maclear, Mostyn, and Fryer; Midshipmen Maitland, Court, and Napier; Captain Fraser, R.M.L.I.; Surgeon Shaw, and Assistant Paymaster Pawsay, with 123 Bluejackets and 60 marine infantry and artillery.

This brigade was not, however, sent up to Senafè on account of the arrival at Zula of the 26th Cameronians, from India.

Difficulties
regarding
native
carriage.

The halt at Santara was not entirely caused by the necessity of concentration of the 1st and 2nd Brigades, but also on account of the delay in arrival of provisions. No flour could be obtained in Wadela, and the army was dependent on its chain of communications and on its carriage. On March 31st, Brigadier-General Merewether was sent back to the Takazze, to arrange some difficulties with the owners of native bullocks employed in the transport of provisions, and the settlement of similar difficulties near Atsala was entrusted to Major Grant and Captain Moore, of the Intelligence Department.

Precautions
against
night
attacks.

All precautions were taken against a night attack by Theodore on the road across Wadela. It was well known that he had many spies, who daily reported to him the British movements, and on the Wadela plateau several horsemen were seen, who could be easily recognised to be scouts, but were too astute to allow themselves to be captured by our Cavalry. The picquets and vedettes were nightly posted by Colonel Fraser, V.C., of the 11th Hussars, who had been appointed Commandant of Outposts, and were frequently and minutely inspected.

Gahso.

Near Gahso an abundance of hornblendic rock was found, which had the appearance of coal, and as fuel was scarce, was eagerly seized upon by the soldiers to cook with. It was quickly discovered, however, upon trial, to be incapable of combustion.

Native
carriage.

Conventions with the native proprietors of transport animals were made at Abdikun for the carriage of supplies from the Takazze to Bethor.

The following return, framed by the Quartermaster-General's Department, shows the strength and distribution of the Force on the 1st April:—

* Extracted from Captain Holland's fortnightly Report to the Horse Guards, dated the 1st of April, 1868.

Corps.	Stations.	Number of Troops or Companies at each Station.	At Regimental Headquarters, or on detached Duty at Station.					Effective Strength, exclusive of those sent or left at Home, or in India.									
			Field Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native Officers.	Staff Sergeants.	Sergeants.	Trumpeters or Drummers.	Farriers.	Rank and File.			Total Non-Com. Officers and Men.	Horses, including Officers' Chargers.	
												Fit for Duty.	Sick in Hospital.	On Command.			
BRITISH CAVALRY.																	
Right Wing 3rd Dragoons	..	3	2	2	5	2	..	1	10	3	3	155	5	26	203	234	
NATIVE CAVALRY.																	
3rd Sind Horse	..	6	2	..	5	2	19	..	39	6	1	177	9	201	433	468	
3rd Light Cavalry	..	6	2	2	1	3	17	2	36	6	..	120	2	253	419	483	
10th Bengal Cavalry	..	6	2	..	2	2	13	..	54	4	10	175	3	195	441	463	
12th "	..	6	1	4	2	3	16	6	40	6	5	62	..	332	451	485	
ROYAL ARTILLERY.																	
G. Battery 14th Brigade	..	1	..	2	4	1	..	3	6	2	1	85	..	53	150	120	
A. " 21st "	..	1	..	2	4	1	..	3	6	2	1	73	..	7	92	11	
B. " 21st "	..	1	..	1	4	1	..	2	6	2	1	66	..	11	88	15	
5th " 25th "	..	1	..	2	4	2	..	2	6	2	..	89	4	29	132	19	
NATIVE ARTILLERY.																	
No. 1 Company Bombay Native Artillery	..	1	..	1	2	..	3	1	6	3	..	67	..	9	86	2	
NAVAL BRIGADE.																	
Rocket Battery	..	..	..	..	5	2	..	..	4	1	..	78	15	..	82	10	
ROYAL ENGINEERS.																	
10th Company Royal Engineers	..	1	1	..	2	1	..	1	3	1	..	28	1	48	82	3	

Quarter-master-General's Return of strength and distribution of the Force.

RECORD OF THE EXPEDITION TO ABYSSINIA.

Corps.	Stations.	Number of Troops or Companies at each Station.	At Regimental Headquarters, or on detached Duty at Station.				Effective Strength, exclusive of those sent or left at Home, or in India.											
			Field Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native Officers.	Staff Sergeants.	Sergeants.	Trumpeters or Drummers.	Farriers.	Rank and File.			Total Non-Com. Officers and Men.	Horses, including Officers' Chargers.		
												Fit for Duty.	Sick in Hospital.	On Command.				
SAPPERS AND MINERS.																		
1st Company Bombay Sappers and Miners	Antalo	1	..	..	1	..	2	1	2	2	..	66	8	19	98	1		
2nd ditto, and Head-Quarters	Takazze	1	..	2	1	1	2	4	4	2	..	93	9	8	120	4		
3rd ditto	Gahso	1	..	1	..	..	2	2	..	2	..	100	4	11	119	1		
4th ditto	"	1	..	..	1	..	2	1	2	2	..	98	..	..	103	1		
Head-Quarters and K Company Madras Sappers and Miners	Lat	1	1	2	1	1	2	..	9	2	..	106	6	..	123	6		
G. and H. Companies ditto	Zulu & Kumayli	2	..	..	7	1	3	..	20	4	..	222	..	..	246	7		
BRITISH INFANTRY.																		
1st Battalion King's Own Regiment	Sindi	10	2	10	18	4	..	6	34	19	..	470	48	99	684	24		
26th Foot (on board ship)	Annesley Bay	10	3	8	14	4	..	7	34	17	..	740	18	..	816	20		
32nd "	Santara	10	3	9	19	7	..	5	34	17	..	614	13	90	773	21		
45th "	Antalo	10	8	6	17	5	..	6	36	18	..	659	85	7	761	8		
NATIVE INFANTRY.																		
2nd Grenadiers	Kumayli	8	1	..	2	4	14	3	36	16	..	478	98	43	674	8		
3rd Regt. Native Infantry	Marawah	4	2	1	4	1	8	..	17	2	..	263	7	76	365	7		
" " " " Left Wing	Antalo	4	..	1	1	1	5	..	16	12	..	278	..	..	306	2		
10th Regt. Native Infantry	Gahso	4	3	..	1	3	8	..	22	12	..	147	2	177	360	9		
" " " " Left Wing	Senafé	4	1	..	1	1	7	..	16	4	..	140	17	143	320	3		
18th Regiment Native Infantry	Zula	8	3	1	4	..	15	2	34	15	..	324	42	264	681	8		
21st " detachment..	Senafé	1	..	..	1	..	2	..	5	3	..	60	10	..	78	1		
21st Punjaub Pioneers	"	8	2	2	..	2	15	..	88	16	1	701	7	..	763	7		
23rd Punjaub Infantry	Abdikurn	8	1	2	3	3	15	..	37	13	..	450	3	203	706	8		
25th Regiment Bombay Native Infantry	Adigrat	8	2	..	3	4	13	..	36	14	..	425	18	140	633	12		
27th "	Abdikurn	8	2	1	2	5	15	..	37	16	..	281	91	265	690	8		
Total	..	145	39	62	141	67	196	58	685	945	93	7,898	475	2,712	12,096	2,432		

The following statement shows the number of troops that had reached or departed from Africa during the month of March :—*

Corps.	ARRIVALS.					Arrivals at and Departure from Africa of Troops, in March, 1868.
	Officers.	Native Officers.	Non-Commissioned Officers and Men.	Horses.	Date.	From whence Arrived, and in what Ship.
3rd Dragoon Guards, Right Wing	10	..	201	246	4th March, 1868 ..	From Bombay. "Decision." "Albertine." "Revell."
10th Bengal Lancers	6	13	441	463	{ 6th March, 1868 .. 4th March, 1868 .. }	From Calcutta. "Winchester." "Tynemouth." "Ellen Stuart." "Callerohe."
26th Cameronians	29	..	816	20	{ 30th March, 1868 .. 31st March, 1868 .. }	From Vingorla. "England." "Queen."
Total	45	13	1,458	729		
	DEPARTURES.					
10th Bengal Cavalry	..	1	8	..	27th March, 1868 ..	To Bombay. "American."
12th " "	..	..	5	..	" " " " ..	"
Madras Suppers	..	..	6	..	8th " " " " ..	"American" and "Sultan."
2nd Regiment Native Infantry ..	..	..	1	..	" " " " " " ..	"Sultan."
3rd " " " "	..	..	13	..	27th " " " " " " ..	"Sultan" and "American."
18th " " " "	..	..	7	..	" " " " " " " " ..	" "
25th " " " "	..	..	54	..	" " " " " " " " ..	" "
27th " " " "	..	..	1	..	8th " " " " " " ..	" "
21st Bombay Native Infantry ..	..	..	8	..	27th " " " " " " ..	"American."
21st Punjaub Native Infantry ..	..	..	6	..	" " " " " " " " ..	" "
23rd " " " "	..	..	9	..	8th " " " " " " ..	"American" and "Sultan."
Total	..	1	118	..		

* Quartermaster-General's Return.

Strength of
each arm of
the Force.

The strength of each arm of the Force on the above date was as follows :—*

Description of Force.	Field Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native Officers.	Serjeants and Havildars.	Trumpeters or Drummers.	Farriers.	Rank and File.	Total Non-Com. Officers and Men.	Horses, including Officers' chargers.
British Cavalry ..	2	2	5	2	..	11	3	3	186	203	234
Native Cavalry ..	7	6	10	10	65	177	22	16	1,532	1,747	1,899
Royal Artillery ..	..	7	16	5	..	34	8	3	417	462	165
Native Artillery ..	..	1	2	..	3	7	3	..	76	86	2
Naval Brigade ..	..	..	5	2	..	4	1	..	93	98	10
Royal Engineers ..	1	..	2	1	..	4	1	..	77	82	3
Sappers and Miners ..	1	5	11	3	11	95	14	..	750	809	20
British Infantry ..	11	33	68	20	..	162	71	..	2,801	3,034	73
Native Infantry ..	17	8	22	24	117	299	122	1	5,153	5,577	73
	39	62	141	67	196	743	245	23	11,085	12,096	2,479

Abdikum.
Sindi.

Second visit
of Mashasha.

On April 2nd the Commander-in-Chief, with the 1st Brigade, moved his camp from Abdikum, a distance of about two miles, to Sindi, about 30 miles from Santara, and Sir Charles Staveley moved from Gahso to Abdikum, so that the force was concentrated in case of attack. Here there occurred an incident which might have been attended with serious consequences. Mashasha, the uncle of the Wagshum Gobaze, again paid a visit to Sir Robert Napier with about 200 followers, and when his visit was concluded, he was escorted by an officer beyond the outposts of the 1st Brigade. On his way to a neighbouring village, he used a road which led close past one of the outposts of the 2nd Brigade, where a corporal and four men of the 3rd Bombay Cavalry were stationed. This picquet not being aware that the Abyssinian horsemen had come from the camp of the 1st Brigade, warned them not to approach. The Abyssinians replied with shouts of derision, brandishing their lances. The corporal, presuming that they were a detachment of Theodore's Cavalry, ordered one of his party to fire, and the shot was returned: the remainder of the picquet then fired and advanced against the supposed enemy, who retreated, with the loss of one killed and one wounded. At the sound of the shots the troops stood to their arms, but it was soon discovered that the affair originated in a mistake. M. Münzinger was despatched to the Abyssinian camp, to explain the matter, and offer a pecuniary compensation to the relatives of the killed. The compensation and apology were readily accepted, and any serious complications with the Wagshum averted.

Talanta
Plateau.

Jedda Defile.

On April 4th, Sir Robert Napier broke up his camp at Sindi, and moved across the ravine of the Jedda to the Talanta Plateau. The Punjab Pioneers, the A Battery of the 21st Brigade Royal Artillery, and two companies of the 4th (King's Own) Regiment, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Milward, R.A., had marched from Sindi on the afternoon of the 3rd, to clear the road down to the Jedda River, with orders to move upon Averkut early on the morning of the 4th, and secure the summit of the ascent from the Jedda Defile. On the morning of the 4th, Colonel Milward ascended from the Jedda, and seized the entrance on to the Talanta Plateau. The Commander-in-Chief, with the 1st Brigade, followed closely to support the advanced guard; while the 2nd Brigade, under Sir Charles Staveley, occupied Bethor, and closed down to the edge of the ravine.

* Quartermaster-General's Return.

At Bethor the British force struck the road constructed by Theodore on his march from Debra Tabor to Magdāla, for the transport of his heavy ordnance, and moved across the Jedda on the track left by the Negus. At Bethor, and across the Talanta Plateau could be constantly seen the vestiges of Abyssinian camps, and the ruins of huts in which the troops of the Emperor had dwelt. He had been at that place on January 1st, the British Army occupied it on April 3rd, but his progress had been slow; it was not until the 28th of January that he reached the banks of the Jedda; on February 5th he reached Avercot, and on March 1st he commenced his descent into the ravine of the Bashilo. On March 14th he crossed that river, on the 18th halted at Arogie, and on the 25th took up his position at Islamgie, where his camp could be seen by the British on the Talanta Plateau on April 5th.

Bethor.

Theodore's road.

The difficulty of the march between Sindi and Avercot consisted in the descent and ascent of the Jedda Ravine, the bottom of which lay at a depth of 3,000 feet below the table-land of the conterminous plateaux. 18 miles lay between the camps occupied by the Commander-in-Chief on the nights of the 4th and 5th April, of which 11 were within the banks of the Jedda, and nine either sharp descent or ascent. As the army approached the ravine, other traces of Theodore became apparent. The stubble and hay which had before covered the country were burnt, and the ground was covered with ashes; no flocks or herds were to be seen, and scarcely a single human being could be found. In place of farm-houses and villages, there were ruined heaps of blackened stones. The road, which had been constructed by the author of this desolation, was a grand feat of rude engineering; rocks had been hurled aside or blasted through, at an immense expense of labour and of time; the gradient was uniform but very steep, and the broad roadway was covered with loose stones, which had obviously been employed to prevent his heavy ordnance from running too rapidly down the slope. It was not without toil that the march was accomplished; the leading companies did not reach their camp on the Talanta Plateau till after dark, although the march had commenced at five in the morning, and the rear-guard and baggage had for the most part to spend the night upon the road. Most of the Beloochees were 36 hours without food, but uttered no word of complaint. The Jedda was but a succession of stagnant pools, but the marks on the banks proved that in the rainy season it must be a broad, deep, and rapid torrent.

Jedda ravine

On April 5th, Sir Charles Staveley, with the 2nd Brigade, closed up to the Commander-in-Chief. For some days the force was delayed on the Talanta Plateau by want of supplies, which were ultimately obtained from the country in a considerable quantity, as the peasantry brought to the British lines grain which had been buried in order to conceal it from the marauders from Theodore's camp. On April 8th, the Headquarters and six companies of the 45th Regiment arrived and joined the main body, which on the 9th moved forward five miles across the plain to the brink of the descent into the valley of the Bashilo, where it encamped within sight of the heights of Fahla, Selassie, and Magdāla, around which the army of Theodore could be clearly distinguished. The descent to the river Bashilo, a distance of five miles, lay at the feet of the army, and in a plateau on the descent, the 23rd Regiment Punjab Pioneers and a wing of the Belooch Battalion were stationed, to clear away any obstacles or make any improvements necessitated by the weather in Theodore's road.

Junction of 1st and 2nd Brigades on the Talanta Plateau.

The 23rd Regiment Punjab Pioneers had, as shown in Chapter VII, embarked at Calcutta, with camp followers and mules for the use of officers and men, so as to render them perfectly independent, fully equipped, and ready to take the field the moment they landed. They arrived in Annesley Bay on the 4th, 12th, and 15th January, 1868. Before the last detachment arrived, three companies had been sent up country. One company,

Services of the Punjab Pioneers.

Employed on railway and digging wells.	<p>under Captain Currie, was employed in advance of the Army in road-making, and remained with the Pioneer force during the whole advance. Another company was employed in digging wells, and in other works, at Undul Wells and Enderta; another company, under Lieutenant Paterson, was employed in putting up the telegraph from Kumayli to within three miles of Rahagedi, and again from Senafè to Adigrat, working frequently without the superintendence of any Engineer Officer, or of any one connected with the Telegraph Department. This company was afterwards pushed on from Adigrat to join the Pioneer Force, which it did at Muzno. Another company, under Lieutenant Hotham, followed a few days afterwards, and was employed in digging wells and other works at Kumayli. The Head-Quarters and Left Wing, which remained at Zula, were employed in constructing the railway from the coast towards Kumayli; and on commencing this work, it was found that, owing to the want of augurs, the laying down of rails was delayed; but this difficulty was soon overcome by the skilled artificers belonging to the regimental workshops; iron and steel being furnished them, excellent augurs were soon made, which enabled the works to proceed vigorously. In addition to the work on the railway, several wells were dug by this regiment, and water obtained at depths varying from 43 to 67 feet, at a time when all the drinking-water for the Force at Zula was obtained by condensing, the Engineer Department having given up as useless the attempt to obtain water by sinking wells. These wells were estimated to yield about 30,000 gallons of water a-day.</p>
Clothing in charge of each man on the advance.	<p>On the 1st March, the Head-Quarter Wing left the railway works and marched for the front, each man only taking a light kit, consisting of greatcoat, cloak, waterproof sheet, waterproof cape, two suits of flannel, two pairs of warm socks, a pair of ammunition boots, a pair of Native shoes, a suit of Native light clothing, a working suit, a suit of summer uniform, a cloth parade coat, a pair of leather gaiters, a pair of puttees (bandages), and a carpet to lie on, the regimental mule train being used to carry 15 days' provisions for the regiment. This regiment was armed with the smooth-bore fusil, "Enfield pattern." The men carried their pioneer tools in leather cases slung across the back. On the march to the front detachments were picked up, and on the 30th March the Head-Quarter Camp was reached, at Santara. The regiment was then posted to the 1st Brigade 1st Division, and continued with the Advanced Brigade up to Magdala, being frequently employed ahead of the Army in reconnoitring and improving the road.</p>
21st Punjab Infantry.	<p>The 21st Punjab Regiment of Infantry was divided into eight companies, three of which were Sikhs, mostly from the Lahore and Amritsur districts in the Punjab, two companies of Pathans from the Peshawur frontier, one company of Dogras from the Kangra district, and two companies of Punjabee Mussulmans, from the Lahore, Amritsur, and Jhelum districts. It embarked at Calcutta, fully equipped, its numbers being completed to 8 subadars, 8 jemadars, 40 havildars, 40 naicks, 16 buglers, and 680 sepoy, with 16 cooks, 1 tindal, 12 bheesties (including 4 puckallies), 2 tinmen, 1 mochi, 1 mistry (Lohar), 1 munshi, 1 mubri, 1 grumthi, 1 Adjutant's writer, 8 sweepers, 3 Native doctors, 1 dresser, 1 ward coolie, 1 goorgah, 2 sweepers, and 86 dhooly bearers.</p>
Strength.	
Mule establishment.	<p>The mule establishment consisted of 1 jemadar, 4 mates, 2 bheesties, 1 farrier, 1 salutri, 2 mochis, 1 blacksmith, and 120 muleteers; 8 horses and 311 mules also accompanied the regiment. The mules had for saddles pads made of leather and well lined with felt; on arrival in Abyssinia 100 Otago saddles were issued to this regiment.</p>
Final demand of captives from Theodore	<p>On April 5th, the Commander-in-Chief despatched by a native messenger, to King Theodore, a formal demand for the immediate and unconditional surrender of the prisoners, couched in these firm but moderate terms: "By command of the Queen of England I am approaching Magdala with my army, in order to recover from your hands Envoy Rassam, Consul Cameron, Dr. Blanc, Lieutenant Prideaux, and the other Europeans</p>

"now in your Majesty's power. I request your Majesty to send them to my camp as soon as it is sufficiently near to admit of their coming in safety." This message was afterwards ascertained to have reached Theodore, but no answer was returned to it.

While the force was on the Talanta Plateau, scaling-ladders were prepared from the poles of the dhoolies, and sandbags were got ready. The weather was very much broken; rain and thunder were of nightly occurrence, and once or twice heavy hailstorms swept across the plain.

Sir Robert Napier now made arrangements to cut off Theodore's retreat from Magdāla, in case he might attempt to fly and carry off with him the principal prisoners. Dejach Masheshah was requested to occupy the Amba Kuahit, and cut off any retreat eastwards on the Bashilo. An envoy was sent to Masteeat, Queen of the Gallas, to induce her people to close any avenues from Magdāla towards the south. This delicate mission was confided to Meer Akbar Ali, a Mohammedan gentleman attached to the Intelligence Department, who gained the confidence of the Gallas through the profession of a similar creed. The report of Meer Akbar Ali of his proceedings when with the Gallas will be found at page 51, Chapter XIX.

On the farther side of the Bashilo from that in which the British force was now encamped lay a rugged mass of broken ground, in the centre of which the heights of Selassie and Fahla rose to an almost equal height with the plateau of Talanta. Magdāla was from this position concealed by Fahla and Selassie. The rugged country, studded with a bushy vegetation, was bounded in the distance by the tablelands of Tanta and of Ambala Sieda. From the former the mountain mass of Magdāla was separated by the ravine of the Minjara, from the latter by the Kulkulla Torrent. Both of these were tributaries of the Bashilo. The mountain mass of Magdāla forms a crescent, of which Magdāla forms the eastern plateau, Fahla the western; midway between the two, in the centre, rises the peak of Selassie, so called from a church upon it dedicated to the Trinity. Magdāla and Selassie are connected by the saddle of Islamgie, and Selassie and Fahla by the saddle of Fahla. The highest of these plateaux is Magdāla, which rises to a height of 9,150 feet above the sea, Selassie is 9,100 feet above the sea, and about 3,000 feet above the ravines of Minjara and Kulkulla. The sides of Magdāla are scarped and steep, but at two points they fall upon the terraces of Islamgie and Sangallat. It is at these two points alone that an entrance can be made to the Amba by the Kokit-ber and Kaffir-ber gates. From the foot of the Fahla saddle, the Arogie Valley runs down to the Bashilo, up which Theodore had constructed the road by which he had dragged his guns into position at Fahla. Between the upper portion of the stream, which forms this valley and one of its tributaries, lies the Arogie Plateau.

Preparations for attack.

Arrangements to cut off Theodore's retreat.
Meer Akbar Ali's mission to the Gallas.

Description of country south of the Bashilo.

Fahla.

Selassie.

Arogie Valley.

CHAPTER XVII.

OPERATIONS FROM THE 7TH TO THE 11TH APRIL (ACTION OF AROGIE).

- Recon-
noissance.** SIR ROBERT NAPIER, on April 7, descended into the bed of the Bashilo, and reconnoitred the crossing of the river, a muddy stream about girth-deep. Magdāla lay ten miles beyond the Bashilo: hence, it was necessary, in order to make a closer reconnoissance of the fortress, to advance the force to a position whence Staff Officers could, without inflicting serious toil upon their escorts, reconnoitre the approaches of Fahla and of the other outworks of the enemy's position. On April 10, at day-break, the advance was commenced, and the whole of the troops, with the exception of some Cavalry, were moved down to the Bashilo. The ordinary approach to Magdāla from the Bashilo is by the Arogie Ravine, up which Theodore had constructed his road; the road, on issuing from this ravine, scales the side of Fahla, a gigantic natural bastion level at the top, and is continually exposed to fire from the summits of Fahla and Selassie, and to the descent of rocks and stones. The Arogie Valley is bounded on either side by high serrated spurs, which are drawn from Fahla and Selassie to the Bashilo. The vast natural features of the country rendered it impossible for Sir Robert Napier, with his small force of Infantry, to occupy both sides of the ravine. He recognised that Fahla was the key of Theodore's position, and determined to occupy the spur leading towards that important outwork, which bears in different parts the names of Gombagie and Affijo. When once established on this ridge, he could operate on either side of Fahla, as might seem expedient after a closer examination.
- Approaches
to Magdāla.** As the only supply of water between the Bashilo and Magdāla was under the enemy's fire, all the water-carriers of the force were organised, under command of Captain Bainbridge, for the purpose of carrying forward regular supplies of water from the river. The bandsmen and a party of the Punjab muleteers were also organised, under the command of Captain Griffith, and were furnished with stretchers for the removal of wounded men from the field.
- Water
Brigade
organized.** The arrangements for the attack were detailed in the following General Order, dated the 8th April:—
- Arrange-
ments for
attack.** " 1. British Infantry regiments, on the day of advance on Magdāla, will wear khakee clothing.
- Clothing.** " 2. Each man's great coat, blanket, waterproof sheet, and serge clothing will be made up into a roll and packed in sulleetahs in the proportion of twelve bundles to one mule. Requisitions for sulleetahs must be made out on the day previous to the advance, and they must be packed ready, and piled in separate heaps by regiments on spots which will be pointed out by the Deputy-Assistant Quartermaster-General of the Brigade.
- Rations.** " 3. Two pounds of biscuit and two pounds of cooked meat will be carried by each British officer and non-commissioned rank and file on the morning of the advance. " Native soldiers will be served out with parched grain, or cooked meat and chupatties.

" 4. Regimental cooks will remain at the depôt in rear, and if the operations against Fahla and Islamgie last more than one day, they will, day by day, cook the requisite number of rations for their respective corps, which will be forwarded under Land Transport Corps arrangement to the front. Regimental Cooks.

" 5. Every foot soldier will cross the Bashilo River barefooted. They must be directed to fill their water canteens at the river before advancing, and warned of the necessity of husbanding it during the early part of the day.

" 6. A proper proportion of water-carriers will accompany each brigade in rear of the column; two-thirds at least of the hand bhisteers should follow the attacking force. Water-carriers.
 " The officer in charge of this corps will see that each regiment and battery are duly supplied with drinking water during the attack, whenever an opportunity offers itself.

" 7. The reserve ammunition of regiments will be placed in charge of a Captain of the Land Transport Corps; 40 rounds per man will follow in rear of the attacking force, Reserve ammunition.
 " under charge of Quartermasters of regiments. The remainder will be divided into two parts, one-half will be in rear of the supporting column, and the other half with the reserve. When a Commanding Officer finds his ammunition running short he will send an officer to the rear with a written order for as many boxes as he requires. Directly ammunition is sent to the front from the supports, it must be replaced as soon as possible from the reserve.

" 8. Every Staff Officer and officer in independent command, will provide himself with a certain number of slips of paper of convenient size, as also a lead pencil. All orders conveyed to Staff Officers by word of mouth must be written down by them and read to the officer sending them before being despatched. All written orders received by officers in independent command must be acknowledged shortly in writing, and sent back by the Staff Officer who brought them. Instructions to Staff Officers.

" 9. Orders conveyed to batteries of Artillery should invariably be sent through the Officers Commanding the two Artillery divisions, so as to ensure their not being misunderstood.

" 10. No one belonging to the attacking force must be allowed to fall out for the purpose of assisting a wounded man. A Hospital Corps, consisting of bandsmen and spare drummers of regiments, and a proportion of Punjab muleteers, will be formed under command of a Captain: they will have in charge all the stretchers and 'dandy' cots, being told off in the proportion of four to each. Hospital corps.

" The men of this corps will march in rear of the attacking force, and will convey wounded men to a spot in rear which will be pointed out to them by the Inspector-General.

" 11. Every effort must be made to prevent soldiers wasting their ammunition. Orders to prevent waste of ammunition.
 " The necessity of taking a cool and steady aim should be explained to them on parade, and, when in action, officers and non-commissioned officers must exert themselves to ensure their doing so.

" 12. Mounted officers will be allowed one spare charger, which will remain in rear of the supporting column; horses in excess of this number will be with the reserve.

" 13. Directly the force is in possession of Fahla and Islamgie, tents will be brought up from the rear by the elephants."

On the 9th of April, the following orders were issued from the Head-Quarter camp on the north bank of the Bashilo :— Instructions for troops.

" The 1st Brigade 1st Division, with the exception of Cavalry, under command of
 VOL. II. F

" Brigadier-General Schneider, will take possession of the Gombagee Spur, and encamp there to-morrow.

" The Naval Brigade, A 21 R. A., and 4th Foot, will march at daylight to-morrow morning to the bottom of the pass. One European officer, one Native officer, and 25 sabres of the 3rd Light Cavalry will accompany these.

" The four companies of the Sappers and Miners will accompany the 1st Brigade, and make a road leading from the bed of the Bashilo on to the Gombagee Spur, under the directions of Captain Goodfellow, R.E.

" The Infantry of the Brigade now at the bottom of the pass will proceed to take possession of the spur in question, when joined by Major-General Sir Charles Staveley and Colonel Phayre.

" The A-21 Royal Artillery and Naval Brigade, with an escort of two companies of Infantry, will remain on the right bank of the Bashilo until the road is reported practicable for laden mules by Captain Goodfellow, R.E.

Reconnoissances ordered.

" Colonel Phayre, Deputy Quartermaster-General, will accompany the 1st Brigade, and will make a reconnoissance towards Arrogie and Fahla.

" Brigadier-General Schneider will cover the reconnoissance with such body of Infantry as he may consider necessary.

" The 2nd Brigade will march to-morrow to the bed of the Bashilo at 10 A.M.

" Captain Bainbridge will make arrangements for supplying the 1st Brigade with a proper supply of water.

" The Head-Quarter Camp will be pitched with the 2nd Brigade (north of the Bashilo).

" The rest of the Cavalry of both Brigades will remain at this Camp till further orders.

Cavalry placed on the Bashilo.

2nd Brigade in support.

All preparations having been completed, the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry, the 3rd Regiment of Sind Horse, and the 12th Bengal Cavalry, were placed to hold the Bashilo, but were kept in readiness to advance, and the remainder of the force was moved across the river under the immediate command of Sir Charles Staveley. The 2nd Brigade, under Brigadier-General Wilby, was ordered to remain in the bed of the Bashilo in support; while the Infantry of the 1st Brigade, under Brigadier-General Schneider, was to occupy the Gombagee Spur, advance to a position suitable for an encampment, and at the same time cover a reconnoissance to be made by the Deputy Quartermaster-General in the direction of Fahla. The guns, rocket battery, and baggage of the 1st Brigade were not to take the road up the Gombagee Spur, which was almost too severe for laden animals, until a road had been prepared by the Sappers and Miners, and had been reported practicable by Captain Goodfellow, the senior engineer officer. It is obvious that artillery and baggage could not have issued from the Arogie Ravine, unless the head of the defile was securely held, without exposure to an attack from Fahla under every disadvantage. The 1st Brigade now consisted of—

Strength of the 1st Brigade on the 10th April.	A Battery 21st Brigade Royal Artillery ..	..	94	Officers and Rank and File.
	Royal Naval Brigade	..	87	" "
	10th Company Royal Engineers	..	21	" "
	1st Battalion 4th (King's Own) Regiment ..	..	473	" "
	23rd Punjab Pioneers	..	600	" "
	Wing 27th Beloochees	..	260	" "
	K Company Madras Sappers	..	77	" "
	3 Companies Bombay Sappers and Miners ..	..	288	" "

A small detachment of the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry marched with the 1st Brigade as a support.

Colonel Phayre, supported by Brigadier-General Schneider, started on his recon-
noissance. The troops toiled painfully and slowly up the rugged slopes of the Gombagee
Spur: they suffered severely from the difficult nature of the path, great heat, and want
of water, and many fell out of the ranks exhausted by fatigue. Colonel Phayre arriving
at the Affijo Plateau, despatched a report stating, that the head of the defile leading
up the Arogie Valley was secured. This report was read by Sir Charles Staveley, and
forwarded to the Commander-in-Chief, who received it while still in the Bashilo.
Sir Robert Napier, on receipt of this report, ordered the guns of the A Battery, the
Naval Rocket Brigade, and the baggage of the 1st Brigade, to move up by the King's
Road, the issue of which he understood that Colonel Phayre had secured. He then
started for the front, and on his way passed the weary and straggling soldiers of the
Infantry of the 1st Brigade.

Reconnoi-
sance.

Sir Robert Napier arrived on the Affijo Plateau at the same time as the head of the
column, which was formed by the 23rd Punjab Pioneers. He then perceived that at
the point where the King's Road emerged from the Arogie Ravine, at a distance of
1,200 yards from him, and 700 feet below him, there were no troops stationed, and none
nearer to it than the Punjab Pioneers on the Affijo Plateau. Immediately he ordered
Major Chamberlain quickly to move his Pioneers to the left, and secure the head of
the pass, and sent back speedy messengers to hurry up the whole Brigade. He was none
too soon, for the leading mules of batteries were already emerging from the pass.
A few moments after they came in view, a puff of white smoke curled up from the
summit of Fahla, a round shot whirled over the heads of the Staff and buried itself
heavily in the ground behind, the report of a heavy piece of ordnance woke the echoes
of the basaltic cliffs of Magdāla, and, as if by a preconcerted signal, the steep path and
the mountain sides of Fahla were instantaneously covered by masses of warriors, quickly
rushing down to seize, as they hoped, wealthy booty from an unsuspecting foe.

Affijo
Plateau.

Action of
Arogie.

For Theodore had watched the appearance of the laden mules, and, imagining
that they only bore baggage, had told his soldiery to go down and seize them. They
were led by his favourite general, and rushed down to battle as men accustomed
to victory. He himself remained on Fahla, to direct the fire of his artillery, which
maintained a constant cannonade against the heads of the British columns; but, owing
to its elevated position, its fire was plunging, and, from the use of too heavy charges of
powder, it ranged too far, so that it caused no casualties. Among the assailant Abys-
sinians, who numbered between 6,000 and 7,000, there were no regular Cavalry, but the
chiefs, about 500 in number, were mounted, and gorgeously attired in scarlet.

Advance of
Abyssinian
Forces.

The Naval Brigade hastened up the road to the Affijo Plateau, and as each rocket-
tube came into position, it opened on the advancing masses of the enemy, who were
startled, and slightly checked; but one portion advanced, nevertheless, with great con-
fidence against the head of the British column on the plateau, while another bore down
towards the head of the pass to attack the artillery and baggage.

Action of
Naval
Brigade.

Sir Robert Napier ordered Sir Charles Staveley to prepare to receive the enemy;
the latter directed Brigadier-General Schneider to cause his men to lay down their
packs and advance. The 4th (King's Own) Regiment, in skirmishing order, under
Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron, closely followed and, supported by the wing of the Beloochees
under Major Beville, the detachment of Royal Engineers under Major Pritchard, and the
Bombay Sappers under Captain MacDonnell, descended rapidly the steep path which led
down from the Affijo Plateau into the dip of the ground which separated it from the

Advance of
British
Troops.

Description
of the
Action.

Arogie Plain. The troops cheered loudly, as they saw at last the chance of a close contest with the enemy whom they had for so long been approaching. As the men of the 4th Regiment emerged from this dip and rose upon the brow of the Arogie Plain, extending as they pushed forward, they came close upon the advancing masses of Abyssinians. They opened fire immediately, and the bullets, discharged in rapid succession from their breech-loading arms, told with fearful effect upon their assailants. The latter were driven back, but slowly and stubbornly; they fired constantly, and made several attempts to rally and charge; but the line of skirmishers bore steadily forward, and the main portion of the Abyssinians, after the loss of many chiefs, was driven off the plain of Arogie down the slopes which led into the ravines at the entrance of the defile. A portion retired up the side of the Fahla Hill, and, taking cover in a thick grove of cactus trees, opened a teasing fire on Sir Charles Staveley's right, which caused him some loss.

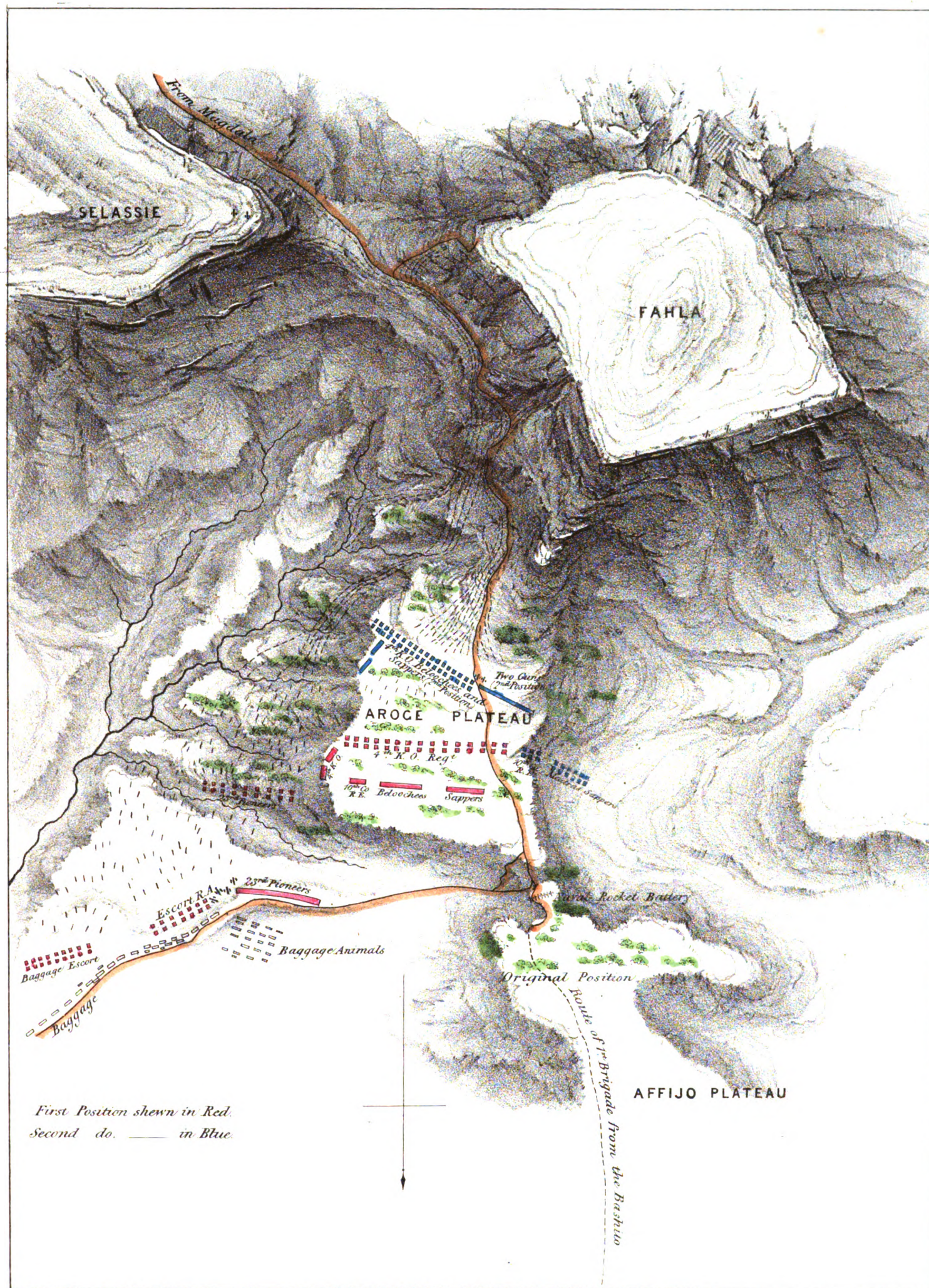
Another party of the enemy attempted to pass round the sides of the Affijo Plateau, and to turn Sir Charles Staveley's right; but were checked by the discharge of a few rockets, and by the exertions of the K Company of Madras Sappers under Major Prendergast, supported by Lieutenant-Colonel Loch with his detachment of Bombay Cavalry. Commander Fellowes of the Naval Brigade, maintained the fire of his rockets until it was masked by the advance of the Infantry. He was then moved forward to join Sir Charles Staveley; and the fire of the rockets, together with some volleys from the Beloochees and Engineers, supported by two of the steel guns, which were brought up to the right flank under Lieutenant Taylor, cleared Sir Charles Staveley's right from all further annoyance. The fire of the rockets was then directed upon the summit of Fahla; they were well aimed, and, as was subsequently ascertained, one fell near Theodore, who was there engaged in directing the operations of his artillery, now reduced at that point to six guns, as his monster piece of ordnance "Theodorus," burst at its first discharge.

In the mean time a sharp action had been fought at the point where the King's Road issued from the Arogie Valley. Lieutenant-Colonel Milward had ascended from that defile with the A battery, escorted by detachments of the 4th (King's Own) Regiment, and of the 23rd Pioneers. On seeing the troops of Theodore rushing down the mountain-side, Lieutenant-Colonel Milward hastily threw his force into position beside the Punjab Pioneers, and opened fire with the A battery. A large body of Abyssinians bore down upon the position occupied by the steel guns and the Punjab Pioneers. Notwithstanding the effects of the mountain artillery, they continued to advance with much determination and order. Major Chamberlain, with his Pioneers, advanced promptly to meet them; both sides rushed in fearlessly, and a close contest ensued between spears and bayonets; for the men of the Punjab Pioneers did not possess breech-loading arms, and could not load so rapidly as the European soldiers. Not without a gallant resistance, in which many spear wounds were received, were the Abyssinians forced off, and borne with great slaughter into the ravines on our left front.

Defence of
baggage.

Further on the left, considerable numbers of the enemy pressed towards the head of the defile, where the baggage had arrived. With great readiness the Baggage-Master, Lieutenant Sweny, of the King's Own Regiment, massed the baggage in a safe position; and the baggage-guard, consisting of two companies of the King's Own Regiment and one of the 10th Native Infantry, were brought forward, and effectually checked the attempt of the enemy to penetrate into the defile. Arrested at the head of the ravine by the baggage guard, closed in upon by the Punjab Pioneers and two companies of the 4th Regiment, which Sir Charles Staveley wheeled up against their flank, this portion

ACTION OF AROGE



Drawn by the D.P. DEPT. of the WAR OFFICE
COL. SIR R. JAMES F. GORDON



of the enemy suffered most severely. Large numbers fell from the fire of the guns and the rapid discharges of the Snider rifles.

It was four o'clock in the afternoon when the first gun which announced the opening of the engagement was fired from Fahla; it was seven o'clock, and nearly dark, before the Abyssinian soldiery were completely driven off. A thunderstorm and heavy rain had continued during the greater part of the action. When finally repelled, the troops of Theodore spread in no hasty or disorganised flight; they returned again and again to the attack, wherever the ground favoured them. They had advanced with the full confidence of men accustomed to victory, and had cast away all the advantages of their defensive position to close more rapidly with their enemy. They had been promised by Theodore that they should be enriched by the spoils of the English, and it was not without a stout resistance that the last of them were finally driven off the field. Orders were then issued by Sir Robert Napier, to prevent the pursuit being carried too far up the hill, as such a movement which could only have terminated by the British being obliged to retire, and thus have inspired some confidence in the now prostrated army of Theodore.

Thunder-
storm.

Retreat of
Abyssinian
Force.

The British troops, thoroughly wet and tired, but elated with their victory, bivouacked for the night on the ground which covered the issue of the Arogie Valley, in order to protect the baggage, which was still in the ravine. During the night, the 2nd Brigade marched up the valley from the Bashilo, and before daylight occupied this position; while the 1st Brigade, on being relieved, reoccupied the commanding position on Affjo, from which it had descended to encounter the enemy.

Bivouac of
1st Brigade.

Arrival of
2nd Brigade.

The wounded were promptly attended to after the action, and many wounded Abyssinians were also carried off the field by the British troops, and carefully tended in the British hospitals. The number of Abyssinian casualties was computed at 700 killed and 1,200 wounded, including many chiefs of note—among whom was the Fit-aurari Gabri, to whom Theodore had entrusted the conduct of the army in the battle, and who was considered as the right hand of the King himself. Nearly all night the calls of the Abyssinians to their wounded friends were heard, and the greater number of the latter were carried off the field. All night lights could be seen burning up and down the steep ascent of Fahla, which at first was supposed to betoken a night attack by Theodore on the British lines, but they were borne by the friends and relatives of those who came to seek some one either killed or wounded on the Arogie Plain.

Wounded.

The British loss amounted only to 20 wounded, two mortally. The great disparity of loss was due to the determined and persistent attack of the Abyssinians against the better disciplined and better armed force of the British, and to the invincible courage with which the Punjab Pioneers, whose smooth-bore musket was hardly equal to the double-barrelled percussion gun of the Abyssinians, repaired the deficiencies of that weapon by a stern use of the bayonet.

Loss of
British
Force.

Theodore had watched the fight from Fahla, where he superintended his artillery, which was fired by Abyssinians; but Messrs. Saalmüller, Waldmeier, and the other artizans, were required to weigh out the charge for each gun. When the British fire opened upon Fahla, the rockets ranged to the place where Theodore was standing, and one killed a horse close behind him. He exclaimed, "What a terrible weapon!—who can fight against it?" Then he covered himself with his shield, and watched the battle in silence. At one time those around the King seeing the British skirmishers take ground to the rear, raised a shout of triumph, and sent off news of victory to Magdāla. But as night came on the King sent a messenger to Fit-aurari Gabri to ask what was the news. The messenger returned to say that that chief could not be found. He was sent

Theodore on
Fahla.

back for more accurate intelligence, and afterwards returned with the report that Gabri was killed. He named one after the other of his chiefs, and the answer was always that they were dead. The men who had escaped from the battle had gone to their homes in Islamgie. Theodore saw that his army was broken and destroyed. On Selassie, sleepless and in bitter thought, he passed the night, the stillness of which was perpetually broken by loud peals of thunder, and the shrill, though distant, cries of those who sought for the wounded or mourned the dead, down below at Arogie.

Description
of the Battle
Field after
the action.

"Next morning the valley of Arogie showed all the naked horrors of a battle-field. Tracks of blood marked the courses of the wounded, who had spent their last efforts in feeble attempts to crawl back to the fortress and live, or to gain the shelter of some neighbouring bush to die. The body of Fit-aurari Gabri could be distinguished from the remainder of the fallen by its gorgeous attire. The splendid shirt, which had been the oriflamme of the Abyssinian forces the previous evening, and which had made the wearer supposed to be Theodore himself, and to be the mark of many a bullet, could be recognised by all. He had been one of the first to fall; and seven chiefs who had attempted to bear away his body, were laid in a heap around him.

"On the left, where the Pioneers and baggage-guard had been engaged, the dead lay thickest. Along the ravine where the bayonet-charge was made, men and horses were heaped in tens and twenties. In some cases the sword and bayonet had completed what the bullet had left but half done; all that lay there had been dead a long time before morning. On the right, where the firing had been at longer ranges, the tale of dead was not so great, and more wounded men lay around, awaiting without a murmur or repine the approaching termination of their sufferings. The claims of these to sympathy were not disregarded. Many a dying man was turned to ease his pain, and many a flask was emptied of its precious contents at the dumb request of some fevered lip or parched tongue. In addition to those that lay there, hundreds had been carried into the fortress during the night. The rockets and shells left abundant testimony that the consternation and dismay which they had caused among the Abyssinians were far from groundless. Many a charred mass and mangled heap showed how terrible was the havoc, how awful the death they carried wherever they sped. Before a week elapsed, the sleek wolves and greedy vultures deprived the field of much of its horror, giving it the appearance which it long will retain—a place of skulls."*

* Shepherd's Abyssinian Campaign.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OPERATIONS ON THE 11TH AND 12TH APRIL (SURRENDER OF THE CAPTIVES).

ABOUT midnight, Theodore, after brooding over the disasters of the day sent Messrs. Flad and Waldmeier to Mr. Rassam's house, at Magdāla, with the following message :—

" I thought that the people that are now coming were women ; I now find that they are men. I have been conquered by the advance-guard alone. All my gunners are dead ; reconcile me with your people."

Theodore
after the
action at
Arogie.

Returning to the King's tent, Messrs. Flad and Waldmeier informed him of their arrival by one of the eunuchs who had accompanied them for that purpose. In the mean time Theodore had been drinking hard : he came out of his tent very excited, and asked the Europeans, " What do you want ? " They told him that, as he had commanded them, they had spoken on his behalf to Mr. Rassam, who had proposed to send Lieutenant Prideaux as an envoy into the British camp. Theodore interrupted them, and in an angry voice exclaimed, " Mind your own business—go to your tents ! " The two Europeans stood still, in the hope that he might change his mind ; but, seeing that that they did not depart, he became angry, and, in a high tone of voice, ordered them to retire at once.

At about four o'clock in the morning, a messenger was sent by Theodore to call Messrs. Flad and Waldmeier again before him. As soon as they arrived he said, " Do you hear this wailing ? There is not a soldier who has not lost a friend or a brother ! " " What will it be when the whole army comes ? What shall I do ? Counsel me." Mr. Waldmeier told him, " Your Majesty, peace is best." " And you, Flad, what do you say ? " " Your Majesty," replied Mr. Flad, " ought to accept Mr. Rassam's proposal." The King remained a few minutes silent, apparently in deep thought, and then said, " Well, go back to Magdāla, and tell Mr. Rassam that I trust in his friendship to reconcile me with his people. I will do what he thinks best." At daybreak, accordingly, Lieutenant Prideaux, with Mr. Flad and Dejach Alami, a son-in-law and confidential chief of Theodore, started for the British lines.

Messrs.
Prideaux
and Flad
sent to the
British
camp.

By dawn the 1st and 2nd British Brigades had taken up their positions on the Affjo Plateau and the Arogie Plain. The Beloochees were being pushed forward slowly in skirmishing order, so as to cover the force, when a small body of horsemen could be descried slowly winding down the road from Magdāla towards the camp. A white flag of truce could be made out, and the uniform of a British officer among them. The news burst through the ranks like wildfire, and, amidst loud cheers and rapturous greetings, Lieutenant Prideaux and Mr. Flad passed through the outposts, and were escorted by a jubilant crowd to the tent of the Commander-in-Chief, where they delivered a verbal message from Theodore, to the effect that till yesterday he had thought himself the greatest man in the world, but that he had now found out that there were others stronger

Position of
1st and 2nd
Brigades on
the 11th
April.

Theodore's
message.

Sir Robert
Napier's
reply to
Theodore.

than he, and he desired to be reconciled to the British Government. But reconciliation on any terms short of submission was not in the power of Sir Robert Napier to grant. The Commander-in-Chief had his orders from the Home Cabinet to remove Theodore from Abyssinia, and, confident in his intention of fulfilling these instructions, he had received aid and supplies from the various peoples of Abyssinia, who would have suffered woefully after the departure of the British if Theodore had been allowed to retain his mountain stronghold, or any vestige of his formidable power. The answer which Sir Robert Napier returned to the verbal message of the King was as follows:—

Your Majesty has fought like a brave man, and has been overcome by the superior power of the British army.

It is my desire that no more blood may be shed. If, therefore, your Majesty will submit to the Queen of England, and bring all the Europeans now in your Majesty's hands, and deliver them safely this day in the British camp, I guarantee honorable treatment for yourself and for all the members of your Majesty's family.

In the meantime Dejach Alami was shown the mortars and the elephants before his return, and was told that the arms used in the action of the previous evening, in which he had been present, were but mere playthings in comparison to these destructive machines; and he was assured by Sir Robert Napier, that if the King did not surrender and give up the captives, the big mortars and the Armstrong guns would be sent up against him, and that then none of his soldiers would escape alive.

Movements
of G Battery
14th
Brigade,
Royal
Artillery,
with the
Armstrong
guns.

The movement of the Armstrong guns with the G Battery 14th Brigade, Royal Artillery, as far as Lat, has been described at page 13. On the 28th of March the battery arrived at, and on the 30th it left Dildi at 7 A.M., and arrived at Muja at 8.30 P.M. The road was over high and steep hills on this march. The Quartermaster-Serjeant of the Battery, with his horse, rolled off the road, broke a rib, and had to be sent back. On the 31st the battery marched to Santara; the elephants were much fatigued on this steep march; they were greatly relieved it was found when going up hill, by shifting the breast of the carriage over the front part of the cradle. The battery moved on April 1st to Gahso on wheels, the elephants carrying the guns; on the 2nd, to Abdikum; on the 4th, to Bet Hor, guns on carriages; on the 5th to the bed of the Jedda River, guns on the elephants. The descent here, as already described, was very steep, the wheel horses only were in the carriages, the gunners, assisted by a party of the 33rd, holding on in rear with drag-ropes. When within 150 yards of the bottom of the ghaut, the descent became so precipitous that the horses had to be taken out and gunners put in the shafts, and the carriages lowered with drag-ropes. The men at the ropes were several times on the ground, from the sudden jar of the carriages dropping down a mass of rock, but never let go their hold. The gunners in the shafts were constantly off their feet. The battery left at 3.30 P.M., arrived at midnight, and on the 6th, ascended to the top of the Talanta Plain, another steep march. Everything was of course carried on the elephants, which were terribly fatigued in getting up the first half of the ghaut. About 5 in the afternoon they had got to the level ground, when down came a furious storm of rain and hail. The elephants would not move an inch, and had to wait until it was over. They had got half way up the second part when down came the rain again, and there was nothing for it but to stop again. Two elephants threw their loads—a somewhat common occurrence now on a march. Fortunately it was a moonlight night, and as soon as the rain had ceased the loads were put on and a fresh start made. The rain had made the road so slippery that it was impossible, on the steep parts, for a man to walk without catching hold of the bank at the edge. The

Storm on
Talanta
Plain.

elephants, however, managed to get along slowly, and about four in the morning all but eleven had got to the top. The leader was just going to step on to the comparatively level ground, when her feet slipped, and away she went, sliding down the road some 50 or 60 yards, to the great danger of the men and elephants in rear. Fortunately she managed to stop herself without going over the side. Her load was taken off, and an effort was made to get her on her legs, but she would not move. The others were so frightened at seeing this slip, that they would not move either, so the load was taken off the leading elephant, and the men carried it to where the ground was pretty level, hoping to induce the animal to show the way to the others; but he would not pass the place where the first one had slipped. The same experiment was tried with another, with a like result; and finding it no use to try any more, they were all unladen, and had to wait for the sun to dry the road a little. In the morning, fresh elephants came out from the camp, and the battery arrived there at last about mid-day, the gunners having been out since 8 o'clock the previous morning.

On the 10th, the battery marched to the bed of the Bashilo River, another steep descent. On this occasion they kept the guns on the carriages, which steadied them much going down steep places, with the wheel horses only hooked in, the gunners as before, assisted by the men of the 45th Regiment, holding on in rear with dragropes. The battery left the edge of the plateau at 10 A.M., crossed the river and halted on the opposite side at 2 in the afternoon.

On the 11th they marched at midnight with guns on the carriages for 4 miles up the pass, when they had to shift for elephant carriage. They arrived at the Camp at 8 o'clock A.M., where they put the carriages together, and came into action. At 10 A.M. they received orders to march to the higher Camp; they took the battery to pieces, loaded the elephants, marched off, and brought the guns into action on the right flank of the 1st Brigade Camp.

Shortly after this it was that these Armstrong guns, brought up with so much labour, were shown to Dejach Alami, who may well have wondered how they could have been brought over such a road. On taking leave to return, the Dejach said to Mr. Flad: "There is no escape for us (meaning the King and his followers); we must surrender, or we shall all be killed. We have no chance to escape; they would pursue us, and we are surrounded by our enemies, the plundered Woro Häimano people and the Wollo Gallas. I am almost sure that the King will send down the captives, but I fear he won't go down himself, partly from fear, and partly from being mortified."*

Armstrong
guns shown
to Dejach
Alami.

It must have been trying for Lieutenant Prideaux and Mr. Flad, after having once set their feet within the British lines, to be required to return to the presence and into the power of such a capricious and cruel despot as Theodore. Equally was it trying to Sir Robert Napier, on whose slightest action or word hung the lives of so many prisoners, still within Theodore's power, to insist upon terms which it must have been evident the still proud, though defeated, monarch by no means contemplated.

The envoys, who were instructed to say that the body of Fit-aurari Gabri might be removed to Magdala, returned up the hill, and found Theodore in Selassie. The letter of Sir Robert Napier was twice translated by Mr. Flad and Mr. Waldmeier to the King, and by the questions that he put it was evident that he fully understood what Sir Robert Napier required of him. He asked, "What do they mean by honourable treatment?" "Do they mean to treat me honourably as their prisoner, or do they intend to assist me

Return of
Messrs.
Prideaux
and Flad to
Magdala.

* Mr. Flad's Statement. See page 45.

Theodore's
reception of
Sir R. Na-
pier's letter.

"in recovering my country from the rebels? And have they taken into account my numerous family, for I have as many wives and children almost as I have hairs on my head? It would involve immense expense in England if they would undertake to provide for them all." To this Mr. Prideaux replied, that the Commander-in-Chief did not give any information beyond what was in the letter. Mr. Waldmeier suggested that the King should write again, for further information on these points.

Theodore then ordered the envoys to go aside, while he dictated a paper to his Secretary. The tone of this letter was probably influenced by the fact that during the short interval, while the letter was being written, the remaining troops of the King, armed and arrayed for battle, took up a position in Selassie; and as the loss sustained in the previous action was found not to be so great as at first anticipated, Theodore contemplated an attack on the British camp, especially as the soldiers were heard to say, "The English are fond of sleeping; we must attack them in the middle of the night, and we will utterly destroy them ere they wake." The document was folded in the cover of Sir Robert Napier's letter of the morning, which Theodore returned as he considered himself insulted, because the servant of a woman had presumed to address him at all. It was not in the form of a letter, as he considered it beneath his dignity to hold any correspondence with Sir Robert Napier; neither was it sealed. The translation of its contents was as follows:—

Theodore's
letter to Sir
Robert
Napier.

In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, one God in His Trinity and His Unity. Kâsa, whose trust is in Christ, thus speaks:

O people of Abyssinia! will it always be thus that you flee before the enemy, when I myself, by the power of God, go not forth with you to encourage you?

Believing that all power had been given to me, I had established my Christian people in this heathen spot. In my city are multitudes whom I had fed—maids protected and maidens unprotected; women whom yesterday made widows, and aged parents who have no children. God has given you the power. See that you forsake not these people. It is a heathen land.

My countrymen have turned their backs on me, and have hated me, because I imposed tribute on them, and sought to bring them under military discipline. You have prevailed against me by means of a people brought into a state of discipline.

My followers, who loved me, were frightened by one bullet, and fled in spite of my command. When you defeated them I was not with the fugitives.

Believing myself to be a great lord, I gave you battle; but, by reason of the worthlessness of my artillery, all my pains were as nought.

The people of my country, by taunting me with having embraced the religion of the Franks, and by saying that I had become a Mussulman, and in ten different ways, had provoked me to anger against them. Out of what I have done of evil towards them may God bring good. His will be done! I had intended, if God had so decreed, to conquer the whole world, and it was my desire to die if my purpose could not be fulfilled. Since the day of my birth till now no man has dared to lay hands on me. Whenever my soldiers began to waver in battle, it was mine to arise and rally them. Last night the darkness hindered me from doing so.

You people, who have passed the night in joy, may God do unto you as he has done to me. I had hoped, after subduing all my enemies in Abyssinia, to lead my armies against Jerusalem, and expel from it the Turks. A warrior who has dandled strong men in his arms like infants will never suffer himself to be dandled in the arms of others.

It was an anxious hour for Sir Robert Napier when he received his returned letter from the hands of Prideaux and Flad. It was hard to leave countrymen to what seemed certain massacre, but he considered that a fuller atonement than the surrender of the captives, when they could no longer be retained, was required, and must be exacted; and, painful as was the thought of the possible consequences to the captives if Theodore's rage should become excited, Sir Robert Napier relied for their safety on the

apprehension of a renewal of the conflict which had demoralized Theodore's troops—an apprehension from which Theodore himself was not entirely free, as was involuntarily betrayed by Dejach Alami. Sir Robert Napier also relied on his threat, which he had impressed on Dejach Alami, of unrelenting pursuit, and of punishment of all who might in any way be concerned in the ill-treatment of the European captives; and he had pointed out how the power of Great Britain had already reached Magdāla, and that no corner of Abyssinia, however remote, could screen anyone whom England was determined to punish. It was a sad parting when Prideaux and Flad set out on their return to the mountain, bearers of the same letter which Sir Robert Napier had entrusted to them in the morning, and instructed to intimate that the British Commander would grant no other terms than those declared therein; for they themselves, and all others, considered that they ran the risk of any hasty resolve or any sudden fury of drunkenness on the part of the semi-barbarous king.

But this sorrow was destined to be turned into joy. After the despatch of his insulting missive, Theodore had spent some time in meditation and prayer. He called a council of his advisers, when Ras Engeda, the Prime Minister, Dejach Abaye, Dejach Wahe, and others, strongly recommended the murder of the captives, and resistance to the last; but Basha Avito (who had been in the British camp) and Dejach Alami urged that the English had come all this way for their countrymen, who were of no use to Abyssinia, while, if they were killed, terrible vengeance would be taken. To these the King listened with favour, and sent Ras Assani to Magdāla to release the captives and bring them to him. While the messenger was absent, the King, mad at the idea of surrender, drew his double-barrelled pistol, and placed it in his mouth. Ras Engeda rushed forward to seize him and prevent the suicide. The pistol was wrested from his mouth, but in the struggle was discharged, and the bullet grazed his ear. Theodore then covered his head with a cloth, and lay down upon the ground, gradually becoming composed, and was only aroused by the intelligence that Mr. Rassam was approaching. The result of the interview was that Mr. Rassam, the remainder of the British captives, and several of those of other nations, were dismissed to the British camp, and Mr. Mayer was sent in advance to announce their approach. As he descended the hill he met Mr. Flad and Lieutenant Prideaux returning. These also now turned back, and one hour after sunset Mr. Rassam arrived in the camp a free man, and with him Consul Cameron, Dr. Blanc, Mr. Stern, Mr. and Mrs. Rosenthal, Mr. Kerans, and Pietro. These had all been liberated. They were escorted on the part of the King by Mr. Mayer, Mr. Waldmeier, Mr. Saalmüller, and Mr. Moritz (artisans), and by Dejach Alami and Aito Samuel. It was not understood whether the German artisans had been liberated by the King, or were expected to return to him. It was judged by Sir Robert Napier, that it would be better that they should return to Magdāla the next morning, until regularly discharged by Theodore.

Proceedings
in Magdāla.

Surrender
of the
captives.

Although matters had thus assumed a more hopeful aspect, yet there remained ground for anxiety. Mrs. Flad, whose fortitude during all her trials gained for her universal esteem, was still in the hands of Theodore, as she was unable, on account of her delicate state of health, to undertake the journey down the mountain that night; as were also the families of the German artisans and other Europeans, for whom Sir Robert Napier was bound to take thought. It was believed that they too had been liberated, and had only been prevented by illness, or other causes not resting with the King, from leaving the *amba*. Still the uncertain and dangerous temper of Theodore was too well known to prevent the life of anyone being considered perfectly safe while still within his reach.

Proceedings
in Magdāla.

The same Saturday afternoon that Theodore dismissed the British captives he seems to have turned some thought to the wrongs he had inflicted on his rightful Queen Terunesh. She had for long years been placed in Magdāla with her little boy Alumayou,* while Theodore had been leading an irregular life at Debra Tabor, and had lately insulted his Queen by the presence in Magdāla of his favourite concubine—a Yeju Galla woman, named Itamangu, who, while the Queen was neglected, received an almost daily letter from the King. On the afternoon of the 11th he sent a request to Terunesh to visit him at his tent in Islamgie, and they passed there some time together.

Events on
the 12th
April.

Early on the following morning (that of Easter Sunday) Sir Robert Napier received, by the hands of the King's scribe, Alaka Magada, and Mr. Bender, one of his German artisans, an Amharic letter, in which Theodore apologised for the tone which he had adopted in his communication of the previous day, and explained that he had written the former document after he had made up his mind to take away his life. He related how his attempt to carry out his design had failed, and that he now desired friendship, and was prepared to send down at once every European, along with an offering of cows, as it was the Easter festival. The letter was duly signed and sealed with the royal seal, and ran as follows :—

Theodore's
second
Letter.

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, one God :

The King of Kings Theodorus :

May it reach the beloved servant of the great Queen of England.

I am writing to you without being able to address you by name, because our intercourse has arisen so unexpectedly.

Apology
for first
Letter.

I am grieved at having sent you my writing of yesterday, and at having quarrelled with you, my friend. When I saw your manner of fighting, and the discipline of your army, and when my people failed to execute my orders, then I was consumed with sorrow to think that, although I killed and punished my soldiers, yet they would not return to the battle. Whilst the fire of jealousy burned within me, Satan came to me in the night, and tempted me to kill myself with my own pistol. But reflecting that God would be angry with me if I were to go in this manner, and leave my army without a protector, I sent to you in a hurry lest I might die, and all things be in confusion before my message should reach you. After my messenger had gone, I cocked my pistol, and, putting it in my mouth, pulled the trigger. Though I pulled and pulled, yet it would not go off. But when my people rushed upon me, and laid hold of the pistol, it was discharged, just as they had drawn it from my mouth. God having thus signified to me that I should not die but live, I sent to you Mr. Rassam that same evening, that your heart might be made easy.

Cows
offered.

To-day is Easter; be pleased to let me send a few cows to you.

The reason of my returning to you your letter yesterday was, that I believed at that time that we should meet one another in heaven, but never on earth.

I let the night pass without sending for the body of my friend Fit-aurari Gabri, because I thought that after my death we should both be buried together; but since I have lived, be pleased to allow him to be buried.

You require from me all the Europeans, even to my best friend Waldmeier. Well, be it so; they shall go. But, now that we are friends, you must not leave me without artisans, as I am a lover of the mechanical arts.

Sir Robert
Napier's
reply.

This letter was translated by Aito Samuel from Amharic into Arabic, and by Mr. Rassam from Arabic into English, in the presence of Colonel Merewether, Mr. Flad, and Lieutenant Tweedie. Colonel Merewether pointed out that the letter contained nothing which should tend to cause an alteration in the arrangements already made for the return of Mr. Flad and the German artisans to the mountain to bring down Mrs. Flad and the wives and children of the others. The Commander-in-Chief sent a verbal

* "Alumayou" means, "I have seen the world."

answer, to be taken to Theodore by Aito Samuel and Dejach Alami, that "a palanquin was sent up for Mrs. Flad because she was not well, and that Sir Robert Napier desired the King to send her and all the other Europeans that same day down to the British camp."* Mr. Rassam has, in his Political Report, stated that the Commander-in-Chief accepted, verbally, the offering of cattle proposed by Theodore. This assertion has been contradicted by both Colonel Merewether and Lieutenant Tweedie.† After the departure of Aito Samuel, Colonel Thesiger the Deputy-Adjutant General having elicited from Mr. Rassam that 1,000 cattle were to be sent down from Theodore as a peace-offering, immediately reported the fact to the Commander-in-Chief, who, on learning the magnitude and nature of the offering, at once instructed Captain Holland, in charge of the Quartermaster-General's Department, to send one of his assistants to the outlying picquets, to see that the cattle were not admitted until Theodore's full acceptance of the conditions proposed on the previous day should enable him to receive them, or to assume towards the King a friendly bearing.‡

The offer of cattle.

* Mr. Rassam's Political Report, paragraph 384.

† Statements of Colonel Merewether and Lieutenant Tweedie.

‡ The following is the statement of the Rev. J. M. Flad on the subject of the offer of the cattle:—

Mr. Flad's statement.

"After King Theodore had been defeated on the 10th of April, Lieutenant Prideaux, myself, and Dejach Alami, son-in-law to the King, were sent, on the morning of the 11th April, to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, to sue for peace.

"A young native, servant of Mr. Rassam, was sent by the King with instructions to return immediately after we had been received by Sir Robert Napier, or in case of his Excellency not yet having arrived at Arogie, by the General in charge of the advance guard. The King was anxious to learn what kind of reception we had met with in the British camp.

"The message we had to deliver from the King was,—'I thought I was the only brave man, but I have found out that you are stronger than I; I therefore wish to be reconciled with you.' In answer to this we received a letter from his Excellency, with which we returned to the King. Before we started from the British camp, Dejach Alami was informed with the contents of the letter. In the letter of Sir Robert Napier, the King was requested to bring, the very same day, the 11th of April, into the British camp, all the Europeans in his power.

"At the special demand of Dejach Alami, to give the King twenty-four hours' time, his petition was granted. Dejach Alami promised to be responsible that all the captives should be safely delivered into the British camp.

"To this, Sir Robert Napier replied, that he desired the King himself should surrender, and come into the English camp. Dejach Alami said, regarding the King's coming, he could not promise anything, but he would try his best to induce the King to comply with the wishes of his Excellency. Sir Robert Napier also informed Dejach Alami, that in case any harm should be done to any of the captives, it would be severely punished on the King's officers and soldiers, if they would not use their influence to prevent the King from cruelties. They should not think of running away, because, if they tried to do so, they would be pursued into the furthest corner of Abyssinia; there was no escaping for them. The guns and rockets and Snider rifles, which had been used on the 10th of April, were shown by Sir Robert Napier to Dejach Alami; also the Armstrong steel guns and the mortars, having just arrived. The latter was told that the arms used against them yesterday were but mere playthings in comparison to these destroying machines; if the King would not surrender and give up, the big mortars and the Armstrong guns would be sent up against him, and then none of his soldiers would escape alive. Horror-struck and amazed, Dejach Alami looked at the elephants which were standing like giants before him, still having the Armstrong cannons on their backs. On taking leave, to go up to the King, Dejach Alami said to me, 'There is no escape for us' (meaning the King and his followers); 'we must surrender, or we shall all be killed. We have no chance to run away; they would pursue us, and we are surrounded by our enemies, the plundered Woro-Häimano people and the Wollo Gallas. I am almost sure,' he continued, 'that the King will send down the captives, but I fear he won't go down himself, partly from fear and partly from being mortified.' The letter from Sir Robert Napier to the King was twice translated by Mr. Waldmaier and myself; and by the questions he put to us, I am convinced that he fully understood what Sir Robert Napier required of him. He asked, 'What do they mean by honourable treatment? Do they mean to treat me honourably as their prisoner, or do they intend to assist me in recovering my country from the rebels? And have they taken in account my numerous family, for I have so many wives and children, almost, as I have hairs on my head? It would involve immense expense on England if they would undertake to care for them all.'

"To this, Mr. Prideaux replied that the Chief did not give us further information, except that which was

The offered tribute of cattle was apparently a ruse devised by Theodore or suggested to him, for the purpose of precluding Sir Robert Napier from further hostile action. If the British Commander had accepted a present from Theodore one day, and had attacked him the next, it would have been a violation of the commonly accepted *jus gentium* of Abyssinia, especially if the circumstance were looked at by itself, and without reference to the fact that Theodore had on the previous day been plainly told that nothing but his own surrender would satisfy the British Commander.

"in the letter. Mr. Waldmaier suggested to the King that he ought to write again on this point, and ask further information.

"The King, who was in a sad and perverse state of mind, then ordered us to go aside and take a seat, whilst he dictated a letter to his Secretary. During this short interval, the whole army of the King, in full arms as if they were ready for battle, came up and took possession of Selassie. Mr. Waldmaier told us, whilst we were waiting for the letter, that the loss in the King's camp was not so great as had been reported on Good Friday night. It had been said that the half of the King's army had been wounded and killed. The letter being finished, the King handed it over to Mr. Prideaux, together with the letter we had brought up from his Excellency; and we too were charged to go, with all possible speed, down into the British camp and deliver the letter. Dejach Alami received orders to remain with the King. My impression was that the King would venture another attack on the English troops. I also heard the King's soldiers say to one another, 'The English are fond of sleeping; we must attack them in the middle of the night, and we will utterly destroy them ere they get awake.'

"We delivered the King's letter to Sir Robert Napier. It did not contain any answer to his Excellency's letter: only the declaration that he (the King) would never suffer himself to be carried in the arms of others.

"Towards evening, on the 11th, Lieutenant Prideaux and myself returned to the King's camp with the letter that bore the message that no other terms than those already offered could be granted. The same letter of Sir Robert Napier that we had brought up in the morning, we again took back in the evening to the King. On our way upwards we met Mr. Mayer, who informed us that Mr. Rassam and party were coming down. This was entirely an action of the King's own free will.

"I afterwards learned that Dejach Alami had exerted all his influence to persuade the King to surrender the captives to the British General. The artisans, Mr. Waldmaier, and companions aided in concert with Dejach Alami.

"When the King had given orders that the captives should march down into the British camp, his Prime Minister, Ras Engeda, and others of the King's attendants (natives), wanted to induce the King not to let the captives go. 'Our friends and kindred have been killed by their brethren; we won't send them down alive,' they said. The King's reply was, 'Don't speak to me any more about killing them; they have done me no wrong, and not one hair of their head shall fall down.' When the King had seen Mr. Rassam, the captives marched down, and reached the head-quarters of the British camp an hour after sunset on the 11th of April.

"God, who had hardened his heart for four and a half years, had in this last critical moment softened him so down that he could no otherwise but let his victims pass before him in peace.

"As Mrs. Flad and children had been left behind, I had to return to the King on Easter Sunday morning (the 12th). I was accompanied by the King's artisans, who, by order of the latter, were escorting the British captives down into the British camp. Dejach Alami likewise was returning with us, bearing a verbal message, by which the King was requested to send down, during that same day (the 12th), all the Europeans in his power. I must also mention that before our leaving the British camp a letter from the King to his Excellency arrived, which was read and translated previous to our returning. As much as I can recollect now, did the letter contain an apology from the King for not having his last letter to Sir Robert Napier began as he (the King) was usually beginning his letters, viz., 'In the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost'; as also for having omitted to put his seal at the bottom of it. He likewise apologised for having sent Sir Robert Napier's letter back. As a reason for having done so, he said he did not think he would meet Sir Robert Napier in this life. He further said in his letter, 'To make your heart easy I have sent over to you, last evening, Mr. Rassam and his companions. If you wish me to send down all the other Europeans, I will comply with your wishes.' Regarding Mr. Waldmaier (his Engineer) he observed, 'Remember me, and keep in mind that I am a friend of arts.' In a postscript of that same letter, the King said, 'To-day we have Easter Sunday. I have ready 1,000 cows and 500 sheep. May I send them to you?'

"This letter having been read, Dejach Alami received a verbal message from his Excellency, which was as follows:—That a palankin was sent up for Mrs. Flad because she was not well; that Sir Robert Napier desired him to send her and all the other Europeans down to the British camp that same day (Easter Sunday, the 12th of April); that a letter should be written during the day (12th of April), and by the King's first

The four Germans who had escorted Mr. Rassam's party down the evening before, with Dejach Alami, Mr. Flad, and Aito Samuel, returned to the mountain. It was not considered necessary to send back Lieutenant Prideaux, as he belonged to Mr. Rassam's party, which had been formally dismissed. They took up with them the body of the Abyssinian leader of Friday, the Fit-aurari Gabri. The King, as well as other Abyssinians, were gratified at this act on the part of the English General. The body was immediately interred at Magdāla. On reaching the King's camp, the messengers found him seated outside his tent. Dejach Alami delivered the compliments of Sir Robert Napier to the King, with an acknowledgment of the arrival in the British camp of Mr. Rassam's party, and a reiterated demand that the remainder of the Europeans should be sent down. Theodore at once replied, "Well, I give every one of them a permission to leave Magdāla." The King then asked whether, at the time when Mr. Flad and his companions had left the British camp, the letter carried by his scribe and Mr. Bender had arrived. Aito Samuel replied, "that the letter was presented to the

Return of
the Germans
to Magdāla.

Proceedings
in Magdāla.

"Secretary, the same who had been the bearer of the King's letter on Easter Sunday morning, sent up to the King.

"On our way upwards to Islamagie, I asked Aito Samuel (a servant of the King who was given to Mr. Rassam as interpreter at his arrival in the country), 'How is it with the cattle and sheep?' 'They are accepted,' he answered!

"We took up with us the remains of the King's brave and beloved General, Fit Aurari Gebry, who was Commander-in-Chief on Friday, but was killed. The King, as well as other natives, were pleased with this act of generosity on the part of the English General. I heard them say, 'These English people are our true friends, and they are Christians indeed.' Before I left Islamagie, the body of the General was interred at Magdāla.

"On reaching the King's camp we met him seated outside of his tent. When Dejach Alami delivered his message from Sir Robert Napier, the King inquired, 'Is the cattle accepted?' To which Aito Samuel replied, 'Yes; they are accepted.'

"Then the King said to me, 'Take your wife and children, and go down with Dejach Alami and the cattle, and tell all the Europeans that they all shall go down.' As Mrs. Flad was unable to be hurried down so quick on account of her position, Mr. Waldmaier was ordered to go down with the cattle.

"When I was ready to start, prudence advised me to go over once more to the King to take leave of him. When I was approaching him he asked, 'Are you ready?' 'Yes,' I answered. 'Well, go,' he returned; 'may God give us a happy meeting, Arto Flad.' These were the last words he spoke to me. I went home, and found my wife and children ready. We went away from the King's camp, and, hurrying downwards into the British camp, thanked God who had so mercifully spared our lives, and delivered us out of the hand of our enemy.

"On our way to the British camp we met the people who had charge of the cattle that had been sent down as a present to the European General. They told us that the cattle had not been accepted.

"The report that the cattle had not been accepted reached the King ere all the captives, and some of the King's own artisans, had left the King's camp. These were Mayer, Staiger, Brandeis, Essler, Schiller, and Mackerer, captives, as also some of the Europeans who had been serving the King, left behind. As far as I could make out, the cattle and sheep were eaten up by the King's own soldiers, who had surrendered to Sir Robert Napier on the 13th of April.

"On Monday morning, very early, I was asked by General Merewether to translate, together with M. Münzinger, a letter from his Excellency Sir Robert Napier to the King Theodore; but before we had begun, messenger after messenger arrived from different parties, stating that the King had fled. His chiefs sent to Sir Robert Napier, urging him to go up to Magdāla and take possession ere the Gallas would come and kill them. Among these messengers were several men who had been sent by the native prisoners, who were still kept there by hand and foot chains.

"A little after, three Rases (Ministers of State), together with some other great people, arrived, stating the fact that the King had gone off before daybreak; that his whole army was ready to submit to Sir Robert Napier.

"At 9.30 we were marching towards Magdāla. Half way up an Abyssinian informed me that the King had come back, and was making preparations to defend himself with about 250 of his followers, and that he was taking up some of his guns to Magdāla. I immediately communicated these news to General Merewether, and was then requested by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to show the way up to the 33rd Regiment, over a rocky path with which I had become acquainted on Saturday, up to Selassie.

"Commander-in-Chief and translated." The King inquired what answer had been given about the offered cattle. Aito Samuel told him that Sir Robert Napier had expressed his willingness to accept them. The King then ordered 1,000 cattle and 500 sheep to be sent down to the British camp, and told Mr. Flad to take his wife and children, and go down with Dejach Alami and the cattle; but as Mrs. Flad was unable to be hurried down so quickly, on account of her illness, Mr. Waldmeier was directed to go down with the cattle. Yet Theodore did not seem confident of the reception of his offering, for although he withdrew his artillery from Fahla, he placed it in a prepared position in the market-place of Islamgie, to cover the approach to Magdāla. When he heard that the cattle were stopped at the picquets, the artisans, their women and baggage, had not yet left the mountain. Theodore sent for them; and when they came, he ordered them to go down to the British camp, and on seeing them depart, said to his chiefs, "Surely it is peace, now that they have taken my power from me—surely it is peace!" But even after the arrival of the artisans, the cattle were still kept outside the British sentries. Theodore saw that he could not obtain peace without his personal surrender. He went into the *amba*, and spent a restless night.

That afternoon all the Europeans who had been held in captivity arrived in camp, except the Frenchman, M. Bardel, who was struck down with fever and sunstroke, and who, when of no further use to Theodore, had been sent out of Magdāla, and quartered in a miserable hovel in Islamgie. The following is the list of the restored captives:—

Names of
the captives
released.

Consul Cameron; Mr. Rassam; Mr. Flad, Mrs. Flad, and three children; Lieutenant Prideaux, Bombay Army; Dr. Blanc, Bombay Army; Rev. Mr. Stern; Mr. Rosenthal, Mrs. Rosenthal, and

"The whole of King Theodore's troops surrendered to Sir Robert Napier, laying down their arms before him.

"When the leading regiment came down from Selassie to Islamgie, having captured four of the King's cannons, about fifteen horsemen, *amongst whom was the King himself*, came upon them and fired at them, which was answered by the British soldiers who had been on the plain. The King, with his men, retreated to the fortress, and the gate to the stronghold of Magdāla was closed.

"When, after 3 p.m., Magdāla was stormed, the King, with his men, defended themselves bravely within the first gate; and before the English soldiers could fire a shot, and before they could reach the gate, they were fired at by the King and his men. When the King saw that our soldiers were coming up the wall and the hedges, he fled to the second gate, within which he was afterwards found dead, having killed himself by his own pistol. According to the statement of Mr. Waldmaier and others, this pistol was the very same which, five years ago, Captain Cameron had made the King a present of.

(Signed) "JOHN MARTIN FLAD,
"Missionary of the London Society for Promoting
"Christianity amongst the Jews."

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship will permit me to add a few facts which I had forgotten when I did write my Memorandum, but afterwards I remembered them again.

"When, in going up to the King on the 12th of April, I asked Aito Samuel, 'How is it with the cattle?' he replied, 'They are accepted.' I asked, 'Who told you so?' His reply was, 'Mr. Rassam.' To this I said, 'Everything looks well for the King.' To this, Aito Samuel replied, 'What do you trouble yourself about this? If but only you with your family are out of his hands, let the English do with him whatever they please. Would it not be a blessing to our country and to our people, if he (the King) who does nothing but plunder the country, and kill and burn the defenceless peasants, will be removed from his throne. I myself am anxious to get away from him.'

"When the King had given permission that we should go down into the British camp, Samuel said to me, 'Make haste and take your wife and children into the British camp as quick as you can.'

"My own impression was that the cattle were not accepted by your Lordship, and that they would be stopped as soon as they reached your Lordship's camp; therefore I hastened Mrs. Flad to get ready with all speed, saying to her, as she will recollect now, 'Let us go before the news reaches the King that the cattle are refused.' And from what I heard from Aito Samuel, I am almost sure that he has been under the same impression, though he used in my presence all the cunning to make King Theodore believe, that if he only complied with the wish of the British General, he would not only gain his friendship but get valuable presents too."

one child; Mr. Kerans; Pietro, servant of Consul Cameron (Italian); Mr. Staiger, German missionary, sent by a Scotch Society; Mr. Brandeis, as above; Mr. Essler, German naturalist; Mr. Schiller, ditto; M. Makerer, Frenchman, a servant originally of Consul Cameron, latterly of Theodore; M. Zander (German), artist, native wife, and four children; Mr. Waldmeier (Swiss), an Abyssinian wife (the late Mr. Bell's daughter), and one child; Mr. Saalmüller (German), wife (viz., daughter of Bell), and one child; Aleegas (son of late Mr. Bell), an artisan; Mr. Bender (German), wife, and three children; Mrs. Kenzlen, widow of a German artisan, and one child; Mr. Moritz, wife, and child; Mr. Mayer (German), artisan, wife, and three children: M. Bourgaud (French), artisan, French wife, and five children; Mr. Schimper (German), botanist; Mr. Schimper, jun., an artisan; Mr. M'Kelvie (Irishman), servant of Consul Cameron; Mr. John Parkins, artisan.

CHAPTER XIX.

OPERATIONS ON THE 13TH APRIL (CAPTURE OF MAGDĀLA).

Theodore
attempts to
escape.

AT sunrise on the morning of Easter Monday, April 13, 1868, Theodore arose, and, calling to his troops, said: "Warriors who love me gird yourselves; leave all behind, "take nothing but arms, and follow me; the time has come to seek another home." He had apparently determined to make an attempt to escape, and went out of the fortress near the Kaffir-ber Gate, at a place where it was possible to descend towards Sangallat.* He was followed by two chiefs of rank, and about two thousand men, variously armed. As he passed down he asked where the advance-guard was, and on being told that they were in rear ordered them to the front. They refused, saying that they would never flee before an enemy again, and would rather seek death in Magdāla. Theodore pondered for a brief space, and then, saying "Let it be so," re-ascended the mountain. It would have been impossible for him to continue his journey alone, as the cries of the Gallas—who, under the guidance of Meer Akbar Ali, were watching the issue from the fortress on that side—could be distinctly heard. On re-entering the fortress he told all who were not prepared to share his fortunes to the last to provide for their own safety. Thousands thereupon left him, and ultimately surrendered to the British.

Sir Robert Napier, at the request of Dejach Alami, had promised to abstain from hostilities for twenty-four hours. By Monday morning forty-eight hours had elapsed, but the prescribed conditions had not been complied with, and no sign had been made by the King of acceding to the important demand that he should surrender himself. The considerations which, with the lives of so many of his countrymen in Theodore's hands, had impelled Sir Robert Napier to impose this condition, had lost none of their force now. It was essential for the vindication of the national honour, which he had so grossly insulted, that he should be deposed. Moreover, the British Army could not have reached Magdāla at that season unless it had been aided by the chiefs and people of the country. Kassai's supplies of flour had rendered it, for the time, independent of the failure of Zula to furnish that commodity. The grain of Enderta and Agamé had enabled its transport animals to live and advance; but this aid was given in the full belief that Theodore would be removed, and had the British Commander failed to displace him he might have had to fight his way out of the country. His failure to submit himself left no other course open than to proceed against him as an enemy. Reliable information reached Sir Robert Napier that the Abyssinian Army was recovering from its defeat; that many soldiers, who had been unable to return to Magdāla on the night of the 10th, had since rejoined their ranks, and that fresh defensive arrangements were being made. On Monday morning, accordingly, he prepared to attack the enemy's position.

Preparations
to storm
Magdāla.

The troops were paraded on the plain, at the foot of the mountain, ready to

* Statement of Welder Gabre, gun-bearer to Theodore, who was with him.

ascend. For the first time the force fell in, in concentrated order. Hitherto the Brigades had been separated, and so large a portion of men had been scattered along the line of baggage, that there had been no opportunity of seeing them in force. The Cavalry were not present, as they had been sent to close the issues of Magdāla on all sides not held by the Gallas. There was a formidable force of artillery however; the Armstrong Battery, two steel Mountain Batteries, the Naval Rocket Brigade, and two 8-inch mortars. The Armstrong guns and the two mortars, the latter manned by a detachment of the 5th Battery of the 25th Brigade, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, R.A., took up a position with Selassie in front and Fahla on the right, whence they could fire at long ranges and aid the movements of the column if the enemy should offer opposition to its advance up the hill to Islamgie, for Sir Robert Napier—who had first intended to assault Fahla from the side which fronted his camp, and was screened from the fire of Selassie and Islamgie—had, under the altered condition of the enemy, when Theodore had lost half his army and his bravest chiefs, by death, wounds, or desertion, determined to attack Islamgie by the King's Road.

Before the troops were formed, intelligence was brought to Sir Robert Napier that Theodore had left Magdāla, a statement confirmed by the appearance of several chiefs, with an offer to surrender into the hands of the British the two strong outposts of Fahla and Selassie, held by their people. He at once sent word to the Gallas, offering a reward of 50,000 dollars for Theodore's capture should he really have escaped from Magdāla.*

Reward
offered for
Theodore's
capture.

* The following is a translation of a letter from Meer Akbar Ali, of the Intelligence Department, reporting his proceedings during his mission to Masteeat, Queen of the Wollo Gallas, to whom he had been deputed by the Commander-in-Chief, for the purpose of encouraging her people to oppose Theodore, in the event of the latter attempting to flee from Magdāla.

"On the 8th April, I left his Excellency's camp on Talanta, accompanied only by a few Galla guides, and reached, on the evening of the 9th, the Galla hamlet of Goshmeda. The Gallas whom I met seemed inspired with a profound dread of Theodore. Their confusion was increased by their uncertainty as to the objects of the British Commander in approaching Magdāla with his army. At the same time, they had a cordial hatred of Theodore, who had inflicted, both on themselves and on the Mahommedan religion, which they profess, innumerable outrages. On my conveying to them his Excellency's message that he was about to attack Magdāla, and had no other enemies in all Abyssinia than Theodore, their courage revived, and numbers of the people returned to their homes.

Meer Akbar
Ali's
Report on
his mission
to the
Gallas.

"I was treated by all classes with the utmost respect and hospitality.

"Masteeat had left her residence on the hill of Lugot, which is about five miles from Magdāla, on the Talanta side of the Bashilo. The reason assigned was the necessity of protecting certain remote villages, but I believe the true cause was that she feared the British army. The news of my coming and of my speeches soon reached her. On the 13th instant she herself and her young son Emam Ahmad, in whose name she reigns over the people, met me near Lugot. I gave her the presents his Excellency had intrusted me with for the purpose. She was greatly pleased that his Excellency had sent one of her own religion to assure her of his own and his country's friendly feeling towards her people.

"Before her own arrival I had, however, secured the confidence of the Gallas, and had induced their Chiefs to invest Magdāla on the Kafirber side, for the purpose of preventing Theodore's escape. Everything had been done by the Chiefs in accordance with my directions. . . . After Masteeat herself arrived near Magdāla the number of armed Gallas who were then available for the work of watching the outlets from the fortress was not less than 8,000. These were under their own Chiefs; and I occupied myself night and day, while the British army was operating against Magdāla, in going from post to post of the Gallas, seeing that strict watch was preserved.

"Every human being that attempted during that time to leave Magdāla on the Kafirber side was either driven back by the surrounding Gallas, or else fell into the hands of the latter, who brought him to me.

"When Theodore himself left the fortress with a few followers on the morning of the day on which it was stormed, I believe the reason he retraced his course into Magdāla, and abandoned his purpose of trying to escape, was because he saw the large numbers of Gallas who were watching for him from the adjoining mountain sides.

"The Gallas never wavered in their obedience to my instructions, except for a few minutes when news was brought us that Theodore, after his defeat at Arogie, had sent Mr. Flad to the British camp to sue for

Scarcity of water had rendered it impossible to retain any considerable body of Cavalry before Magdāla. It was important, in case of an attempt by Theodore to fly from the fortress, that the western side should be immediately watched; and the personal escort of the Commander-in-Chief, with a few detached men of other corps, was sent, under command of Lieutenant Scott, A.D.C., to observe that quarter until the arrival of the main body of the Cavalry* (consisting of 3rd Dragoon Guards, 3rd Bombay Cavalry, and 12th Bengal Cavalry), under Colonel Graves, who completed the investment to the Kaffir-ber Gate, which was watched by the Gallas. The Bashilo was held by the Sind Horse, under Major Briggs, and detachments of the 3rd Dragoon Guards, and 3rd and 12th Cavalry, under Major Miller, to secure that point, and provide against the escape of the enemy by the Menjara Ravine.

Investment
by cavalry.

Force on
the Bashilo.

At seven o'clock a portion of the 3rd Bombay and 12th Bengal Cavalry, mustering fifty sabres, under Lieutenant-Colonel Loch, were sent up to the Fahla saddle, and placed at the disposal of Captain Speedy, the Amharic interpreter, to communicate with those of Theodore's troops who wished to surrender.

Advance on
Islamgie.

Sir Robert Napier then ordered Sir Charles Staveley to advance on Islamgie and occupy Fahla and Selassie, in the same order as had been designed for the assault, and without relaxing any of those precautions which had been considered necessary for the attack.

Description
of Fahla,
Selassie,
and
Magdāla.

The three hills of Fahla, Selassie, and Magdāla are each surrounded at the summit by steep and precipitous scarps. Fahla and Magdāla are connected with Selassie by saddles, nearly at right angles to the central hill. A tolerably good, but in some places very steep, road led from the British camp up to the north side of Fahla, over the saddle, along the south of Selassie, and over the next saddle Islamgie, into Magdāla. A pathway branching off this road, at the Fahla saddle, to the left, ran along the foot of the Selassie scarp for some distance, and then turned up a zigzag to the top, near the entrance to the fortress of Magdāla. Another pathway led direct up to Selassie from the Fahla saddle. Neither of these paths are found practicable for mules. The summits of Fahla and Magdāla are flat; that of Selassie slopes upwards from the scarp to the centre, and its summit commands the two other mountains.

Position of
Artillery.

On the advance being ordered, at half-past 8 A.M., the Armstrong guns, and the two 8-inch mortars, were placed in their covering position; the mountain battery, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Penn,† having ascended a short distance with the column, was placed in a position on a spur on the left of the road, to cover the head of the ascent; whilst the mountain battery, commanded by Captain Twiss,‡ followed in the rear of the leading battalion of infantry. Both mountain batteries were under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Milward. The division moved up the road with the 2nd brigade, headed by a ladder-party of sappers in front.

"peace. I assured the Gallas that the British would never make peace with him. They then recovered their original zeal in co-operating with me to prevent Theodore's escape.

"Having to-day received official intimation of the death of Theodorus, and his Excellency's orders for my return to head-quarters, I have come into camp accordingly.

"I shall prepare hereafter a fuller account of my proceedings and observations while employed on the above mission.

"Camp near Magdāla, 16th April, 1868.

"MEER AKBAR ALI."

Strength of
investing
Cavalry
Force.

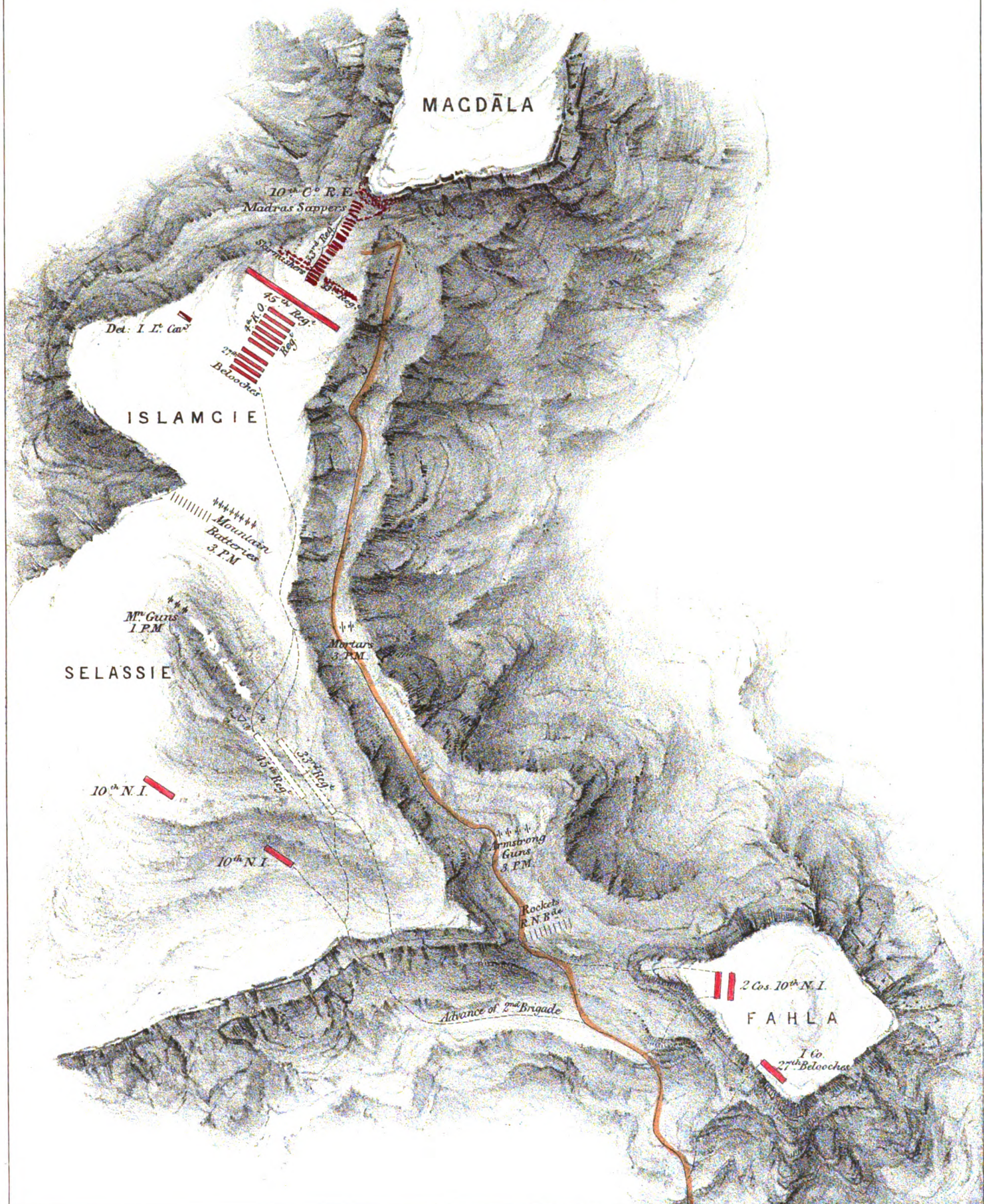
* 3rd Dragoon Guards	..	..	..	173 men
3rd Bombay Cavalry	..	..	..	183 "
12th Bengal Cavalry	..	..	..	96 "

Total .. 352

† A Battery, 21st Brigade, Royal Artillery.

‡ B Battery, 21st Brigade, Royal Artillery.

ATTACK ON MAGDĀLA



Lith. at the TOP. DEPT. of the WAR OFFICE
COL. SIR H. JAMES RE-DIRECTOR



"It was a fine sight to see the long line of red, Royal Engineers (toiling under their scaling-ladders), Sappers, 33rd and 45th Regiments, the 4th King's Own in their grey kakee, the Belooches in their dark green, the Royal Artillery in blue, and the mountain batteries on mules, winding up the steep and picturesque path that led to the Fahla saddle; while down the sides of the hill, by every sheep-track, streamed the families of the soldiery of Theodore. Old men and boys, mothers, and families with their household treasures, were seeking an asylum in the Arogie valley till the storm of war should be over above. Sword and helmet sparkled in the morning sun, the banners were unfurled, the breeze was just enough to display their gay colours, and the proud names woven thereon, and all nature seemed to contribute to the splendour of the pageant.

"Inspired as the soldiers were by the thought that their toils were now almost over, and that success was about to crown their enterprise, their ardour was also strengthened by the uncertainty which surrounded everything up to the very last moment. For all anybody knew to the contrary, Theodore might have 10,000 armed men in battle-array on the top, or he might, as already reported, have died a suicide's death.* For, as the column was ascending the mountain, contradictory statements were continually brought to Sir Robert Napier. Hardly had one messenger confirmed the report of his flight, than another would come with the information that he had returned to Magdāla, and was busily engaged in massacring the Abyssinian prisoners confined there, to be followed by a third, stating that he had committed suicide.

A company of the Belooch Battalion, under Lieutenant Beville, was sent up the first accessible spur on the right, into Fahla, and was supported by two companies of the 10th Regiment of Native Infantry, which, under Colonel Field, climbed up the next spur.

Occupation
of Fahla.

About midday the head of the column reached the Fahla saddle, when the advance guard of two companies of the 33rd Regiment was pushed on to the summit of Selassie, supported by the remainder of the 2nd brigade and the B mountain battery; but the path was so bad that the mules could not accomplish it, and only three mountain-guns could be passed up, and those by hand. When Selassie was crowned by the 2nd brigade Theodore's troops there were ordered to lay down their arms and retire to the plain below. The first portion of this order was immediately obeyed: the people everywhere laid down their arms, and with the women and children left the mountain as quickly as the narrow exit permitted. It was hardly possible to form a correct estimate of their numbers; they covered the whole face of the hill, and the paths leading from it were thronged for many hours during their migration. It was believed that the numbers could not have been less than from 25,000 to 30,000, of whom about a third were armed men.

Selassie.

The two hills of Fahla and Selassie formed a strong position, and if they had been defended with ordinary determination, a serious loss of life would have occurred in their capture. When they were secured orders were sent for Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace to bring up the Armstrong guns and the 8-inch mortars. This was accomplished by means of the elephants.

General
description
of the action
before
Magdāla.

The state of matters in the actual stronghold of Magdāla remained as much a problem as ever for the British Commander to solve. About noon Theodore, with about a hundred picked followers, left the *amba* and went towards the market-place in Islamgie where his guns were placed. There he intended to move into his citadel, and with them to defend it resolutely to the last.

At this time the detachment of Bombay Light Cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel

* Shepherd's Campaign in Abyssinia.

Loch, had arrived on the Islamgie saddle; and Sir Charles Staveley, seeing the advance of the Abyssinians from the fortress towards their guns, pushed down a company of the 33rd Regiment to the saddle, with orders to keep the guns under their fire. Theodore met these two detachments. He then called for his horse and having mounted it and ordered two of his guns to be dragged into Magdāla, began careering about, boasting of his prowess, firing off his rifle as a challenge, and calling on a champion to come out and meet him. He did not, however, come sufficiently far to allow Lieutenant-Colonel Loch to intercept his retreat to the fortress, but this officer was able, by the fire of the infantry, to prevent the King or his followers making their escape by any path leading down from the Islamgie saddle. A desultory fire from small guns was meanwhile maintained against the detachments, which was answered by turning some of Theodore's own guns against him, when he withdrew to where his people were engaged in dragging the guns toward the gate of the fortress. Several roundshot fell near him; still his men did not abandon the guns until a rifle-bullet from the infantry killed one of them. All then retired into the *amba*, and the gate was closed.

A pause then ensued, when the few troops on the Islamgie saddle, at the foot of the precipice on the right, guided by a foul odour of putrefaction, discovered the remains of some 200 or more Galla prisoners whom Theodore had massacred on the 9th and thrown over the rock. They lay there, old men, women, and children—some manacled, and a few chained together. This sight of wholesale slaughter caused a deep feeling of indignation against Theodore among the British soldiery.

The British Commander in the meantime reconnoitred Magdāla, and prepared for the attack of the fortress. Beyond the saddle of Islamgie, the rock of Magdāla rose in a steep scarp 300 feet in height. A double line of defence, in each of which was a narrow gate, crowned the scarp; to these a steep, narrow, and rugged path led up. Whatever number of defenders the fort contained was studiously concealed; it was plain, however, that the place was not abandoned, as the gates which had at first been open were closed, and a few figures of armed men, one of which was recognised to be that of Theodore, were occasionally seen in the *amba*.

About 1 p.m. the Commander-in-Chief directed a sharp cannonade to be directed on the gate. The three mountain-guns on Selassie fired a few rounds from that position, when it was found that Colonel Milward had placed the three other guns of the B Battery with the A Battery in a better position at the foot of Selassie, and directly opposite the gate of Magdāla, from which they were 1,300 yards distant. The three guns were therefore moved down from Selassie, so that Lieutenant-Colonel Milward had twelve guns, supported by four rocket-tubes, under his supervision. The cannonade did not elicit any demonstration from the fortress, and the Commander-in-Chief, in consideration of the women and children who were known to be in Magdāla did not advance his artillery beyond this position, whence it could fire on the defences without doing serious damage within the interior of the *amba*.

Sir Charles Staveley then made dispositions for the assault of the fortress by the 2nd Brigade, supported by the 1st, which had advanced along the lower road after Selassie had been occupied by the 2nd brigade.

The 33rd Regiment were to advance across Islamgie, two companies being in skirmishing order, and two in support; the remaining six companies, under Major Cooper, headed by a detachment of the Royal Engineers, and the "K" Company of Madras Sappers and Miners, under Captain Elliot, with powder-bags, crowbars, and ladders, were to form the storming party. Two companies of Bombay Sappers and Miners, under Captain Leslie and Lieutenant Leacock, were to follow in rear of the

33rd Regiment. On nearing the foot of the steep ascent up to the gate of the fortress, the skirmishers were to halt, and, reinforced by the supports, maintain a steady fire upon the gate and the defences during the ascent of the storming-party. The 45th Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Parish, was to advance in line in rear of the 33rd Regiment, and the 1st Brigade—with the exception of the Punjab Pioneers, and two companies of the 10th Native Infantry, which had been left to guard the camp at Arogie, some distance in rear—was to move up in column as a reserve. Two companies of the 10th Native Infantry, under Colonel Field, were to remain on Selassie, to guard the arms surrendered by Theodore's troops, and clear the Abyssinians off the mountains. The Armstrong guns and 8-inch mortars, which had arrived on elephants from below, were to advance along the main road, south of Selassie, as far as practicable, and cover the advance of the infantry, while the two mountain and naval rocket batteries at the foot of Selassie were to keep up a fire upon the gate of the fortress.

About 3 P.M. the batteries opened fire, and the shells from the mountain-guns fell thick upon the gateway and the adjoining defences. The Armstrong guns and mortars did not reach so good a position as that of the mountain batteries, as it was impracticable, on account of the nature of the ground, to advance them further than within 2,400 yards of the gate. Nevertheless, Captain Murray threw some shells with good effect; but Major Hills fired only a few rounds from his mortars, as he found that his position was not sufficiently far advanced to produce a fitting result. The fire of the artillery was concentrated against the gateway and the north end of the fort, which was crowded with the houses of the soldiers, avoiding as much as possible the higher parts of the interior, occupied by the Abyssinian prisoners and non-combatants. During the cannonade the enemy carefully concealed themselves from view, so that the place seemed almost deserted, although, when entered by the troops, it was found to be thronged with soldiers who had thrown away their arms, with released prisoners, and with the numerous voluntary and involuntary followers of Theodore's fortunes. Batteries open fire.

About 4 P.M. the advance to storm was ordered. The mountain batteries as long as possible kept up a fire over the heads of the troops advancing to the assault. Advance to storm. The 33rd Regiment, led by Major Cooper, and keeping up a continuous fire from its skirmishers, soon surmounted the steep precipitous cliff which lay between it and the outer gate, notwithstanding the fire of the garrison from behind its first defensive line, which consisted of a wall surrounded by strong and thick barricades of thorny stakes, with a narrow stone gateway. On arriving at the gateway the progress of the assailants was arrested, for it was closed, and the engineers had not at hand the powder-bags with which to blow it in. The crowbars were, however, set to work, and the gate was broken down, when it was found that the body of the gateway, 15 feet deep, was filled up with large stones to a height of 12 feet, forming a serious obstacle. While the Sappers were engaged upon the gate, the garrison maintained a constant fire upon them through their loopholes, and during that time nine officers and men received wounds or contusions. Meanwhile some of the men of the 33rd, turning to the right, with Lieutenant Le Mesurier, R.E., found a point where the wall and fence were sufficiently low to be surmounted by means of a scaling-ladder. Here they entered and, taking the defenders of the gate in flank, drove them with heavy loss up a narrow path, which, twisting through rocks and huts, led to another narrow gateway some 70 yards higher up. Through this the leading men of the 33rd rushed, close behind the rearmost fugitives, and being quickly followed by the whole regiment, the summit of the fortress was rapidly gained, the standard of England was planted upon the African rock which had so long been the prison-home of British envoys, and Magdāla was captured. The followers of Theodore immediately

threw down their arms and prayed for quarter, which was of course granted, and no further loss of life occurred.

This fortress, although so easily carried, was very strong, even when its artificial defences were reached. Its position with reference to its outworks, Fahla and Selassie, might have been made almost impregnable. If Theodore had been properly supported by his soldiers, the British could not have escaped severe loss in its attack. As it was, however, his army had been so completely demoralized by the severity of the loss inflicted on them three days before, that the troops remaining faithful were few; and when they found that their unscientific defences gave them no opportunity to inflict loss on the assailants without exposing themselves to the rapid fire of the breech-loaders, they abandoned the contest as soon as their first line of defence was carried by the stormers.

Body of
Theodore
found.

Among the dead at the outer gateway were found several of Theodore's devoted chiefs, among others Ras Engeda, who had endeavoured to persuade him to massacre his European prisoners. The body of Theodore was found some way up the path which led from the second gateway to the palace. It appeared that Theodore, after re-entering Magdala, when fired upon by Colonel Loch's detachment, had ordered the gateway to be filled up with stones, and had himself set the example in the work. When the British artillery opened he and his followers remained under cover, and few of the 300 well-armed men whom he had with him were injured, but Ras Engeda was killed by a shell just inside the gate. When Ras Engeda fell, Theodore himself hurried further up the fortress, divested himself of the gold-brocaded mantle which he had worn early in the day, and which he seemed to think made him a mark for the aim of the guns, and gave it to a servant. As soon as the storming party carried the outer gate he exclaimed to those near him, "Flee! I release you from your allegiance. As for me I shall never fall into the hands of an enemy." Drawing his pistol he put it into his mouth, fired, and fell dead. His immediate followers fled across the *amba* and went out by the Kaffir-ber Gate; but were confronted by the Gallas, who tauntingly invited them to approach. Debarred from escape they crept into a cave; but hearing in the evening that the British did not kill their prisoners, they came in and surrendered themselves.* The numerous prisoners who were found in the fortress were relieved of their

Statement
of Theo-
dore's
servant.

* The following is the statement of Theodore's servant, Welder Gabre, translated by Captain Speedy, Amharic interpreter:—

"I am a native of Tigre, I joined Theodore at Gondar about five years ago. He had an army of 300,000 soldiers then. I had been servant to Mr. Baroni, the British Agent at Massowah, who took me to Theodore. I was appointed gun-bearer to the King. I have been following him ever since, through Shoa, the Wollo country, Debra Tabor, Gojam, Damot, Gaffat, and Magdala.

"Theodore treated me like a son.

"The reason he kept all the Europeans in his hands was that he was offended at no answer having been given to a letter he had sent to Queen Victoria.

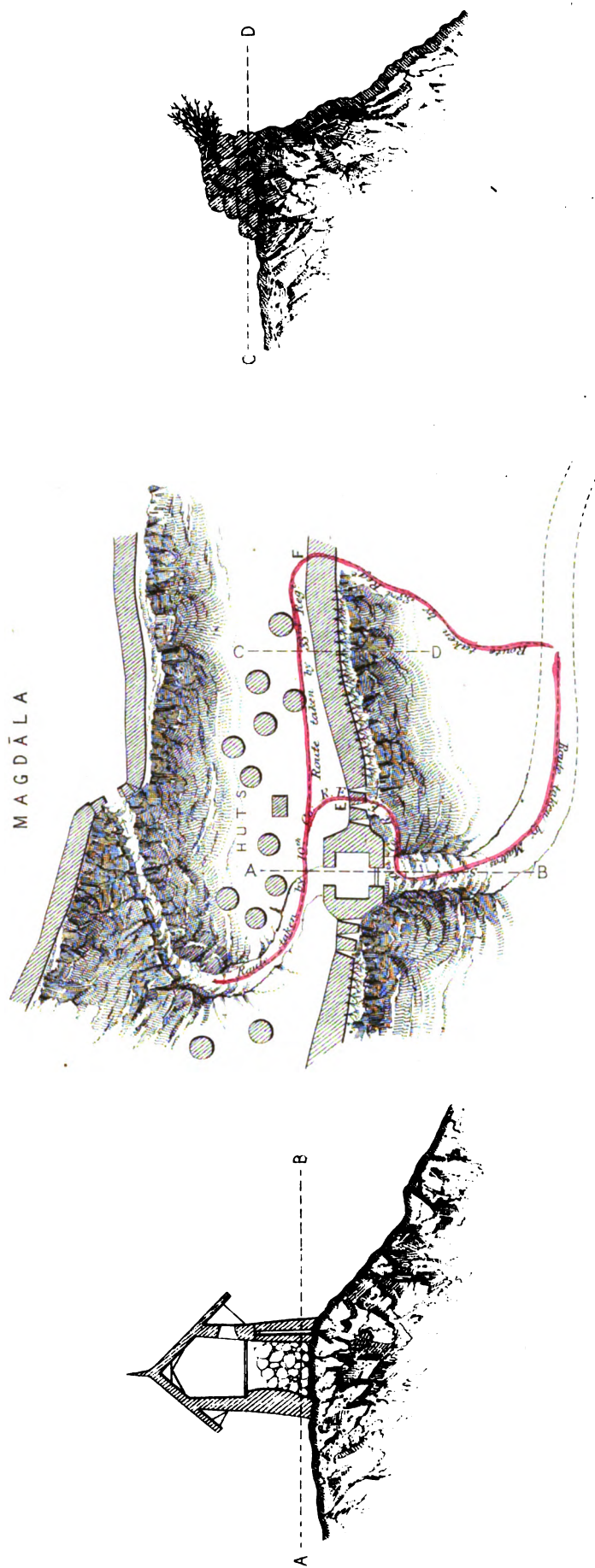
"Six months ago, before we left Debra Tabor, news reached us that the English army had come to Zula. No proclamation of war had reached Theodore; who would have dared to give it to him? We heard they who had landed bore arms, therefore we concluded they came for war. Theodore received the news but pretended to know it not. He had no special reason for going to Magdala when he did. He had gone to Debra Tabor to fetch cannon which had been cast there.

"A chief called Wofla Sahila, one of the principal men of Debra Tabor, had deserted his army with a number of soldiers. He threatened to burn Debra Tabor if he did not return, and fulfilled his threat.

"We were six months *en route* from Debra Tabor. The Jedda River was our most difficult obstacle, we took three weeks to cross it; until we reached that river we had no certainty that you were coming.

"I did not have charge of the King's papers; Alika Engeda had; I was his domestic. When Theodore heard you were coming, he broke out into boasting, and said that no Abyssinians could cope with him, and

PLAN & SECTIONS
OF THE
KOKIT BER GATEWAY
OF THE
MAGDĀLA AMBA



Reference.

E. shows the spot where the 10th Co. Royal Engineers entered.
F. shows the spot where the 39th Regiment entered.

Lith at the TOP. DEPT. of the WAR OFFICE
COL. SIR H. JAMES R. E. D. 1890

chains; and the great body of Abyssinians, whose histories and condition it was at the time impossible to investigate, were collected in an open space in the centre of the

"foreigners had come to do it! He hardly ever referred to the subject. He once said: 'Oh! that we may
 "meet those white donkeys, we shall show them what the sword and lance of Ethiopia can do—am I not
 "Kassa, who is called Theodore; who shall stand before me?' Statement of Theodore's servant.

"As your army descended into the Bashilo, Theodore watched you from Selassie; with him were Mr. Waldmeier and Mr. Saalmüller, some Abyssinian chiefs, and myself.

"Theodore after looking through his telescope, said: 'Hurrah! there go the donkeys! They shall see our prowess in battle.' The King then made even me retire to a distance while he talked to the two Europeans; I do not know what passed; the King then went to his tent.

"The week before Masteat had sent him three horses with a friendly message offering him her submission. The King had replied, 'Perhaps you are only fooling me; if you really mean it, come in, but whatever you do, make no friendship with those white donkeys.'

"Two or three days afterwards Theodore descended into Arogie and plundered it. This cut short all communication with Masteat. Wurkait never had any authority.

"It was on Thursday that the above happened, and those of you whom Theodore saw that day were your advanced pioneers.

"The same day the King issued fresh arms to his men and began to drink arrak. He spent the night in his tent on Islamgie, but, before sleeping, he ordered three hundred and eighty prisoners, from all parts of the country, to be brought down from the prison on Magdāla; the guard brought them before him in the evening. He liberated Ras Engeda, Chief of Agaumedar, Shum Salarva, of Tigré, and nearly a hundred others. The remainder, chiefly Gallas, then raised a reproachful clamour that they too should be liberated. The King jumped up in a rage, and being drunk at the time, he ordered them all to be put to death. He commenced the work himself by cutting one of the bound women in two with his sword, then drawing his pistol he shot two more. He then ordered me to shoot three others whom he pointed out; I did so! the remainder were hurled alive over the precipice; any who showed signs of life afterwards were fired upon by guards.

"No one counted the victims, we were all afraid.

"The King slept for three hours and spent much of the night in praying.

"I heard him in his prayers confess that he was drunk when he ordered the massacre, and he prayed that it might not be laid to his charge. Before cock crow he assembled his army and ordered the road to be prepared for the passage of his guns from Islamgie back to Fabla. He conveyed four large guns and four small ones to Fabla, and as the enemy approached, he called upon his assembled soldiers to prepare for battle. He gave the command of them to his constant friend for thirty years, the Fit Aurari Gebry, a man from his own district.

"You yourselves saw how many soldiers there were. I think there were three thousand efficient men; you seemed to us to be few, and we thought it was principally your treasure and its guard.

"About 500 or 600 of our soldiers were mounted, being the leaders of the soldiers.

"Theodore ordered his army to the attack, riding about in his boastful style. His army was proceeding down, when suddenly the King recalled them and said it would be better to wait to see the enemy's tactics. The men replied, they would rather go on and strip the soldiers of their gaudy clothing, to make cases for their shields with.

"The King said, Be it so, I will cover you with my cannon. Abyssinians fired the cannon. Mr. Waldmeier having, by the King's order, weighed out the powder and loaded the first gun. This gun was the one called Teodros, and burst on the first discharge.

"Mr. Saalmüller and Waldmeier and the other artisans were ordered to retire after weighing out a charge for each gun, which measure was followed throughout the engagement. I think they intentionally made the charge too strong. When the first gun burst, the King reproached the Europeans.

"The British artillery then opened fire, and the rockets reached to the place where the King was, killing 'a horse just behind the King.' Theodore said, 'What a terrible weapon! who can fight against it?' He defended himself with his shield and watched the battle in silence.

"At one time we saw the skirmishers take ground to the rear, and we raised a shout of victory, and sent off news to Magdāla that we had conquered.

"As night came on the King sent a man to Fit Aurari Gebry for news. The messenger returned and said he could not be found.

"He was sent back for accurate news, and afterwards reported he was killed. The King then named one after the other of his Chiefs, and was told all were dead; the men who had escaped from the fight had gone each to his own house on Islamgie; the night was spent by the King in sleeplessness. The following morning he sent for Dejach Alami, and I do not know what passed between them. Alami left him for the British

fortress, where they quickly threw up small huts for themselves, and remained until their final departure.

"Camp and brought back a letter, saying verbally that the British Commander demanded back his captive countrymen.

"Ras Engeda, Wonebade, Kompo, Dejach Alooe, Dejach Worke and others counselled the murder of the captives, and resistance to the last. The King disapproved, saying that if that were done not an Abyssinian would be spared.

"Basta Airta remarked that the British had come all this way for their countrymen who were of no use to Abyssinia, while if they were killed terrible vengeance would be taken.

"The King said it was true, and ordered the restoration of the captives. I was not present during the discussions which followed receipt of the letter of the British Chief.

"Belwaddad Asennie was sent by the King to free the prisoners and bring them to the King; while he was away, the King became enraged, and drawing his double-barrelled pistol, cocked the left barrel, and placing the finger, I conclude, on the trigger of the other barrel, put the muzzle in his mouth, and pulled, but the pistol did not go off.

"Ras Engeda, one of his principal Chiefs, rushed and seized his hand, and a bullet was discharged from the pistol as it was wrenched from his mouth. Theodore then covered his head with his cloth and laid down on the ground, until it was reported that Mr. Rassam was coming. He then said to Mr. Rassam, 'I am going to restore you to your friends, may you have a prosperous journey home.' The party of Mr. Rassam was then dismissed.

"The next morning Theodore sent for his workmen, and said, 'You are going, too! I am sorry to part with you, but you must go;' they went away.

"He then sent for his artillery from Fahla, and placed it in the market-place on Islamgie; after this was done, he received intelligence from the head of his Commissariat that the cattle had not been admitted into the British camp; on this, Theodore exclaimed, 'What, are they determined to quarrel with me? I cannot force them to accept the cattle; send for the rest of my workmen.' When they came, the King ordered them to go down to the British camp, leaving their women and baggage to follow. On seeing them go, Theodore said to his Chiefs, 'Surely it is peace now, they have taken my power from me; surely it is peace.'

"When he received word that the British had refused to admit his cattle, Theodore was enraged and said, 'These people having got what they desired, they now seek to kill me.' He then went to the Amba and spent a restless night; at cock crow he rose, and standing outside, said, 'Warriors who love me, gird yourselves; leave all behind, take nothing but arms, and follow me; the time has come to seek another home.'

"He went out of the fortress on the Kaffir Ber side, not by a regular gate, but one of the places in the enceinte at which it was possible to descend. He was on foot, no one could have ridden down that place. I was close to him as usual, and he was followed by four commanders of rank and two thousand men variously armed; as he passed down he said, 'Where is the advanced guard?' He was told they were in rear; he ordered them to the front. They refused, saying they would never flee before an enemy again, and would rather seek death in Magdāla.

"Theodore pondered for a little, and saying, Let it be so, re-ascended the mountain. We did not see any Gallas, but heard their cries, and afterwards, when numbers of our garrison were deserting the mountain, we saw them seized by Gallas. I followed Theodore into the fortress, and heard him tell all who were not prepared to share his fortunes to the last, to provide for their own safety.

"Thousands thereupon left him and surrendered to the British. About noon Theodore, with about a hundred picked men, leaving the citadel, proceeded towards the market-place on Islamgie, where his guns were. He left Aja Negus Bahasee in charge of the fortress.

"Suddenly he was met by a handful of British cavalry. He then called for his horse, and having mounted it, and ordered two of his guns to be dragged into Magdāla, he began careering about, boasting of his prowess and calling on a champion to come and meet him; not having any notice taken of him, and seeing the British skirmishers steadily approach him, he rode back to where his men were still occupied in dragging the guns up the hill.

"Several round shot fell near him from his own guns which had been turned on him by the British. Still his men did not abandon the guns they were working at until a rifle bullet from the infantry killed one of them.

"All then retired into the citadel, and closed the gates. The British artillery then opened with shell and rockets. We remained under cover, and few were injured, but Ras Engeda was killed by a shell just inside the gate; about one hundred soldiers were engaged in defending that gate; there were with Theodore altogether about three hundred well-armed men; a crowd of women and children were hiding themselves in every direction.

"When Ras Engeda fell, Theodore made no remark, but ascended further up the citadel. He said, 'Who can fight with people who use such missiles?'

Early on the morning of the 13th, the main body of the Cavalry, under Colonel Graves, which had, as previously stated, moved from the Bashilo, threw out picquets to watch all the avenues leading from the fortress between the British camp at Arogi and the Kaffir-ber Gate, which was watched by the Gallas. The Cavalry picquets were within reach of each other, and were kept in constant communication by means of frequent patrols, so that before the assault the fortress was closely invested, and Theodore was deprived of all hope of escape. The next day the Cavalry returned to its former position on the Bashilo; it had not come in contact with the enemy, and suffered no casualties in men, but lost not a few horses from the cold to which it was subjected, and from the insufficiency of grain, under which it had long suffered during several forced marches.

The whole of Theodore's guns were captured at the same time as his fortress. They consisted of—

Disposition
of Cavalry.List of
Ordnance
captured

3 brass 56-pounders, smooth-bore.				
1	"	18	"	"
4	"	6	"	Turkish.
4	"	6	"	"
2	"	6	"	English (cast at Cossipore).
1	"	6	"	French.
5	"	24-pounder howitzers.		
4	"	12	"	"
1	"	3	"	"
4	iron	1	"	"
1	brass	20-inch	mortar	
1	"	13	"	"
2	"	10	"	"
5	"	from 2½ to 6-in. mortar.		

These guns, mortars, and howitzers were all found serviceable and supplied with ammunition, except one 56-pounder, which had burst on the 10th. This ordnance was much superior, both in number of pieces and in calibre, to the artillery of the British; had it not been deserted by its gunners it must have caused much loss to the assailants of Magdāla. Its existence proved the wisdom of the resolution of the British Commander to carry forward his Armstrong guns and mortars to the very gate.

The number of rank and file actually engaged at the assault on Magdāla on the 13th April, was as follows :—*

" When the storming party had taken the outer gate, he exclaimed to those near him, 'Flee; I release you from your allegiance; as for me I shall never fall into the hands of an enemy.' Drawing his pistol, he put it to his mouth, fired, and fell dead. I and fifteen of his favourite gun-bearers then fled by the Kaffir-ber Gate. We were confronted by the Gallas, who called out tauntingly, 'Come! my beloved, come!'

" We fired upon the Gallas in reply; this attracted the attention of the British soldiers on the rock above, who opened a fire on us and others similarly situated. This made us creep into a cave. In the evening, we heard from some of our countrymen, that we would not be killed if we surrendered to the British, which we did.

" Next day I visited the remains of the late King, which Mr. Rassam showed me; I at once recognized the body of Theodore.

" Theodore shot himself before a man of the storming party had forced the second or inner gate of the citadel; no soldier was within sight at the time.

" On the morning of that day he had dressed himself in a gold brocaded mantle, but when the fire had become heavy he divested himself of it and gave it to a servant."

* Return furnished by the Assistant Adjutant-General 1st Division.

Number of rank and file actually present at the assault on Magdā'a	Corps.				Rank and File.
	3rd Dragoon Guards	..	..	..	173
	3rd Light Cavalry	..	..	..	146
	12th Bengal Cavalry	..	..	..	50
	Bombay Sappers and Miners	..	..	..	283
	Madras " " "	..	..	..	74
	G Battery 14th Brigade Royal Artillery	..	..	..	91
	A " 21st " " "	..	..	..	113
	B " 21st " " "	..	..	..	155
	5th " 25th " " (Mortars)	..	..	..	25
	4th King's Own Regiment	..	..	..	526
	33rd Regiment	..	..	..	641
	45th " "	..	..	..	314
	10th Native Infantry	..	..	..	199
	27th Beloochees	..	..	..	554
	10th Company Royal Engineers	..	..	..	25
	Naval Brigade	..	..	..	82
					3,460

British casualties.

In addition to these troops, the 3rd Regiment Sind Horse were at the Bashilo, and the Punjab Pioneers and two companies of the 10th Regiment N.I. guarded the Arogie camp.

The British casualties at the storming of Magdāla were not serious. Major Pritchard, R.E., received two slight contusions by splinters of stones; Corporal Hobson, a splintered wound of right leg; Sapper Dennis, a slight splintered wound of forehead; Serjeant Jones and Private Lake, 33rd Regiment, were severely hit, each through the right leg; Privates Hayne, Daly, and Hickson, of the same regiment, received slight gunshot or spear-wounds; one man of the Madras Sappers and one of the 3rd Light Cavalry, also received severe gunshot wounds. Captain Elliot, of the Madras Sappers; Cornet Dalrymple, of the 19th Hussars, attached to the Madras Sappers; Serjeant Fielding, of the Madras Sappers; Serjeant Dean, R.E., and Lieutenant Morgan, R.E., were also hurt near the gateway, but were not returned as wounded.*

On the date of the capture of Magdāla the disposition of the army throughout Africa was as follows:—† (See Map in separate cover.)

Disposition of the British troops in Africa on the 13th April.

Zula.—10th Bengal Cavalry, 1 troop; H Company Madras Sappers; 26th Regiment (Cameronians), 3 companies; Wing 18th Regiment Native Infantry.

Kumayli.—G Company Madras Sappers; 2nd Grenadier Regiment Native Infantry; Wing 18th Regiment Native Infantry.

Suru.—Detachment 5th Battery 25th Brigade Royal Artillery, 6 guns; 26th Regiment (Cameronians), 2 companies; 21st Punjab Native Infantry, 1 company.

Undul Well.—26th Regiment (Cameronians), 2 companies; 21st Punjab Native Infantry, 1 company.

Raha Gedi.—21st Punjab Native Infantry, 2 companies.

Senafê.—10th Bengal Cavalry, 1 troop; 1 Company Native Artillery, 4 guns; 26th Regiment (Cameronians), 3 companies; 10th Regiment Native Infantry, 4 companies; 21st Regiment Bombay Native Infantry, 1 company; 21st Punjab Native Infantry, 4 companies.

* A complete nominal roll of men wounded will be found in Sir Robert Napier's despatches, see pages 473 and 477, Chapter XXXVIII.

† From a return furnished by the Quartermaster-General's Department.

Adigrat.—10th Bengal Cavalry, 1 troop; Detachment G Battery 14th Brigade, Royal Artillery, 2 guns; 25th Regiment Native Light Infantry, 5 companies.

Agula.—12th Bengal Cavalry, 1 troop.

Antalo.—3rd Bombay Light Cavalry, 1 troop; 10th Bengal Cavalry, 1 troop; 12th Bengal Cavalry, 1 troop; Bombay Sappers and Miners, 1st Company; 45th Regiment, 4 companies; 3rd Regiment Native Infantry, 4 companies; 25th Regiment Native Light Infantry, 3 companies.

Ashangi.—3rd Bombay Light Cavalry, 1 troop; Head-Quarter Wing 10th Bengal Cavalry, 3 troops; 12th Bengal Cavalry, 1 troop.

Dildi.—12th Bengal Cavalry, 1 troop.

Santara.—Sind Horse, 1 troop.

Sindi.—Sind Horse, 1 troop.

Bashilo River.—Sind Horse, 4 troops. 12th Bengal Cavalry, 1 troop; Bombay Sappers and Miners, 2nd Company.

Magdāla.—3rd Dragoon Guards, 3 troops; 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry, 4 troops; 12th Bengal Cavalry, 1 troop; G Battery 14th Brigade Royal Artillery, 4 guns; A Battery 21st Brigade Royal Artillery, 6 guns; B Battery 21st Brigade, Royal Artillery, 6 guns; Detachment 5th Battery, 5th Brigade Royal Artillery, with two 8-inch mortars; Naval Brigade 12 rocket tubes; 10th Company Royal Engineers; K Company Madras Sappers; Bombay Sappers and Miners, 3rd and 4th companies; 4th King's Own Regiment; 33rd Regiment; 45th Regiment, 6 companies; Head Quarter Wing 10th Regiment Native Infantry; 23rd Punjab Pioneers; 27th Regiment Native Infantry Beloochees.

Of these troops the 3rd Dragoon Guards had landed at Zula numbering 204 men of all ranks, 224 horses, and 257 Native followers. Before Magdāla they numbered 173 of all ranks, 171 horses, and 78 followers.

Their kits had been reduced on the march at Senafè, Adigrat, Antalo, and Dildi. The men, previous to embarkation for Abyssinia, were provided with the Snider breech-loading carbine. Each man had two suits of Khakee clothing and a red serge patrol jacket; the latter was issued gratis, and found to be most useful. A blanket and waterproof sheet, and also a woollen jersey were issued to each man on arriving in Abyssinia.

At Dildi the baggage of this regiment was finally reduced, and each man from Dildi carried on his saddle his cape in front, his cloak doubled and strapped on like a valise, with waterproof sheet over it, water bottles, mess tins, head and heel ropes.

The wing, 3rd Dragoon Guards, marched from Zula to Magdāla in 29 days, including three halts, on account of the baggage animals.

The strength of the 3rd Bombay Cavalry, 3rd Sind Horse, and 10th and 12th Bengal Cavalry on landing has already been shown,* as also the horse casualties in the 3rd Bombay Cavalry by the epidemic.† All the Silladar Cavalry regiments‡ were, in addition to other duties, employed on postal work, and performed excellent service throughout the campaign. Owing to the nature of the country and want of forage, the horses suffered much. None, however, so much as the Sind Horse. From the arduous duties performed by this regiment, combined with a certain amount of inferiority in their horses, many of the troopers had become dismounted by the time it arrived at the Bashilo.

Special services of each regiment.
3rd Dragoon Guards, Strength of men and followers, on landing, and before Magdāla.
Clothing.

Native Cavalry, Sind Horse, &c.

* For strength 3rd Cavalry, see page 328, Chapter IX. For 3rd Sind Horse, and 10th Bengal Cavalry, see pages 14 and 15, Chapter XIV. For strength of Bengal Cavalry, on embarkation in India, see page 222, Chapter VII.

† See page 346, Chapter X.

‡ For the organization of Cavalry on the Silladar system, see page 115, Chapter V, and page 183, Chapter VI.

This regiment occupied the honourable position of an advance-guard to the Army throughout the march on Magdāla, but had to pay the penalty of making its way through a difficult country before the roads were improved, while at one portion of the campaign the whole postal duties between Senafè and Antalo were performed by it, and it was divided into such numerous detachments that British officers were not available for their superintendence, while the Native officers did not always succeed in getting their indents complied with by the Commissariat. The result of these various causes was a great mortality. The regiment eventually landed in India with only 152 horses.

Naval
Brigade.

The Naval Brigade landed at Zula on the 25th January, and encamped on the plain. Commander Fellowes, who was in command, commenced organizing them, and as soon as mules could be supplied, lost no opportunity of drilling the men in batteries, exercising the firing of rockets and the performance of field evolutions.

Strength.

The men rapidly acquired a knowledge of the drill and the management of mules, and the brigade was reported ready to march to the front when the rocket tubes were supplied. On the 29th February, it proceeded to Antalo to join the advanced division. It then consisted of 100 officers and men (Europeans), two farriers, 13 grass-cutters, three water carriers, six bearers for sick, one sweeper for hospital, 88 battery mules, 54 baggage and provision mules, 11 officers' horses, and three bullocks for carrying water; and it carried five days' rations for men and animals.

The Naval Brigade was at first attached to the 2nd Brigade 1st Division, and marched from Antalo on the 17th March in company with the B Mountain Battery of Artillery, the 33rd Regiment, and 23rd Punjab Pioneers, and a detachment of the Sind Horse. After incessant and somewhat harassing marches, it arrived at Lat on the 23rd March and joined the head-quarters of the 1st Division, with which it marched till it joined the head-quarters of the Force at Santara on the 30th of March.

On the 31st March, it moved with the head-quarters of the Force and the 1st Brigade on Gahso, and thence on Abdikum, Sindī, and across the Jedda on to the Talanta Plain.

On the 10th April, it marched as already described with the 1st Brigade at 4.30 A.M. on Magdāla by the King's Road down the steep and precipitous south bank of the Bashilo, and across the river. After crossing the Bashilo, it with the A 21 Battery Royal Artillery was ordered to proceed by the King's Road up the Arogie Pass, the Naval Brigade leading. Shortly after ascending the pass, the action of Arogie, in which it acted a prominent part, commenced.

Rocket
Tubes.

The rocket tubes were easily handled and were brought into action in a very short time, and the Naval Brigade were enabled to return the first shot; after this the fire was kept up with rapidity, until the enemy were driven back, and the rocket batteries were taken down on the plain to clear out parties of Theodore's troops who were firing from behind bushes. As much rain had fallen during the afternoon and evening, the officers and men of the Naval Brigade were, in common with the rest of the force, wet through. There were no tents, and a vigilant look-out had to be maintained. On the night of the 13th the Naval Brigade bivouacked in Magdāla and returned to camp on the morning of the next day.

On the 17th April, it re-crossed the Bashilo, ascended the Talanta Plain, and on the 22nd April crossed the Jedda, and commenced the return march to Zula. The marching of the Naval Brigade was excellent throughout; no cases occurred of men falling out, although their boots were frequently worn through; men who were sick even performed long marches. The strictest discipline was maintained throughout;

in every point the sailors proved excellent soldiers, and a cordial and even warm feeling was shown by all ranks in the army towards the Naval Brigade.

The movements of the G Battery 14th Brigade Royal Artillery, and of the 8-inch mortars with the elephants, have been already described.*

The strength of the A Battery Mountain Train Royal Artillery on landing at Zula, was—1 first captain, 1 second Captain, 3 Lieutenants, 1 Staff Serjeant, 8 Serjeants, 1 Armstrong armourer, 6 corporals, 6 bombardiers, 1 collar maker, 1 wheeler, 2 trumpeters, 62 gunners, 2 Native farriers, 2 filemen, 2 hammermen, 3 carpenters, 13 store lascars, 3 tent lascars, 7 bheesties, 20 muleteers, 12 grass cutters, 3 sweepers, and 1 bildar.

The Hospital establishment consisted of—1 Assistant Surgeon, 1 apothecary, 1 compounder, 1 cook, 1 ward boy, and 1 sweeper.

The strength of the battery before Magdāla was—1 first Captain, 1 second Captain, 3 Lieutenants, 1 Assistant Surgeon, 2 Staff Serjeants, 7 Sergeants, 1 Armstrong armourer, 6 corporals, 6 bombardiers, 1 collar maker, 1 wheeler, 2 shoeing smith, 2 trumpeters, 57 gunners, 27 privates 4th King's Own Regiment (employed as drivers), 1 serjeant and 5 privates, 33rd Regiment (employed as drivers), 13 Native store lascars, 3 bheesties, 34 muleteers, 29 grass cutters, 25 dhooly bearers, 4 cooks, and 1 European apothecary.

Each European was armed with a Snider carbine and sword and 20 rounds of ammunition, and was in the possession of a full Indian kit, with the addition of a pair of gaiters and a water-filter. Each Native follower was supplied at Zula with the following articles—1 pair of boots, 2 pair of socks, 2 flannel shirts, 1 night cap, 1 blanket, 1 pair trousers, 1 great-coat.

Each European present before Magdāla was in possession of—1 serge coat, 1 pair cloth trousers, 1 grey shirt, 1 pair wollen socks, 1 pair boots, 1 blanket, 1 great-coat, and 1 waterproof sheet; and each Native follower had 1 pair boots, 1 pair socks, 1 flannel shirt, 1 pair trousers, 1 great-coat, 1 night cap, and 1 blanket.

The strength of the B Battery was almost similar to the above. The equipments of both these mountain batteries have already been fully described.†

On the 27th January, the A Battery, under Lieutenant-Colonel Penn, marched from Zula, reaching Senafè on the 31st January, Adigrat on the 5th February, and Antalo on the 20th February. The excellent manner in which the march was so far completed left nothing to be desired. Antalo was reached without a casualty. No load was even displaced on the road, there were no galls, no sore backs, no sickness. From Adigrat to Antalo the battery was attached to the advance brigade, the road was always hilly and rough, had been only partially made in many places, and could only have been traversed with great difficulty by animals less perfectly laden. No difficulty, however, was found which was not overcome by the energy and intelligence of officers and men.

At Antalo, a range was obtained with the double shell, with 4 oz. cartridges, to 1,450 yards, without apparent distress to gun or carriage, and a few of these cartridges were made up, which were afterwards used with good effect.

Wood tangent scales were also made for use instead of the quadrant when firing at high angles. These were only roughly constructed by the battery artificers, but were found useful.

Marching from Antalo on the 12th March, the A battery accompanied the advance throughout—the almost insuperable difficulties of the road were surmounted without

G. Battery,
14th Brigade,
R.A.

A Battery,
21st Brigade,
R.A.

Strength on
landing.

Strength
before
Magdāla.

Arms, am-
munition,
and cloth-
ing.

Clothing of
Followers.

Clothing
before
Magdāla.

March of
the A bat-
tery.

Range.

Scales.

* See page 13, Chapter XIV; page 40, Chapter XVIII; and page 98, Chapter XIX.

† See pages 61, 362, Chapters IV and X.

Ammuni- tion ex- pended in action.	accident or loss—the great ravines of the Takazze, the Jedda, and the Bashilo, were crossed without casualty; that of the Jedda with the advance guard of the army, over a track which might well have been considered impassable, but the only damage was a loss of a foresight broken in the fall of a gun, with the mule which carried it, over a cliff.
B battery, 21st brigade, R.A.	Arriving before Magdāla on the 10th April, this battery found itself in action with the enemy. On this occasion 19 rounds per gun were fired, at ranges varying from 450 to 1,800 yards, with Shrapnel and common shell; the practice was excellent, and caused heavy loss to the enemy. The fuzes acted well, the ranges were changed with ease, and the changes of position of the battery were made with rapidity.
Its march.	The B Battery, under command of Captain Twiss, did not leave Zula until the end of February, and in the mean time the mules had been almost constantly engaged in heavy transport duty between Zula and Senafè. Leaving at so late a date, the battery was called upon to march rapidly to the front, and it reached Antalo without a halt—from Antalo to the front the difficult marching did not afford any opportunity for recruiting, and the mules were not in such high condition, or so fine in appearance as those of the A Battery; they had, however, carried their loads well, and no accident involving loss of stores had occurred. B Battery did not cross the Bashilo until the afternoon of the 10th April, and was not, therefore, engaged on that day, but having been brought to the front on the following morning, both batteries were together on the 13th April, at the capture of the fortress of Magdāla. On this occasion 18 or 20 rounds per gun were fired, at ranges from 1,300 to 1,500 yards, common and double shell only being issued; 15 rounds of the latter were fired with 4 oz. charges, at a range of 1,400 yards, and carried well to that distance; the common shell were used in shelling the defences of the gate of Magdāla, and the precision of the fire could not be excelled. The shells were observed to burst regularly and without failure. No difficulty was experienced in loading, or in boxing and fixing the fuzes: and that the intended effect was produced was manifest from the fact that the defenders of the gate were observed to retreat in large numbers some time before the advance of the assaulting party was ordered.
Ammuni- tion ex- pended before Magdāla.	
Fuzes.	The storming party having secured an entrance, one battery was advanced, and one gun, with a small supply of ammunition, was carried by the gunners up the steep ascent, through the narrow entrance, and brought into action within the fort. No further occasion, however, arose for its services. On the 10th and 13th April, 25 Hale's rockets were fired, they acted well, and were considered in all respects good and efficient.
Action of fuzes in ricochet.	Having reached Ashangi, on the return march, a few rounds were fired from the mountain guns over the lake, with a view to observe the action of the fuzes in ricochet, and to afford foreign officers and others an opportunity of witnessing the effect of the bursting of the different classes of shells. The result was eminently satisfactory, confirming the perfect serviceability of the fuzes, establishing the fact that they are not extinguished on striking the water, and demonstrating what a formidable projectile can be thrown from a miniature piece of ordnance, with an insignificant charge of powder.
10th Com- pany, Royal Engineers.	The 10th Company Royal Engineers was, on its organization, divided into—(1) Telegraphists, under Lieutenants St. John and Puzey, R.E.; (2) Signallers, under (the late) Lieutenant Morgan; (3) Well Borers, under Lieutenant Le Messurier, R.E.; and (4) Photographers, under the Quartermaster-General's Department.*
Tele- graphists.	The men of the 10th Company Royal Engineers were, as a rule, kept to the particular work they were sent out from England to perform. The Telegraphists were

* For strength, organization, and complete equipment, see page 136, Chapter XXII.

employed between Zula and Antalo only, under the orders of Lieutenant Puzey, R.E., and under the general superintendence of Lieutenant St. John, R.E.*

The Signallers made themselves useful to the Army the whole way from Senafè to Magdāla, and their services were more especially valuable while the Army was crossing the ravines of the Takazze, the Jedda, and the Bashilo, and on the advance on Magdāla.*

The Well Sinkers made themselves generally useful on the line of march from Kumayli to Magdāla, proving the efficacy of the American pumps as applicable to the line of march of an army.† The operations of the men were judiciously directed by Lieutenant Le Messurier, R.E.

The Photographers completed a series of views from Zula to Magdāla, illustrating all points of interest on the line of march of the Army.‡ It is to be regretted that rather more professional and artistic knowledge was not brought to bear on this subject. Some beautiful effects of light and shade were lost, owing to the views not having been taken at the proper time of day.

The Madras Sappers were under the command of Major H. N. D. Prendergast, V.C., R.E., and consisted of the G, H, and K Companies.§

The G Company was posted at Zula and Kumayli during the whole campaign. The services performed by this company on the public works at Zula, on the railway, and on the Kumayli waterworks were excellent. The sepoy excavated a well on the railway line, 85 feet in depth, without lining of any kind, and proved themselves skilful workmen.

The H Company was employed during the whole campaign at Zula, and did much good service in a bad climate.

The K Company commenced work in the Senafè Pass, after a short stay at Zula, and improved the track route between Antalo and Magdāla, rendering it suitable for laden mules and elephants, and was present at the action of Arogie and taking of Magdāla.

The Bombay Sappers and Miners were under the command of Captain McDonnell, R.E., and consisted of Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 Companies.§

No. 1 Company arrived at Zula in October, from Aden. After a short time, it was sent to the Suru Defile, and worked on the road in the passes till December, 1867, when it marched to Senafè and worked on that ghaut till the end of January; it was then moved on to Adigrat, working on the road between Senafè and that place, more particularly on the Karsaba Ghaut, for which piece of road great credit was due to the men. The company then proceeded to Antalo, and was employed in constructing the telegraph, and returned to the Suru Pass in time to repair the damage done during the month of May, remaining in the Pass on duty till all the troops had cleared out.

No. 2 Company arrived at Zula, with the Head-Quarters of the Bombay Sappers, early in December, and, after a short stay on the coast, worked on the Senafè Pass, and principally on the Suru Defile; work for which this company deserves great praise. The company was then pushed on to Magdāla, assisting in the road work, and was present in the action of the 10th and capture of Magdāla.

No. 3 Company worked for two months at Zula on the stone pier; the men were, on an average, employed there eight hours a-day, it was then marched up into the Pass,

* For organization of 10th Company Royal Engineers, see Chapter XXII.

† For detail and description, see Chapter XXX.

‡ For detail and description, see Chapter XXXIV.

§ See Commanding Engineer's Report, Chapter XXXIII.

worked on the Senafè Ghaut, on the road between Senafè and Adigrat, and between Adigrat and Antalo; assisted in road work between Antalo and Magdāla, and was present in the action of the 10th April and capture of Magdāla on the 13th.

No. 4 Company worked two months at Zula, on the stone pier, 8 hours a-day; it was then employed at Lower Suru, and subsequently on the Senafè Ghaut. Assisted in making the road between Senafè and Adigrat, and between Adigrat and Antalo; was employed generally in road-making between Antalo and Magdāla, and was present in the action of the 10th April and capture of Magdāla.

Arms, clothing and equipment of each soldier (infantry) on landing at Zula.

The arms, clothing, necessities, &c., in possession of each British soldier (Infantry) on landing in Africa, were as follows:—1 Snider rifle and bayonet, 1 set accoutrements (old pattern), 1 waterproof sheet, 1 bed complete, 1 zinc water bottle, 1 haversack, 1 pocket filter, 1 cloth tunic, 1 cloth trousers, 1 serge tunic, 1 serge trousers, 2 khakee tunics, 2 khakee trousers, 1 helmet and puggerie, 1 lb. soap, 3 pairs socks, 2 pairs stockings, 1 holdall (complete), 4 flannel shirts, 3 towels, 3 pairs boots, 1 pair leggings, 2 flannel belts, 1 set shoe brushes, 1 cloth brush, 1 brass brush, 1 pair mitts, 1 great-coat, 20 rounds ball ammunition, and 1 forage cap.

Ditto before Magdāla.

The clothing, arms, &c., in charge of each man before Magdāla (carried by soldier), were as follows:—1 helmet and puggerie, 1 suit khakee, 2 pairs socks (1 in haversack), 1 towel (in haversack), 1 haversack, 1 water-bottle, 1 pair boots, 1 flannel shirt, 1 Snider rifle and bayonet, 1 set belts, 60 rounds ball ammunition, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. soap, 1 great-coat, 1 blanket, and 1 waterproof sheet. All rolled in the great-coat, and worn pioneer fashion, over the shoulder. One mule was allowed to every 25 men, to carry a serge tunic and a pair of serge trousers for each man.

4th King's Own Royal Regiment.

The 4th King's Own Royal Regiment has been repeatedly mentioned, in the preceding chapters. The strength of the corps on landing in Abyssinia was—2 Majors (1 in command), 9 Captains, 11 Lieutenants, 7 Ensigns, 1 Paymaster, 1 Quartermaster, 1 Surgeon, 2 Assistant Surgeons, 42 serjeants, 37 corporals, 19 drummers, 667 privates, and 6 horses, including 2 serjeants and 53 rank and file left behind at Bombay as unfit, but subsequently passed by a Medical Board, and sent after the regiment. Most of these men, however, proved quite unfit for the campaign, and never reached Magdāla.

Strength on landing.

Before Magdāla.

The strength of the corps before Magdāla was—2 Majors (1 in command) 8 Captains, 9 Lieutenants, 4 Ensigns, 1 Paymaster, 1 Quartermaster, 2 Assistant Surgeons, 33 serjeants, 23 corporals, 14 drummers, 401 privates, and 6 horses, and 1 serjeant, 3 corporals, and 55 privates, attached to the Artillery.

Native Followers on landing.

The Native followers who landed in Abyssinia with the regiment numbered 438. Of this number 229 were hospital servants, including 1 shop servant, 5 ward servants, 2 cooks, 1 leechman, 4 sweepers, 2 store servants, 2 dhobies, 1 tailor, 5 bheesties, and 206 dhooly bearers. The following were also attached to the regiment:—18 lascars, 20 puckaulie bheesties, 40 hand bheesties, 30 sweepers, 38 servants, 50 cooks, 10 dhobies, 2 peons, and 1 chowdry.

Before Magdāla.

The Native followers before Magdāla were 54 hospital servants (1 shop servant, 4 ward servants, 1 cook, 1 leechman, 3 sweepers, 1 store servant, 1 dhobie, 1 tailor, 4 bheesties, and 37 dhooly bearers), also 10 puckaulie bheesties, 20 cooks, 20 hand bheesties, and 13 servants.

Extra duties performed 4th King's Own regiment.

The regiment landed at Zula on the 3rd January, and was employed at once on heavy fatigue duty,—landing and moving stores, and assisting in laying the railway to Kumayli until their departure for Senafè. On the 10th January, 65 non-commissioned officers and men were permanently attached, as assistant Artillerymen, to the two mountain batteries. On the 26th and 31st January, and 6th February, the battalion marched,

in three detachments, on Senafè, in all 610 strong, after leaving platelayers and other workmen behind for service at Zula. Whilst at Senafè, the battalion was practised in route marching with packs; and soldiers' gardens were commenced for the purpose of growing vegetables, which would have proved of much use in case of a prolonged stay in the country. On the 8th and 13th February, the battalion (569 strong) marched in detachments on Adigrat, with knapsacks, a careful selection having been made of only such men as were likely to stand great fatigue and privation. The battalion was employed, on the 16th and 17th February, in throwing up entrenchments at Adigrat. On the 18th February they marched on Adabaga, which they reached on the 19th; and had heavy work in hauling the Armstrong guns up the hills. On the 25th they proceeded, with the Head-Quarters of the Force, to receive Prince Kassai of Tigré, and the next day continued the march to Antalo. At Dongola, the men were ordered to discontinue their packs. They left Antalo on the 12th March, for the front. At Mashik, on account of the road being reported bad, the whole regiment was broken up into baggage-guards, for their own baggage, and that of the Artillery, Cavalry, Commissariat, and Engineers; each man having charge of one or more mules. This system, which was often repeated, answered, as stated before, very well; but the work fell heavily on the men, and especially on those in charge of broken-down mules, who frequently did not reach camp for more than twelve hours after the Head-Quarters of their battalion, and without having had any food; yet there was hardly a case of a man of the 4th Regiment abandoning his charge, under any circumstances.

From Bulago to Lake Ashangi, and from thence to Lat, the 4th Regiment had to make the road practicable for elephants, whenever necessary. On the evening of the 25th March, when within 3 miles of Dildi, the regiment was transferred to the advanced brigade, in place of the 33rd Regiment, and started for Wandach next morning, as soon as the baggage-guard, which came in after midnight, had rested. This march has been described.* The only way in which the men succeeded in getting their baggage over the steepest and most slippery part of the ascent was by strewing the road with heather for the mules to obtain a footing. On the march from Muja, after crossing the Takazze, two companies were ordered forward with the Punjab Pioneers, to repair the road up the opposite hills to Santara, and make it practicable for the baggage animals. On the 3rd April, at Sindi, two companies, with the A Battery 21st Brigade, Royal Artillery, were detached in advance to occupy the heights beyond the Jedda River; and on the 4th April the whole of the battalion encamped on Talanta Plain, with the rest of the First Brigade.

Orders were received on the 9th to reconnoitre towards Magdāla, and the regiment started at daybreak next day, the men taking their breakfasts (cooked) with them; and after crossing the Bashilo, the water of which was thick with mud and quite unfit for drinking, was ordered at once to ascend the heights to the right of the road. At the first halting-place the men were halted for breakfast, but they were suffering so much from thirst they could scarcely swallow. It was not till after four o'clock in the evening that the regiment reached Afeego, when the action of Arogie, which has been described elsewhere, took place. On 13th April it was present before Magdāla, and followed, in reserve, into the fortress. On 15th April the 4th Regiment relieved the 33rd in Magdāla, and remained there till the evening of the 17th, when the men were employed in heavy fatigue duty, removing all useful stores, corn, &c., from the

Duties
before
Magdāla.

* See page 18, Chapter. XV.

fortress to the foot of the hill, destroying all the arms at the Arsenal, and improving the road. On the 17th the regiment evacuated the place, and rejoined the main body of the Force. It is probable that no other regiment had the same amount of harassing work as the 4th during the whole of the operations before Magdāla, and great credit is due to the men for the cheerful manner in which they performed it.

33rd Regiment.

Strength on landing.

The 33rd Regiment was the first body of British soldiers of the Force that landed at Zula. The extraordinary duties thrown on this regiment, as far as Antalo, have been already shown.* Its strength, on landing at Zula, was 27 officers and 819 non-commissioned officers and rank and file; and its followers numbered 20 bheesties, 14 dhobies, 23 cooks, 1 chowdry, 2 peons, 28 sweepers, 40 officers' servants, 4 officers' mess servants, and 28 lascars; as well as those attached to Hospital Department, consisting of 3 warrant officers, 2 apprentices, 35 followers, and 147 dhooly-bearers.

Before Magdāla.

The strength of the regiment, with the number and description of followers before Magdāla, was 31 officers, 2 warrant officers, 694 non-commissioned officers and rank and file, 20 cooks, 11 puckaulies, 17 bheesties, 7 officers' servants, 1 apprentice, 24 followers, and 43 dhooly-bearers.

At Dildi, working parties were sent out from the 33rd Regiment, making the road to the river, and also to the front; and strong parties were sent to assist the G Battery 14th Brigade, Royal Artillery, up and down the Jedda and Bashilo Rivers, being employed for many hours on this duty. On the night of the 10th April, when bivouacking in the bed of the Bashilo, this regiment received a sudden order to leave its tents (which had not then come up), ammunition, and stores, and to march to the front with every available man. The regiment bivouacked that night on the Arogie Hill, and the whole regiment was either marching or on outlying picquet for four consecutive nights. On the morning of the 13th the brigade advanced on Magdāla; and the 33rd, (having ascended the Islamgie Hill), stormed that fortress, as already described.

26th Regiment.

The 26th and 45th Foot were similarly equipped to the 4th and 33rd Regiments. The former corps arrived late in Africa, and did not advance beyond Senafè. The 45th did good work at Zula and Kumayli; and six companies made a severe forced march, and joined the Head-Quarters of the Force on the Talanta plateau.

45th Regiment.

Four companies of the 45th Regiment were for some time encamped with the wings of the 2nd Grenadier and 18th Regiments Native Infantry, on the plain between Zula and Kumayli. These companies had been for about six weeks employed in laying rails and sleepers, and in making the road for the rail. Orders were issued to send these companies of the 45th to the front, but other labour not being procurable, and their services being urgently required for the railroad, they were detained; they left for the front on the 20th March.

26th Regiment.

The 26th Cameronians landed on the 2nd of April, and were sent up to Senafè in detachments. While at Zula and in the Pass they were employed in fatigue duties—embanking the pier, on the railroad embankment, and carrying despatches and stores. Their services were of great value at a time when other labour was not procurable.

10th Regiment, N.I.

The 10th Regiment Native Infantry arrived with the Advanced Brigade under Colonel Field; its proceedings, and the excellent work performed by it, are described in Chapters VIII. and IX. It then moved up to Senafè, where it remained till the end of January 1868, and was daily at work in clearing away jungle, making roads, and improving the water supply by digging wells and a reservoir. Under the

* See page 7, Chapter XIII.

direction of Major Pierce huts were constructed for more than 1,000 muleteers, the whole of the wood having been cut and brought from the hills by the Sepoys of this regiment. Commissariat shelter was also built in like manner by them, and gangs of men were likewise employed in cutting grass for the mules. The country being much impoverished, the Sepoys suffered from the want of vegetables and of the condiments they are accustomed to take with their food; but no complaints, from the beginning to the end of the campaign, were ever heard. The guard duties were necessarily very severe, as it was impossible to repose confidence in the natives of the country; and the camp therefore had to be protected as carefully as if surrounded by enemies. About the middle of January, two companies of the right wing, under Major Pierce, joined a Field Pioneer detachment to open the road to Adigrat; and two other companies afterwards were in like manner employed in assisting to make the road from that place to Antalo. The remainder of the right wing marched from Senafè, for Adigrat and Antalo, on the 31st January; and the Sepoys were often employed with the British soldiers in assisting the Armstrong guns over the hilly and difficult ground. The left wing was detained at Senafè, under Major James, and while there was employed in various ways; it also furnished detachments to guard Commissariat stores at several of the posts *en route* to Antalo, where the right wing of the regiment remained for a fortnight, the Sepoys being daily employed in entrenching that position. It then, by forced marches (leaving the weakly men behind), joined the 3rd or Working Brigade at Lat, under command of Brigadier-General Field, and assisted in escorting the elephants with the Armstrong guns, and in making the road to Santara, where the Third Brigade was amalgamated with the First and Second Brigades. The Head-Quarter wing of the regiment, then under command of Colonel Field, joined the Second Brigade, and was present with that brigade through all the remaining operations of the Force.

Construct
huts for
followers.

Guard
duties.

The 27th Bombay N.I. (or 1st Belooch Regiment) landed at Zula with 9 European and 14 native officers, 33 havildars (serjeants), 16 drummers and fifers, and 623 rank and file. Its marching establishment of followers consisted of 8 bheesties (water carriers), 2 hospital assistants, 77 public and 67 private followers. Before Magdala the strength of the regiment was 9 Europeans, 14 native officers, 32 havildars, 15 drummers and fifers, 519 rank and file, 8 bheesties, 2 hospital assistants, and 49 public followers. The first act of the regiment was to land the whole of its baggage, ammunition, tents, &c., carrying the whole, and pitching the camp three-fourths of a mile from the pier, without assistance of any kind. The regiment then proceeded to Rahagedi, to work in the Suru Pass, and aided by the Bombay Sappers and a company of the Marine Battalion completed the road through the Pass. Early in February, it was told off to the Advanced Brigade; the right wing only, with the Head-Quarters, proceeding with the advance, the left wing being detained at Adigrat. At a later period, the left wing, under Captain Castell, joined Head-Quarters before Magdala, a few hours too late for the Arogie action, after a forced march of 300 miles, made under great difficulties as regards mules, &c. (the men carrying their own kit throughout), a march unparalleled during the campaign.

Belooch
Regiment.

Strength on
landing.

Before
Magdala.

Duties in
Suru Pass.

Extraordi-
nary forced
march.

The Belooch regiment was the only complete regiment of Bombay Native Infantry before Magdala. The following statement shows the kit, necessaries, clothing, &c., with each man on landing at Zula, and what he had before Magdala :—

Lists of
clothing,
necessaries,
&c., at Zula
and before
Magdāla.

On Landing at Zula.	Weight.		Before Magdāla.	Weight.	
	lbs.	ozs.		lbs.	ozs.
1 Great-coat	4	11	1 Tunic	1	14
1 Ruzai or quilt	4	13	1 Trousers	1	15½
1 Carpet	4	8	1 Pajama	0	6
2 Tunics	3	12	1 Pairan	0	6
2 Trousers	3	15	1 Pair of boots	2	12
2 Black trousers	2	6	1 Black putka	1	10
2 Chudders, or sheets	1	8	1 Forage cap and havresack	1	4
3 Pajamas, or pantaloons	1	2	1 Great-coat	4	11
3 Pairans	1	2	1 Blanket	4	13
2 White pugrees, or turbans	0	10	1 Waterproof sheet	2	0
1 Canvas bag	4	5½			
2 Pairs of boots	5	8			
Cooking pots	8	4			
1 Light coat	1	3			
2 Black putkas	3	4			
1 Forage cap and havresack	1	4			
Total	52	3½	Total	21	11½
From this weight 10 lbs. 3½ ozs. may be deducted for clothing in wear.			All carried by the man him- self, in addition to Enfield rifle, accoutrements, and 60 rounds of ammunition.		

3rd and 25th
Regiments
Bombay
Native
Infantry.

The 3rd and 25th Regiments Bombay Native Infantry, left Bombay together in the middle of December, and arrived at Annesley Bay on the 29th and 31st idem. Detachments were sent to Hadoda, Wiah, and Kumayli, and these regiments were employed on convoy and fatigue duties, in the Pass during the month of January. Every available man was employed on road making, guard duty, &c. Men coming off guard were at once detailed for fatigue duties, and leaving their fatigue duties in the evening, went on guard next morning.

The 25th Regiment Native Light Infantry arrived at Senafè on the 17th of March, and left for Adigrat on the 24th. On the 3rd and 5th of April, a wing left for Antalo, under the command of Major Fairbrother, whence it gave constant parties as escort for convoys of stores, &c., for the front.

Arrival of
the 3rd
Regiment
N.I. at
Dildi.

A wing of the 3rd Regiment Native Infantry was pushed on to the front, but did not succeed in getting beyond Dildi when Magdāla was stormed.

The 3rd and 25th Regiments returned at once to the Pass to garrison the different stations, where they gave over their smooth-bore arms for presentation to Prince Kassai, and obtained Enfield rifles in lieu.

Enfield
rifles issued
to Native
Infantry.

On the 30th of May, the 25th Regiment N.L.I., under their Commanding Officer, Lieut.-Colonel A. B. Little, an officer who had performed much distinguished service in Central India during the Mutiny, was ordered to proceed among the hills round the Pass of Suru, to endeavour to trace out and punish the murderers of Mr. Dufton.* On the 10th June, this regiment was the last to leave Kumayli, the last inland depôt

* Lieut.-Colonel Little's report on this subject will be found at page 101. Chapter XXI.

evacuated on the departure of the Force, and on the 17th and 18th idem, having remained at Zula as the rear-guard of the whole Force, evacuated that place.

The services of the 23rd Punjab Pioneers have been often alluded to in previous chapters, and have moreover been given in detail in Chapter XVI., page 29.

23rd
Punjab
Pioneers.

The 1st Company of Bombay Artillery, under Major Marrett, and a company of the Bombay Marine Battalion, which arrived at Zula with the reconnoitring party on the 4th October, 1867, were employed between Zula and Senafè, and their proceedings have already been narrated in Chapters VIII. and IX.

1st Com-
pany Bom-
bay
Artillery.

The troops located at Zula and in the Pass of Suru when the return march commenced, were the 5th Battery 25th Brigade Royal Artillery, the G and H Companies Madras Sappers, the 2nd and 18th Bombay Native Infantry, and the 21st Punjab Native Infantry.

Troops at
Zula.

The 5th Battery 25th Brigade Royal Artillery, under the command of Major Bogle, was detained at Zula, and its men and mules were constantly employed in carrying and escorting treasure and ammunition from Zula to the highlands. In this service they marched nearly 1,000 miles. The cheerfulness with which Major Bogle and his officers and men undertook this duty was reported by Major-General Russell as "deserving of the highest praise. Major Bogle was not satisfied with merely performing the duty when ordered, but came forward on all occasions, expressing a wish that his battery might be employed for the good of the service, rather than remaining in garrison. Considering that his battery was the only portion of British troops in the plains, I think the willing work done highly creditable."

5th Battery
25th
Brigade
Royal
Artillery.

The Madras Sappers were constantly at work in increasing the width of the pier, making embankments along the shore to prevent the invasion of the sea, erecting hospitals and other buildings, and assisting in the making of the railroad. Those at Kumayli were employed on the railroad and at the Wells, and they all performed their work with untiring energy.

Madras
Sappers.

The 2nd Grenadiers and 18th Regiment Native Infantry landed at Zula early in February, and were continuously employed in working parties, landing stores, or on the railroad. Wings of these regiments were, for nearly four months, encamped between Zula and Kumayli, cutting through embankments and making the road for the rail, carrying sleepers and laying them, and all work appertaining to the formation of a line of railway. These men were, it should be remembered, encamped in a hot plain, employed in digging and carrying sand, removed from all excitement, without any of the recreations and pleasures of camp life. The Head-Quarter Wing of the 2nd Grenadier Regiment was employed at Kumayli in working parties on the railroad, wells, and other works. The 2nd Grenadier and 18th Regiments were both similarly employed in working parties at Zula and on the rail.

2nd and
18th Bom-
bay Native
Infantry.

So hard was the work at Zula, every man that could be spared being sent to work on the railroad, that the troops rarely had two consecutive nights in bed, while they had to furnish working parties to land stores, and to work at the pumps for water.

The organization and establishment of the 21st Punjab Native Infantry, have been described in Chapter XVI., page 30.

On the 28th January, this regiment disembarked at Zula, and marched to Kumayli, where the whole of the regiment, with the exception of 15 per cent., including sick, was daily employed on the railway works, clearing jungle, making roads, burning and burying dead camels and mules, and escorting stores. The mules of the regiment were used in conveying Commissariat stores from Zula to Kumayli until the 10th March, when the regiment was ordered to occupy the posts in the Pass, leaving detachments at Suru,

Services of
21st Punjab
N.I.

Undul Wells, and Rahagedi. The Head-Quarters arrived at Senafè on the 19th March, when the men of the regiment at each post had to escort all stores, sick, keep the roads in repair, maintain communications, and prevent the Shohos from plundering the stores while in transit; they had to supply water to the animals passing through their posts, to escort all travellers, and to attend to the postal requirements.

Arms and
Accoutre-
ments.

During the time this regiment was in Abyssinia not a single soldier belonging to it died, and only 19 were sent back from Africa to India sick. Of the regimental establishment of mules only six casualties occurred during the Expedition.

Clothing.

The accoutrements of the 21st Punjab Infantry were of brown leather; their arms, Victoria, were the new smooth-bore musket, Enfield pattern; ammunition, 500 rounds per man of service ammunition, packed in mule boxes, with proper proportion of caps, also ammunition slings to carry 2 boxes; entrenching tools, 50 pickaxes, 100 hoes with helms, 12 axes, felling, 2 crowbars, and 170 jungle knives.

Distance
between
each station
from Zula to
Magdāla.

Each soldier's kit consisted of 1 blanket, 2 canvas frocks, 1 great-coat, 2 pairs flannel drawers, 2 pairs flannel banians, 2 pairs warm socks, 2 pairs English boots, 1 waterproof sheet, 1 waterproof cape to every 3 fighting men, 1 water canteen, 1 waterproof kit bag, 1 cloth tunic, 1 pair of cloth pyjamas, and 1 havresack. The clothing consisted of, for each man, 1 blanket, 1 coat, 1 pair of pyjamas, 2 flannel banians, 2 pairs woollen socks, 1 pair boots, 1 great-coat, 1 water canteen, and a havresack.

The distances between each of the stations, from Zula to Magdāla, measured by the Trigonometrical Survey were:—

From—	Miles.	From—	Miles.
Zula to Kumayli	14·000	Makan to Ashangi	13·800
Kumayli to Suru	13·250	Ashangi to Mussagita	7·782
Suru to Undul Wells	13·250	Mussagita to Lat	6·727
Undul Wells to Rahagedi	16·750	Lat to Marawah	10·251
Rahagedi to Senafè	8·500	Marawah to Dildi	14·408
Senafè to Guna-guna	12·000	Dildi to Wandach	7·952
Guna-guna to Focada	14·000	Wandach to Muja	6·293
Focada to Adigrat	14·000	Muja to Takazze	6·306
Adigrat to Mai Wahez	14·250	Takazze to Santara	4·434
Mai Wahez to Ada Baga	16·500	Santara to Gahso	11·434
Ada Baga to Dongolo	10·000	Gahso to Sindi	18·205
Dongolo to Agula	10·000	Sindi to Bethor	6·765
Agula to Dolo	16·000	Bethor to the Jedda	6·359
Dolo to Eikhullet	9·000	Jedda to Talanta	8·906
Eikhullet to Antalo	12·250	Talanta to Bashilo River	4·875
Antalo to Masgah	8·500	Bashilo to Head-Quarter Camp	6·397
Masgah to Mashik	8·000	Head-Quarter Camp to Magdāla	·4
Mashik to Atsala	9·500		
Atsala to Bulago	8·500	Total distance from Zula to Magdāla	379·395
Bulago to Makan	6·000		

Captain
Holland's
Report of
22nd April.
Strength of
Transport
Train on
13th April.

“The strength of the Transport Train in the country when Magdāla was captured, was 7,365 camels, 11,155 mules, 1,708 ponies, 6,922 pack bullocks, 901 draught bullocks, 784 donkeys, 305 mule carts, and 345 bullock carts; being an increase of 2,043 camels, 846 mules, 248 ponies, 885 pack bullocks, 367 draught bullocks, 769 donkeys, 32 mule carts, and 75 bullock carts, since the 1st April.

“The number of mules and ponies on duty with the Highland Train was 7,241, and of these 2,000 were reported as sick. The sick in the Lowland Train were 450 mules and ponies, 674 camels, and 441 bullocks.

“Orders were issued for all the available transport animals that could be spared from Zula to be sent up to meet the Army on its return march, and to assist in clearing out the various depôts that had been established along the line of route. The convention for the carriage of commissariat stores by country transport had succeeded well, and the supplies now on the road were ample to meet the requirements of the Force. Orders were sent to Egypt to stop the purchase of any more transport animals, those purchased up to date of receipt of the order were to be sent to Zula.

“The telegraph line had been completed to Antalo before Magdāla fell, and Lieutenant St. John, R.E., the officer in charge, had been directed not to carry it any further. The line worked fairly, but constant interruptions continued to occur. State of Telegraph

“The photographers were employed in taking views of Magdāla and its neighbourhood, and the signallers had proved very useful during the operations before Magdāla. Photo-graphers.
Signallers.

“The Jedda River afforded but little water, and for the few days that the troops were encamped on the Talanta Plateau, the supply was obtained from the pools in the valleys. The Bashilo River, a muddy stream, running and knee deep after several severe thunder-storms, was the only water crossed deserving the name of river. It was one of the main sources of supply to the Army when encamped before Magdāla.

“The supply of water in the small native wells in the ravines around the camps before Magdāla was scanty, and, owing to the number of dead animals the water had become so tainted as to be unfit for any purpose. Fresh wells were dug and old ones filled up, and the dead bodies in and around the wells were either covered up or removed. Water supply.

“All pack animals and beasts were collected and sent under an officer to obtain water; on their return the water was distributed in fair proportion to the different regiments and detachments.

“When the Force was at Magdāla, water was obtained from the Bashilo River, about 8 miles north of Fahla, from pools fed by a spring in a ravine $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-west from Fahla, from wells dug at the foot of the western slope of Fahla, from a pool fed by a spring in a ravine about 2 miles south of Fahla, and from small wells in two ravines to the north-west of Fahla. At Magdāla.

“The Second Brigade, in addition to the supply from the Bashilo River 6 miles in their rear, obtained water from wells dug in a ravine to their front, to the north of the Fahla Saddle. A spring in a small ravine was cleared and its water stored, and a tank dug at the bottom to afford drinking water for mules. Water was met with, in some cases, at an average depth of 4 feet, and, generally, the supply was uniform. The water was clear, but of a peculiarly bitter taste. This was particularly the case in the supply obtained from the ravine in front of the Second Brigade, but the medical officers said it was not injurious.

“There was a dry tank on Fahla, and another on Magdāla, and water was found in small quantities on Islamgié. Numbers of wells had been dug at the foot of Magdāla, and a hill-side spring was observed on the south side of Selassie.

“The patent tube wells which had of necessity been left behind, arrived on the 16th of April, and the same evening a supply of clear water, though of an earthy taste, was obtained. The drain upon the water supply, owing to the inhabitants of Magdāla and Selassie leaving those hills, became so excessive, that it was necessary to place guards over the spots where water was obtainable. The supply of water on the 17th had been so far developed as to be sufficient for the troops—the most satisfactory results having been obtained from the wells dug at the foot of the western slope of Fahla. On return to the Talanta Plateau four pumps were driven at the head of one of the valleys, and

Want of
water for
60 hours.

"afforded a fair supply for two days. The pumps were then drawn and driven more to the south; and a good spring was tapped on the valley side to the east.

"During the time the troops were at Magdāla, and before the completion of these arrangements, the want of water was greatly felt throughout the Force. On the 10th, after the troops had marched throughout the day on short allowance, and engaged the enemy in the evening, little or no water was at hand to supply their wants when they encamped at nightfall for a few hours, before marching to a more favourable position on the morning of the 11th. In the evening, when the puckalies returned with the water, the taint and smell of it was so strong that none could drink of it, although boiling and adding tea to it were resorted to. On the morning of the 12th, the puckalies were despatched to the Bashilo, and the same evening, it may be said, the men for the first time tasted water they could swallow after suffering from the want of it for 60 hours. Washing in any form was quite out of the question.

"Extra works at the different stations had been carried out to meet the demand for water along the line of march. A flood occurred at Senafè on the 29th March, which covered the ground on which the waterworks there were constructed. It caused but little destruction, but the sources of the water were polluted by the refuse washed down from the Transport Train Lines. Water was found by driving the tubes 60 yards lower down. The supply was abundant, and the troughs were removed and re-erected, and were available for the transport animals on the evening of the second day. The Bastier pump broke at Senafè; on this occasion it was however mended, and a well 13 feet deep was dug and protected by a lime-built wall for its reception. Large drains, 10 feet wide, were also dug, to carry off the surface waters, in case of another flood.

Trigono-
metrical
Survey.

"As the Army advanced, the officers of the Trigonometrical Survey had steadily carried on their work. The officers working from Antalo and Adigrat met at Dolo, and so completed a sketch of the country, embracing a belt on either side of the line of march from Zula to Antalo. One officer traversed between Antalo and Ashangi, and another was engaged in sketching the same ground, while Lieutenant Carter, who superintended the work, came on and completed the traverse from Antalo to the Bashilo River. On the 10th he joined the Head-Quarter Camp and completed a survey of the position of Magdāla, adjacent hills, and the ground between the Bashilo and Magdāla.

Postal
arrange-
ments.

"No alteration had taken place in the arrangements made for carrying the post, except that while the Army was encamped before Magdāla, native runners were employed thence to the Jedda River, up to which point Cavalry troopers carried the post as heretofore. The post from Zula took eleven days in transit to Magdāla at this time.

Depôt at
Dildi
formed

"In consequence of a disturbance at Dildi about this time, it became necessary to appoint an officer to the command of the depôt there, and all parties of soldiers, sailors, and muleteers remaining there were placed under his command, and directed to report to him daily. This officer, Lieutenant Warburton, R.A., organized a police, with a provost-marshal, from amongst the troops at Dildi, and took the necessary precautions for the protection of the camp."*

* Extracted from the Report furnished to the Horse Guards by Captain Holland, Assistant Quartermaster-General, dated 22nd April, 1868.

CHAPTER XX.

OPERATIONS FROM THE 14TH TO THE 22ND APRIL.

AFTER the capture of Magdāla, the command of the place was entrusted to Brigadier-General Wilby, who held it with the 33rd and a wing of the 45th Regiments. So thickly was the fortress inhabited, and so great was the crowd of people, that it was no easy matter to establish order. Guards were, however, placed at the gates, and at all points where protection was required.

The crown and royal seal of Theodore were taken possession of in the name of the Queen. A letter was addressed to his widow, in which Sir Robert Napier offered to accomplish her desires with regard to the disposal of the body of the late King. By her request, on the 14th, it was buried with all decency, but without military honours, in the Church of Magdāla.*

On the 15th, the 4th (King's Own) Regiment relieved the 33rd in Magdāla, and the 45th were removed to Islamgie, to reinforce the detachment of the 10th Native Infantry, engaged under Colonel Field in protecting the captured arms and ordnance. The inhabitants of Magdāla were collected at Arogi, where great vigilance was necessary to protect them from the Gallas, who were lying in wait both day and night for opportunities of plundering or destroying them. Notwithstanding the friendly relations with the Queen of the Gallas, her people were so little under restraint that it was frequently necessary to fire upon them, to drive them off from molesting the water-parties and carrying away the mules. One party of them, in search of plunder, even dared to make their way into Magdāla, where they were captured by the guard of the 33rd regiment.

Anxious as the British Commander was to abstain from any further interference in Abyssinian affairs after the object of the Expedition had been attained, it was necessary, for the sake of the national credit, that due consideration should be shown for the large numbers whose interests and safety had centred in Theodore's existence, and who

* The following are the proceedings of a Committee, assembled at Magdāla on the 14th April, 1868, to identify the person of, and to inquire into the cause of the death of, Theodore:—

President:—Captain J. D. Johnstone, 33rd Regiment.

Members:—Ensign Cecil Conor, 33rd Regiment: Assistant-Surgeon R. Kemp, 33rd Regiment.

The Committee having assembled pursuant to order, proceed to examine the body. Dr. Blanc appears and identifies the body as that of the late Theodore, King of Abyssinia, and further states that, from the appearance of the wound, that there can be no doubt that it was self-inflicted.

Opinion of the Committee:—

“The Committee, from the evidence of Dr. Blanc, is of opinion, that the remains are those of the late Theodore, King of Abyssinia; and further, from the evidence of Dr. Blanc, and from personal inspection, that the King committed suicide by a bullet, which appears to have entered the mouth in such a manner that it could not but have been self-inflicted.

“J. D. JOHNSTONE, Captain 33rd Regiment, President.

“CECIL CONOR, Ensign 33rd Regiment,

“R. KEMP, M.D., Assistant-Surgeon, H.M.'s 33rd Regiment, } Members.

“Camp Magdāla, 14th April, 1868.”

Brigadier-General Wilby placed in command at Magdāla.

Crown and seal of Theodore.

Burial of Theodore.

Disposition of troops.

Attacks made by Gallas.

Proceedings of Committee to identify the person of Theodore, and to enquire into the cause of his death.

remained disarmed and unprotected, and exposed to merciless plunder and slaughter, at the hands of the wild tribes whom circumstances had for the moment converted into the allies of their conquerors. They included many women, and some had considerable property in goods and cattle. On the 15th and 16th they were told to move from Arogi and go freely to their own districts, taking with them all that belonged to them. The defile from Arogi to the Bashilo was guarded for their protection by British infantry, and their march was escorted by patrols of cavalry as far as Bethor, where their safety from being plundered was assured. The disposal of the fortress of Magdāla then demanded the attention of Sir Robert Napier. It is situated, geographically, within the territory of the Wollo Gallas, from whom it had been wrested by Theodore about ten years previously. In his hands it imposed an effectual check upon the encroachments of the Mohammedan Gallas on Christian Abyssinia. Sir Robert Napier desired, in the interest of Christianity, to place the stronghold in the possession of Wagshum Gobaze, the ruler and principal chief of the neighbouring portion of Abyssinia. A letter was accordingly sent to Gobaze, offering him the possession of the fortress; but, notwithstanding his repeated invitations to the British to come quickly to his aid, he had removed himself and his army to a distant quarter before the arrival of the English force in front of Magdāla. His Lieutenant, Dejatch Mashsha, was however in the vicinity, and to him the place was offered for his master. Before his answer could be received several claimants applied for it. One of these was the Chief of Daont, and the two rival Queens of the Gallas each solicited it for herself. Werkait first presented herself in the camp to press her claims, and was greatly affected in revisiting a locality which had been associated with so many misfortunes to her family and people. She said, "We fought with Theodore as long as we could, and when his power was too strong for us to resist any longer, my son submitted to him on receiving a promise of good treatment, notwithstanding which he was inhumanly cut to pieces, and thrown over the precipice of Magdāla; and now I have come to see the grave of my enemy Theodore, and the place where my son fell." At this time the offer of the fortress had been made to Gobaze's Lieutenant, and his answer had not been received. Magdāla was still in the possession of the British troops, and the exodus of its former inhabitants was not completed; therefore it was not judged expedient that, at the moment, Werkait's desire to ascend the mountain should be indulged. Almost before her story was concluded intimation was received that her rival (Masteeat) was also in the neighbourhood, and on her way to offer her congratulations and submit her claim. Sir Robert Napier at first hoped to be able to make peace between the rival Queens; but when this was hinted at to Werkait, she said, "When two persons are striving for a Crown, how can peace be made between them? If Masteeat were to make peace with me to-day before you, she would betray me to-morrow." The news of Masteeat's approach caused great uneasiness among Werkait's escort and adherents; and after a second interview with the Commander-in-Chief, during which she exhibited symptoms of much distress, she took a hasty departure, apprehensive lest she should be intercepted by her more powerful and more fortunate rival—more fortunate because her son was alive, and the centre of the hopes of the large body of the people, while to Werkait there remained only the memory of her son, treacherously slain by Theodore.

Dejatch Mashsha arrived in camp, and in the name of the Wagshum Gobaze declined to accept Magdāla, alleging as his reason that it would require so large a garrison to hold it that it would be a source of weakness rather than of strength. Masteeat shortly afterwards arrived with her son, Imam Ahmed, and expressed no small gratitude and rejoicing at Theodore's fall. She had responded very effectually to the

Inhabitants
of Magdāla
sent to their
districts.

Disposal of
Magdāla.

Magdāla
offered to
Wagshum
Gobaze.

Werkait,
Queen of a
tribe of
Gallas.

Masteeat,
Queen of a
tribe of
Gallas.

Wagshum
Gobaze
refuses
Magdāla.

request of Sir Robert Napier, to close all avenues by which Theodore could have escaped, and thus she came in the character of an established ally. To her request for the possession of Magdāla, Sir Robert Napier was enabled to answer, that as Gobaze's Lieutenant had declined to receive it, he would abandon the place after dismantling and burning all of it that could be so destroyed, as a mark of the anger of the British at the ill-treatment of their countrymen, as well as of their abhorrence of the cruelties which Theodore had committed there. To this the Queen replied that, indeed, nothing but fire could purify it. On being asked if she could make peace with Werkait, she answered that she would gladly do so, but that it was impossible, because if Werkait were to swear friendship on the Koran itself to-day, she would violate her oath to-morrow.

Magdāla to
be delivered
to the
Gallas.

Advantage was taken of the friendly relations with Masteeat to obtain from her a safe conduct and promise of protection for as many of the people of Magdāla as had occasion to pass through Galla territory on their way home, as well as for the care of some of the Abyssinians who had been wounded in the action of Arogie.

The elephants and heavier ordnance having been sent in advance on the 15th, on the 17th orders were issued for every one to be cleared out of Magdāla by 4 P.M. At that hour working-parties commenced the demolition of the captured ordnance, and the destruction of the fortress.* The former were burst; the defences and gates of the *amba* were mined and sprung, and fire was applied to the palace and other houses, which spread quickly from habitation to habitation, burning slowly, and sending up a heavy cloud of dense smoke, which could be seen for many miles.

Destruction
of Magdāla.

On the 18th the last of the British force crossed the Bashilo on its homeward route, and encamped that evening on the Talanta plain, while Mastecat lost no time in establishing herself and her followers in the dismantled fortress of Magdāla.

Bashilo
recrossed.

* The following were the orders issued for the destruction of the fortress of Magdāla:—

" No. 1050 of 1868.

" The following orders for the destruction of the magazine and buildings on Magdāla are forwarded to Major-General Sir Charles Staveley, K.C.B., Commanding 1st Division, for guidance:—

Orders for
the destruc-
tion of
Magdāla.

" The troops, with the exception of the Sappers and Miners, under the direction of Captain Goodfellow, R.E., will be entirely withdrawn from Magdāla by 4 P.M. to-morrow, the 17th instant.

" Captain Goodfellow, R.E., will then destroy the Kafirber gate, and will ascertain by careful observation whether he can explode the powder magazine without injury to the church. He will also consider whether it will be safe to explode the magazine first and then fire the remaining buildings successively, commencing from the Kafirber gate, or southern portion of the fort, and finally, after withdrawing the Sappers, will blow up the northern entrance, under such arrangements as will prevent any injury to his party. Should he be able to blow up the magazine without injuring the church, he will do so, otherwise he will not blow it up, but will fire the buildings in such a way as to prevent any injury to his men from the accidental explosion of the magazine.

" He will then join the withdrawn garrison of Magdāla, which will return to the camp occupied by the 23rd Punjab Infantry, where they will rest for the night, and be prepared to march to Talanta under such detailed instructions as they may receive from Major-General Sir Charles Staveley on the 18th instant.

" As the destruction of the buildings at Magdāla may be the signal for the Gallas to come forward in considerable numbers, it will be necessary that the garrison should not pass Islangie until joined by the Sappers.

" No stragglers whatever should be permitted to remain behind. A Provost-Serjeant should be in attendance, and summary punishment inflicted on any who may attempt to linger behind for the sake of plunder or any other object.

" Care should be taken that the orders on this point shall be made known to the camp followers.

" No watering parties or picquets should be overlooked, and all baggage should be sent away early enough to be clear of the troops.

" By order,

" (Signed)

T. J. HOLLAND, *Captain, Assistant Quartermaster-General.*

" *In charge of Quartermaster-General's Office.*

" *Camp before Magdāla, 16th April, 1868.*"

Preparation
for the
return
march.

Captain
Holland's
report of
22nd April.

On the 19th preparations were made for the return of the whole force to Zula, and precautions taken to ensure the safety of the baggage and convoys, from the numerous robbers and marauders who hung upon the flanks and rear, attempting on every occasion to plunder. The rear guard found it necessary frequently to fire upon them.

"A pioneer force, under the command of Major Chamberlain—and composed of one troop of the 3rd Light Cavalry, the 3rd and 4th Companies of the Bombay Sappers and Miners, and the Head-Quarter Wing of the 23rd Punjab Pioneers—was to leave the camp on Talanta Plain on April 21, and proceed in advance of the Force by regular marches to Antalo, repairing the road where required, and making it practicable for elephants and mules. The released captives were escorted by this force. The Head-Quarters of the 1st Division, with the 2nd Brigade, composed of the 3rd Regiment Sind Horse, the 12th Bengal Cavalry, the Armstrong Battery, the B Mountain Battery, the 8-inch mortars, the 2nd Company Sappers and Miners, the 33rd Regiment, the 45th Regiment, and the 10th Native Infantry, were to leave Talanta Camp the day after the pioneer force, and proceed to Antalo by regular marches, halting for one day at the Takazze, Dildi, Ashangi, and Antalo; while the Head-Quarters of the 3rd Native Infantry were to march from Dildi to Antalo, three days before the pioneer force arrived at the former station. The Head-Quarters of the Army with the 1st Brigade, composed of the Head-Quarter Wing 3rd Dragoon Guards, the 3rd Light Cavalry, A Mountain Battery, the Naval Brigade, the 4th (King's Own) Regiment, the 10th Company of Royal Engineers, the Madras Sappers, one wing of the 23rd Punjab Pioneers, and the Beloochees, were to leave Talanta the day after the 2nd Brigade, and follow it by regular marches to Antalo. All detachments of regiments at different stations were to join their regiments as they passed through. The 2nd Field Hospital, with the wounded, moved with the pioneer force, and the 1st Field Hospital with the 1st Brigade."*

Released
Captives
handed over
to foreign
officers.

On Talanta Plain the released European captives belonging to other nationalities than the British, were finally handed over to the foreign officers who accompanied the Head-Quarters of the army during the Expedition. The plunder taken in Magdala was sold by auction, and the proceeds of the sale distributed among the troops as prize-money. The campaign was also declared to be over, in the following General Order which the Commander-in-Chief issued to the Force, and which was read on a general parade of all the troops by Colonel the Honourable F. Thesiger, Deputy Adjutant-General:—

General
Order by
Sir Robert
Napier on
the comple-
tion of
operations.

"Soldiers and Sailors of the Army of Abyssinia! The Queen and the people of England entrusted to you a very arduous and difficult Expedition—to release our countrymen from a long and painful captivity, and to vindicate the honour of our country, which had been outraged by Theodore, King of Abyssinia.

"I congratulate you, with all my heart, on the noble way in which you have fulfilled the commands of our Sovereign!

"You have traversed, often under a tropical sun, or amidst storms of rain and sleet, 400 miles of mountainous and rugged country.

"You have crossed ranges of mountains (many steep and precipitous), more than 10,000 feet in altitude, where your supplies could not keep pace with you.

"In four days you passed the formidable chasm of the Bashilo; and, when within reach of your enemy, though with scanty food, and some of you even for many hours without

* Extracted from the Report furnished to the Horse Guards by Captain Holland, Assistant Quartermaster-General, dated 22nd April, 1868.

“either food or water, you defeated the army of Theodore, which poured down upon you from its lofty fortress in full confidence of victory.

“A host of many thousands have laid down their arms at your feet.

“You have captured and destroyed upwards of 30 pieces of artillery, many of great weight and efficiency, with ample stores of ammunition.

“You have stormed the almost inaccessible fortress of Magdāla, defended by Theodore and a desperate remnant of his Chiefs and followers.

“After you forced the entrance to his fortress, Theodore, who never himself showed mercy, distrusted the offer of it held out to him by me, and died by his own hand.

“You have released not only the British captives, but those of other friendly nations.

“You have unloosed the chains of more than 90 of the principal Chiefs of Abyssinia.

“Magdāla, on which so many victims have been slaughtered, has been committed to the flames, and now remains only a scorched rock.

“Our complete and rapid success is due—firstly, to the mercy of God, whose Hand I feel assured, has been over us in a just cause; secondly, to the high spirit with which you have been inspired!

“Indian soldiers have forgotten the prejudices of race and creed to keep pace with their European comrades.

“Never did an army enter on a war with more honourable feelings than yours. This it is that has carried you through so many fatigues and difficulties; your sole anxiety has been for the moment to arrive when you could close with your enemy.

“The remembrance of your privations will pass away quickly; your gallant exploit will live in history.

“The Queen and the people of England will appreciate and acknowledge your services; on my part, as your Commander, I thank you for your devotion to your duty, and the good discipline you have maintained throughout.

“Not a single complaint has been made against a soldier, of fields injured, or villagers wilfully molested, either in person or property.

“We must not, however, forget what we owe to our comrades who have been labouring for us in the sultry climate of Zula, the Pass of Kumayli, or in the monotony of the posts which maintained our communications. One and all would have given everything they possessed to be with us; they deserve our gratitude.

“I shall watch over your safety to the moment of your re-embarkation, and shall, to the end of my life, remember with pride that I have commanded you.”

CHAPTER XXI.

OPERATIONS FROM THE 22ND APRIL TO THE 17TH JUNE.

THE RETURN MARCH, RE-EMBARKATION, AND FINAL EVACUATION.

Return
march.

Chiefs
released
from
Magdāla.

Death of
Lieutenant
Morgan,
R.E.

Illness of
Theodore's
Queen.

THE troops moved off as ordered, and on April 22nd the Commander-in-Chief, with the last of the Force, marched to the brink of the Jedda Ravine, and on the 23rd reached Bethor. On the 24th he moved again to Abdikum, where he received in audience a large party of Abyssinians of note, who had been liberated from Theodore's prison-house on the fall of Magdāla. The first was Birru Gashu, the Chief of Gojam, who bore on his enfeebled frame the marks of 14 years of confinement in chains. The second was Dejach Aria, Prince of Enderta, the maternal uncle of Kassai, Prince of Tigré. For many years before his imprisonment, he had waged war with Ubye for the supremacy in Tigré. Ubye defeated him, and in 1855 Theodore defeated and dispossessed Ubye, and made Aria Viceroy of Tigré, but distrusting him, summoned him to Magdāla, and made him a prisoner. The third was Wagshum Tiferri, hereditary Prince of Wag, who prevented Gobaze from falling into the hands of Theodore, for which offence he had been imprisoned. To all the British Commander spoke, urging upon them the necessity of peace in the present state of Abyssinia. These Chiefs were dismissed, but the widowed Queen of Theodore, with her son and two brothers, still remained as guests in the British camp. On the 26th April, the bottom of the Takazze Valley was reached, where Lieutenant Morgan, R.E., who had so ably and zealously directed the operation of the Army Signallers throughout the operations, died from the effects of over-exertion, exposure and fatigue in the execution of his duty. On May 3rd, the Force reached Lat; on the 9th Atsala, and on the 10th Mashik. Here the Queen, who had been ever treated with universal courtesy, and had been attended by the medical officer attached to the personal staff of the Commander-in-Chief, was reported to be seriously unwell. She was a daughter of Ubye, the former King of Tigré, who had been taken prisoner, with his whole family, by Theodore, about 13 years previously. Ubye remained a captive until his death. He had been originally the hereditary ruler of the province of Semen, a mountainous district south of Tigré. His empire over the latter province had been acquired by conquest. Theodore took his daughter from prison, and married her while still a child; but her elevation by no means bettered the condition of her two brothers, who had been her fellow-captives, for they had never so much as seen their sister since her marriage till released from prison by the British.

These Princes desired to return to their native province of Semen, but acknowledged that they could not there protect their sister, as they had neither arms nor money; and feared to take with them her child, Alamayou, lest his life might be taken by any aspirant for the empire of Abyssinia. They were accordingly allowed to depart, while the Queen and her son remained as guests in the camp.

The following is a Roll of the principal Chiefs liberated from Magdāla, showing the period of their imprisonment, and their disposal after release :—

No.	Names.	Length of Imprisonment.	Position and Country.	How disposed of.	Roll of Chiefs liberated from Magdāla.
		Years.			
1	Faris Ali	11	Chief of Yeju ..	Rebelled temporarily, but would probably submit to Gobaze.	
2	Wagshum Tiferri	4	Chief of Wag, cousin of Wagshum Gobaze	Submitted to Gobaze.	
3	Dejach Sahelo	5	Chief of Haramat ..	Joined Kassai, and submitted to him at Senafé.	
4	Ajaj Negussie	5	Chief of Haramat, son of Sahelo	Remained at Haramat.	
5	Balgeda Muro	5	Chief of Tera ..	Remained at Dongolo.	
6	Shum Agame Aragavi ..	7	Chief of Agame ..	Joined Kassai of Tigré, and submitted to him.	
7	Lij Sahaja	5	Chief of Id ..	Ditto.	
8	Shum Sloa Ezekias ..	5	Chief of Sloa' ..	Went to Semen.	
9	Dejach Iman	15	Brother of Ras Ali ..	Left Magdāla without paying his respects.	
10	Birru Goshu, and two brothers	15	Chiefs of Gojam ..	Joined Gobaze and submitted to him.	
11	Kassa, son of Ubye ..	14	Chief of Semen ..	Brother of the Empress; went to Semen.	
12	Gwangul, son Id	14	Chief of Id ..	Ditto.	
13	Hugla Dereso	3	Chief of Selemh ..	Left Arogi sick; destination unknown.	
14	Goshu Wondia	4	Chief of Belesa ..	Went to his country.	
15	Ras Walda Mariam ..	1	Chief of Begemededer ..	" "	
16	Ras Gebrie	1	Chief of Id ..	" "	
17	Ras Waheda Tadla ..	1	"	" "	
18	Betwaded Tadla, and two brothers	1	"	" "	
19	Engeda	Unknown	Chief of Dembea ..	Went to his country under safe-conduct of Masteeat, Queen of the Gallas.	
20	Maureme	2	Chief of Shoa ..	Ditto.	
21	Ubié	2	"	Ditto.	
22	Aregi, son of Sewale Sellassie	2	"	Ditto.	
23	Ajah Wondie	1	Chief of Begemededer ..	Went to his country.	
24	Ajaj Geret	3	"	" "	
25	Ajaj Gebra Selassie ..	1	"	" "	
26	Belala Gobazye	1	"	" "	
27	Sergie Deresso	1	"	" "	
28	Lej Meshasho	Unknown	"	" "	
29	Wossen Illma	1	Chief of Koara ..	" "	
30	Wossen Dareya	1	Chief of Id ..	" "	
31	Pasha Hayle	10	Chief of Mecha ..	Unknown.	
32	Talef Engeda	1	Chief of Tigre ..	Joined Kassai of Tigré, and submitted to him.	
33	Ras Lebie	3	Chief of Maga ..	Went to Shoa.	
34	Balgida Ara	13	Chief of Enderta ..	Joined Kassai of Tigré, and submitted to him.	

There were several others of Shoa and the Wollo country, names unknown, but of minor importance.

The following Returns show the strength and disposition of the several corps serving in the Force on the 1st May.*—

Quartermaster-General's Return shewing strength and disposition of the Force on the 1st of May.

Corps.	Station.	Number of Troops or Companies at each Station.	At Regimental Headquarters, or on detached duty at the Station.					Effective Strength, exclusive of those sent or left at Home or in India.									
			Field Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native Officers.	Staff Sergeants.	Sergeants.	Trumpeters or Drummers.	Farriers.	Rank and File.			Total Non-Commissioned Officers and Men.	Horses, including Officers' Chargers.	
												Fit for Duty.	Sick in Hospital.	On Command.			
BRITISH CAVALRY.																	
3rd Dragoon Guards, Right Wing	Marawah	3	2	2	5	3	..	1	10	3	3	167	2	17	203	236	
NATIVE CAVALRY.																	
3rd Sind Horse	Lat	6	2	..	4	1	20	..	35	5	1	286	41	59	427	399	
3rd Light Cavalry	Dildi	6	2	2	1	3	16	2	36	6	..	242	2	131	419	476	
10th Bengal Cavalry	Makan	6	1	..	4	2	5	..	54	4	10	93	6	271	438	456	
12th "	Lat	6	1	4	2	3	16	6	40	6	5	151	..	243	451	469	
ROYAL ARTILLERY.																	
G Battery 14th Brigade	Lat	1	..	2	4	1	..	3	6	2	1	76	8	50	146	117	
A " 21st "	Dildi	1	..	2	4	1	..	3	6	2	1	66	5	8	91	11	
B " 21st "	Lat	1	..	1	3	1	..	3	6	2	1	60	3	8	83	14	
5th " 25th "	Senafe	1	..	2	4	2	..	2	6	2	..	92	1	29	132	19	
NATIVE ARTILLERY.																	
No. 1 Company, Bombay	Senafe	1	..	1	2	..	3	1	6	3	..	67	..	9	86	2	
NAVAL BRIGADE.																	
Rocket Battery	Dildi	1	..	..	5	2	..	..	4	1	..	82	13	..	100	10	
ROYAL ENGINEERS.																	
10th Company	Dildi	1	1	..	1	1	..	1	3	1	..	28	1	48	82	3	

* Quartermaster-General's Return, 1st May, 1868.

Corps.	Station.	Number of Troops or Companies at each Station.	At Regimental Headquarters, or on detached duty at the Station.				Effective Strength, exclusive of those sent or left at Home or in India.											
			Field Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native Officers.	Staff Sergeants.	Sergeants.	Trumpeters or Drummers.	Farriers.	Rank and File.			Total Non-Commissioned Officers and Men.	Horses, including Officers' Chargers.		
												Fit for Duty.	Sick in Hospital.	On Command.				
SAPPERS AND MINERS.																		
No. 1 Company, Bombay	Antalo	1	..	..	1	..	2	1	2	2	..	66	8	19	98	1	..	34
" 2 "	Lat	1	..	..	1	..	2	4	4	2	..	101	9	..	120	4	..	21
" 3 "	Ashangi	1	..	1	..	..	1	2	..	2	..	102	6	8	120	1	..	21
" 4 "	Ashangi	1	..	..	1	..	2	1	2	2	..	100	2	..	107	1	..	21
Head-Quarters and K Company, Madras	Marawah	1	1	2	1	1	2	..	9	2	..	105	..	..	116	6	..	8
G and H Companies, Madras	Zula & Kumayli	2	..	..	7	1	3	..	20	4	..	222	..	..	246	3	..	7
BRITISH INFANTRY.																		
1st Battalion 4th Foot	Marawah	10	3	10	17	5	..	6	33	19	..	466	58	97	679	34	..	34
26th Cameronians	Senafé	10	3	8	15	5	..	7	35	17	..	486	33	236	814	21	..	21
33rd Foot	Lat	10	2	7	17	7	..	5	34	17	..	639	25	53	773	21	..	21
45th "	Ashangi	10	3	6	17	5	..	6	36	18	..	659	35	7	761	8	..	8
NATIVE INFANTRY.																		
2nd Grenadiers	Kumayli	8	1	..	1	4	14	3	36	16	..	490	66	44	655	7	..	7
3rd Regiment	Ashangi	8	2	2	5	2	13	..	33	14	..	263	7	354	671	..	..	..
10th Regiment, Head-Quarters Wing	Lat	4	3	..	1	3	8	..	22	13	..	176	21	128	360	..	..	..
Left Wing	Senafé	4	1	..	1	1	7	..	14	4	..	135	8	98	259	..	..	..
18th Regiment	Zula	8	3	1	4	..	15	2	34	15	..	327	53	249	680	8	..	8
21st Regiment, Detachment	Senafé	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	6	2	..	49	3	..	60	..	..	..
21st Punjaub, Detachment	Undul Wells	8	2	2	..	2	15	..	38	15	1	694	14	..	762	6	..	6
23rd "	Ashangi	8	2	2	3	3	14	..	36	13	..	281	24	346	700	..	..	..
25th Regiment, Bombay	Adigrat	8	2	..	3	4	12	..	30	13	..	248	26	255	572	12	..	12
"	Marawah	8	2	1	2	5	15	..	36	16	..	575	116	7	750	8	..	8
Total	..	146	39	60	136	69	187	59	672	243	23	7,594	596	2,774	11,961	2,853	..	2,853

The following Statement* shows the number of each Arm of the Service present in Africa on the 1st of May :—

Number of each Arm of the Service present.	Description of Force.											
		Field Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native Officers.	Serjeants and Havildars.	Trumpeters and Drummers.	Farriers.	Rank and File.	Total Non-Com. Officers and Men.	Horses, including Officers' Chargers.
	British Cavalry	2	2	5	3	..	11	3	3	186	203	236
	Native Cavalry	6	6	11	9	57	173	21	16	1,525	1,735	1,800
	Royal Artillery	..	7	15	5	..	35	8	3	406	452	161
	Native Artillery	..	1	2	..	3	7	3	..	76	86	2
	Naval Brigade	..	..	5	2	..	4	1	..	95	100	10
	Royal Engineers	1	..	1	1	..	4	1	..	77	82	3
	Native Sappers and Miners	1	5	11	3	12	45	14	..	748	807	16
	British Infantry	11	51	66	22	..	162	71	..	2,794	3,027	84
	Native Infantry	18	8	20	24	115	290	121	1	5,057	5,469	41
	Total	39	60	136	69	187	731	243	23	10,961	11,961	2,353

Operations of the rear guard on return march.

Camp followers killed.

Abyssinians and Gallas killed.

State of horses and mules.

The march from Talanta to Atsala was trying, from frequent severe storms of rain which appeared to accompany the columns, and from which the troops in some degree, and more especially the followers and transport animals, could not fail to suffer. The wild border-tribes of Abyssinians and Gallas, through whom the route lay from the Takazze to Atsala, being very little under the control of their distant, and almost nominal rulers, and who had been perfectly well behaved in the advance, finding by degrees the vulnerable points of the army, had been for some time making attacks upon the muleteers and camp-followers when they ventured far from their escorts, and on some occasions even on the armed soldiers. In the first instances some camp-followers were killed, and in the latter, the soldiers being driven to use their weapons, several Abyssinians and Gallas were killed and wounded. Considerable numbers of armed men, principally Gallas, watched the march from the hills, and, although restrained by the presence of the columns, made attempts on the baggage, but with little success. This was a clear indication of what a Force returning under difficulties would have experienced. In the friendly territory of Prince Kassai, the troops returned to marches made easy by improved roads and increased supplies of food, stored in the fortified posts of Antalo and Adigrat, and which were hailed as luxuries by the men who for so long a time had none but the bare necessities of existence.

The horses, mules, and cattle had suffered greatly from want of water during the six days that the Force was encamped in and about Magdala. The supply on the mountains was, as before described, very limited for such a vast number; and all the animals had to be taken down to the Bashilo (8 miles) for water; it took them nearly all day to go there and back again, so that they did not benefit much by the process. Many of the animals scarcely got any water at all for the first two or three days, and Magdala itself, and the mountains in its immediate neighbourhood, were covered with dead and dying animals and men; and the stench from these, and from refuse of all kinds, was sickening.

* Quartermaster-General's Return dated 1st May, 1868.

On the 18th April, the First, or, as it now became, the Rear Brigade, re-crossed the Bashilo, and re-ascended the tremendous precipices to the plateau of Talanta. Whilst the troops rested on the Talanta Plain, the mules were fed and well watered for four days, a reserve supply of food having been collected here, and served out with a free hand. On the 23rd April, the Rear Brigade marched to Bethor, across the deep and difficult ravine of the Jedda—a severe and trying march for the troops, heavily weighted and suffering from reaction after excitement, hard work, and the insufficient food of the past three weeks. By starting the advance at daylight, the Rear Guard got into camp at 9 p.m. On Sunday, the 26th, the Rear Brigade descended to the Takazze—another heavy march—and the Rear Guard were out all night. As the mules were now beginning to break down in large numbers, the delays along the road became more frequent. At the Takazze, the brigade halted one day to rest; and signs of exhaustion and weakness were visible, from continued hard work, insufficient and bad food, and total deprivation of stimulants of all kinds for the past five weeks. The brigade arrived at Dildi, after a long and harrassing march, on the 29th. The Rear Guard was again out all night. Here the clothes and tents, which had been left behind, were obtained; but although the comfort of the troops was greatly increased thereby, the line of baggage became longer, and the difficulties of the march much greater. On the 1st May, the Rear Brigade arrived at Marawah—a long march over a narrow path, winding over a succession of hills. The Advance arrived at 1.30 p.m., but the Rear Guard did not arrive until late on the morning of the 2nd; and many of the baggage animals were 24 hours under their loads, without forage or water. A halt and the loss of a day was the consequence. The difficulties of the return march now became very apparent; the animals were becoming weaker, sore backs became more frequent daily, and the loss of animals increased alarmingly.

Here Lieutenant-Colonel Bray 4th (King's Own) Regiment, was nominated to the continuous command of the Rear Guard, with full powers of dealing with all difficulties. He was authorized to put to death all marauders taken red-handed in the act of plunder or attempting to plunder the line of baggage. He could also punish all soldiers or camp followers delaying the line of march, or disobeying orders; and a couple of drummers were attached to his guard for the purposes of carrying out his summary sentences on the spot. Lieutenant-Colonel Bray had already had the experience of the campaign in Affghanistan in 1842, where the rear guard and picquet duty was very severe, where the country was also mountainous and most difficult, and where we had a bold, active, and enterprising enemy contesting our advance or retreat; therefore the duties he commenced at Marawah were not quite new to him. His experience gained in the Affghan war was most valuable, as every Captain and Subaltern in that campaign was constantly in command of a company or picquet detached from the main body; and had the best opportunity of learning every description of outpost, advance and rear guard and picquet duties in the presence of an active enemy, who disputed every mountain and difficult pass with our troops, and whose attacks were always bold and harassing on the Rear Guard, especially after sunset, and when the Rear Guard was benighted—a very common occurrence in Affghanistan, on account of the enormous baggage train, which was never successfully cut down to its proper dimensions.

When the column left Marawah on 3rd May, the baggage train could not be cleared off the ground for several hours, on account of the contracted nature of the ground. All the mules and horses which could not move off the ground were shot; and the ammunition which could not be removed (about 100 mule loads), was blown up.

When the Rear Guard commenced to move, they got on but slowly, as they found

Talanta.

Jedda
ravine.

Takazze.

Break down
of mules.

Dildi.

Marawah.

Difficulties
of return
march.Lt.-Colonel
Bray nomi-
nated to
command
Rear Guard.Experience
of Affghan
campaign.Departure
of rear
brigade
from
Marawah.

Arrange-
ments of
Rear Guard.

Baggage
destroyed.

Spare mules
for sick.

the road strewed with mules unable to move, and baggage, tents, provisions, and stores of every kind lying along the road. In rear of the picquets, marched the spare mules in charge of officers of the Transport Train; and in rear of all, marched a company of Infantry, under a Captain, with strict orders to leave nothing behind him. For the first week, some of the mules were so overladen that they broke down; their loads were opened out, and everything not absolutely valuable was set fire to or thrown down the precipices. These strong measures soon produced satisfactory results; the quantity of baggage destroyed in the first three days was great, both on the camp ground and along the road. The spare mules were kept for the sick, who increased every day, and who threw themselves down on the roadside and remained there until the Rear Guard came up.

For the first week, and while the Rear Guard were in the mountains amongst hostile tribes who hovered about the line of march in considerable numbers, and sat in groups on the hill-tops and watched its slow progress, it was necessary to be very vigilant. The Rear Guard were loaded, and the men along the line had orders to fire on any Abyssinians attempting to plunder or obstruct the march; this was done in many cases promptly, and there can be little doubt that the bold front displayed, and the readiness exhibited to fire, prevented much annoyance and disaster. The destruction of all baggage that could not be carried also prevented many marauders following the Guard for plunder. Had the Force been followed by a more active and determined enemy, picquets would have been necessary at all the commanding points along the line; but the greater portion of the Infantry employed as armed muleteers were found sufficient protection.

Captain
Holland's
Report of
12th May.

" The Commander-in-Chief, with the Rear Brigade, arrived at Antalo on the 12th May. At this date, the last returns received of the Transport Train showed that the corps now mustered 7,417 camels, 12,920 mules and ponies, 5,894 pack bullocks, 1,139 draught bullocks, 827 donkeys, 305 mule carts, and 391 bullock carts.

Strength of
the Land
Transport
on the
12th of May.

" 44 elephants were landed in Abyssinia from Bombay, and proved most useful in carrying four of the 12-pounder Armstrong guns, with limbers, carriages, ammunition, &c., from Antalo to Magdāla, and also in conveying from Zula to Magdāla two 8-inch mortars, with beds, ammunition, &c. Two of these elephants died from exhaustion, owing to being deprived of their proper forage, and having to proceed so far for water, near the Bashilo, after the fall of Magdāla, and three others died at Bulago, about 150 miles from Magdāla, on their return march. As the Armstrong battery from Antalo proceeded in draught to Zula, most of the elephants were relieved of their heavy loads, varying from 800 to 1,600 cwt., and proceeded unladen.

Elephants.

Mules.

" 8,174 mules and ponies were, on the 12th May, on duty with the Highland Train, of which 2,072 were reported sick. The sick in the Lowland Train, according to the last reports received were 1,226 mules and ponies, 865 bullocks, and 811 camels.

Camels,
bullocks,
and donkeys
used on re-
turn march.

" From Zula, 2,410 camels, 2,100 pack bullocks, 830 donkeys, and 420 mules had been despatched to meet the Army on its return march, and to assist in removing all stores that had been collected on the highlands.

" The following is a list of the animals that had been purchased at Berbera, and the average prices paid for each :—

					Rupees.	Annas.	Pies.
Prices paid at Berbera for animals.	" 2,121 Bullocks, rate per each	..	..	..	57	14	6
	" 154 Donkeys,	..	..	..	6	5	0
	" 3 Ponies	..	..	..	51	10	8

" The Lowland Train had been steadily working from Zula to Adigrat, carrying

“ Commissariat supplies, ammunition, treasure, and other stores for the Force. From Adigrat to Atsala these stores had been carried by Abyssinian transport, except in the case of boxes, treasure, and ammunition, which had been conveyed by the mules of the Highland Train, the native carriers having as a rule agreed only to carry such stores as were packed in bags. The greater portion of the Highland Train had, under the direction of Captain Hand, 82nd Regiment, accompanied the Army to Magdala, carrying all stores from the point at which native carriers were not obtainable on to the camp before Magdala. The mules of this train had also carried all the tents, stores, and ammunition of the Army, with which they marched, and were at this time engaged in conveying back all the tents and baggage of the troops, as well as Commissariat stores and ammunition found at all the depôts on the line of march.

Duties of
Highland
and Low-
land Trains.

“ Transport Train Staff Officers had been for some time located at Kumayli, Senafè, Adigrat, and Antalo. These officers examined all convoys of mules passing through their stations, replaced those that were galled or sick by efficient mules, supervised all Transport Train arrangements, feeding, watering, &c., and were in general charge of all Transport Train stores. They had been for some time authorized to purchase for the Train, with the approval of a Board of Officers, any Abyssinian mules suitable for army purposes. Under this arrangement several hundred mules had been purchased. Sick depôts for mules had been established at Kumayli, Focada, and Atsala (near Antalo). The two latter depôts, however, were only used for mules likely to be fit for service in a short time, all bad cases being sent down to Kumayli. Orders were now issued sanctioning the disposal, by General Officers, of such mules as were not likely to be available for work for many months, as presents to friendly Chiefs or heads of districts and villages who had rendered the Army assistance in every way in their power.

Transport
Train Staff
Officers at
Kumayli,
Senafè,
Adigrat,
and Antalo.

“ A Transport Train officer invariably accompanied every convoy of animals belonging to the Train, and on arrival at the station to which the convoy was ordered to proceed, he submitted a report direct to Head-Quarters regarding the journey, provisions issued to the animals, the state of the animals on their arrival, and all other particulars he considered necessary regarding that portion of the Train under his charge.

An Officer
to accom-
pany each
convoy.

“ All regiments and detachments leaving stations on the highlands for the front had been provided with rations for 15 days, and Transport Train mules had been attached to corps for the conveyance of these stores. As these rations were consumed, the mules were placed at the disposal of the Commissariat Officer for the carriage of local purchases, officers commanding regiments and batteries were held responsible that the mules attached to their respective corps were properly watered and fed. Transport Train officers being responsible for all matters connected with equipment and interior economy of the Train, and for the discipline and rationing of the muleteers, for this purpose a Transport Train officer was always, when available, attached to each corps. 5 per cent. spare mules were attached to the rear guard of each column, for the purpose of replacing broken-down animals, picking up baggage, &c., in addition to the number of mules required for the conveyance of foot-sore soldiers. These arrangements were found to answer well.

Mules
attached to
regiments
for convey-
ance of
rations.

Responsi-
bilities of
Regimental
and Trans-
port Train
Officers.

“ The railway from Zula towards Kumayli had been completed to within a distance of three-quarters of a mile of the latter station, and a terminus made at this point. The amount and condition of the rolling stock necessitated this arrangement. The whole being required for Commissariat purposes, no trains could be spared for carrying railway plant. The platelayers and workmen were now distributed in efficient gangs over the whole line,

Railway
completed.

"the maintenance of which was carefully attended to. The Commanding Engineer reported that at least six miles of the line would not repay removal, the plant having pretty well done its work before being sent to Abyssinia, and as the whole line would be required until the very end of the embarkation, when the weather would become extremely hot, it was arranged that the remaining five miles of fair rails should be left on the ground, and if considered worth removal, a party sent from Aden the following cold season to take them away. The locomotives received from India were old and worn out, when landed in Abyssinia, and would be of little value in India.*

Photographers.

"The photographers had availed themselves of many opportunities on the return march of taking views of the country passed through.

Water supply.

"Lieutenant Le Messurier, R.E., the officer in charge of the water supply, had at the request of the Commanding Engineer been ordered to Kumayli to make arrangements for watering the force, baggage animals, &c., which were to be collected in large numbers at that station prior to embarkation at Zula. Water-pipes were laid from Kumayli to the railway terminus. 420 tons of water could now be stored at Zula in tanks, and arrangements were made to add storage for at least 200 tons more.

Storage at Zula.

"The consumption of water at Zula now was about 100 tons per diem. This consumption might, however, have been reduced by limiting the quantity of water as before to 1½ gallon per man per diem.

Trigonometrical Survey.

"The following work had been completed by the Trigonometrical Survey party:—

"1. Base lines measured at Zula, Senafè, Antalo, Ashangi, and Magdāla.

"2. Triangulation with 7-inch theodolite in the vicinity of the above-named base lines which were connected with each other by a traverse from Ashangi.

Detail of work performed.

"3. A traverse from Zula to Magdāla, showing the positions of camps, roads, rivers, and villages; and

"4. Survey by plane table from Zula to the camp in Marawah.

	Distance in Miles.	Square Miles of Country.
Zula to Senafè	64	1,100
Senafè to Antalo.. . . .	128	3,100
Antalo to Ashangi	54	700
Ashangi to Marawah	25	380
Marawah to Magdāla	108	..
Total	379	5,280

"5. A complete survey of the country surrounding Magdāla.

"6. The latitudes of seven places, the southernmost being Lake Ashangi, and the longitudes of Mulkutto and Senafè, were fixed by observation. Latitudes and longitudes of all principal stations from Zula to Magdāla by traverse.

"7. Heights by boiling point of all stations along the line of route.

"A compass survey of the route marched by the Army from Zula to Magdāla, with longitudinal sections and a survey of the country round Magdāla, had been executed by the Quartermaster-General's Department.

* They were eventually, however, re-shipped and sent off to Bombay.

"The arrangements made for carrying the post had answered well. The post now took four days in transit from Zula to Antalo. The detachments told off on postal duty rejoined their respective regiments of the Rear Brigade on their return march, as they passed through the stations at which they were located.

Postal Department.

"The road from Zula to Senafè had been completed and made practicable for carts by the 1st of February. The road from Senafè to Antalo had been made passable for field artillery in draught. All the work on these roads was completed by Sappers and Miners, and working parties from the Infantry, prior to the advance of the main body of the Force. From Antalo to Magdāla the road was cleared by the troops on the march, and made practicable for laden elephants.

Roads and approaches.

"All these roads were in fair order till the monsoon set in, and, though difficult for laden animals to pass over on account of the steep and precipitous mountains and generally rugged nature of the country traversed, were sufficiently cleared to enable the Force and its transport animals to march over them.

"Early in May, heavy rains fell all over the country between Magdāla and Zula. The rains did not injure the mountain tracts between Magdāla and Senafè beyond making them very slippery and difficult for laden mules to travel over, but telegrams had been received from Zula and Senafè reporting very heavy thunderstorms on the 4th and 6th May in the Pass, and a telegram, dated Senafè, the 7th, reported the road from Upper to Middle Suru, except at a few spots, totally destroyed by flood on the 6th, and that 1,200 men would be required to work 10 or 12 days to remake it passable for carts. Working parties were immediately employed on this road, and it was reported practicable for mules on the 11th of May. The 1st, 3rd, and 4th Companies of Bombay Sappers and Miners were now on their march to Senafè to repair the road in the Suru Pass, and the G and H Companies of Madras Sappers had left Zula for Suru for the same purpose. All available troops were also being employed as working parties to repair the damage.*

Heavy rains.

Thunderstorm.

Flooding of Suru Pass.

"A Report, dated the 2nd May, had been received from Major-General Russell, commanding at Zula, stating that that officer had then just completed a tour of inspection.

* The following telegrams were received during the month of May by the Quartermaster-General's Department at the Head-Quarters of the Force, relative to the flooding of the Suru Pass :—

Telegrams reporting flooding of Suru Pass.

From the Officer Commanding at Zula.—"4th May, 1868.—Please inform the Commander-in-Chief that heavy rain has fallen in the Pass, and the road is much cut up. The Commanding Engineer has been communicated with, in order to its immediate repair."

From the Commanding Engineer at Zula.—"4th May, 1868.—Weather very threatening. The Senafè Pass has been flooded at Undul and Suru, and the cart road destroyed. Sappers and Miners much required for the Pass."

From General Russell at Zula.—"9th May, 1868.—The Pass is much damaged, but in communication with Colonel Wilkins arrangements are being made for keeping it open; unless heavy storms occur daily, there is every probability of the Pass being kept open."

From General Stewart at Senafè.—"9th May, 1868.—Road from Higher Suru to Middle Suru, except at a few spots totally destroyed by flood yesterday; road destroyed from Middle Suru, nearly one mile towards Lower Suru. Will take four or five days to make road passable for mules, and will require at least 800 men for carts. Road must be entirely re-made, and will take 10 or 12 days and 1,200 men."

From General Malcolm at Senafè.—"21st May, 1868.—Antalo garrison detained at Suru by state of the Pass. General Collings hopes to get through to-day, but much work is required. Private information states the Pass to be in a very bad state, the torrents being deep."

From General Malcolm at Senafè.—"21st May, 1868.—General Collings telegraphs, 'I have just marched down the Pass, the road just passable for animals. No delay should be made in the highlands. Suru is

Report on
stations in
the Suru
Pass.

"tion of the different posts between Zula and Senafè. Major-General Russell reported "that he found Kumayli, though very extended, in good order, and the transport lines "clean and well ventilated, no filth in the vicinity, and nothing offensive; the arrange- "ments for the supply of water excellent, the pumps good and in good order; the "arrangements for watering animals well regulated, and the water abundant, and equal "to the supply of 16,000 animals; the road up to Suru on the date of the report was "in good order, the arrangement at Suru very good; the lines neatly laid out, and "order and system well maintained, the supply of water ample; a tent and a signaller "had been placed at Lower Suru, so that if a flood came from above, intimation "by wire might be sent to prevent the up-coming convoys entering the narrow pass. "Major-General Russell further reported that he found the station of Undul Wells kept in "very nice order; the water supply was found to be limited, but arrangements were "being made to sink another well. At Rahagedi everything was reported well- "conducted, the lines neat and clean. The report also stated that spots as secure as "could be found had been selected at the different posts in the Pass, and barriers for "protection made in case of flood.

Buildings
and piers
at Zula.

"Hospitals, storehouses, pendalls, and officers' quarters were built, or in course of "construction at Zula on the date of the capture of Magdāla. Arrangements were also "on that date being made for hutting in the troops at Senafè and Adigrat. Three "piers had been constructed at Zula, and had been in use for some time. Hutting "operations at Adigrat were now stopped, as also at Senafè. Except in the case of "hospital accommodation, the buildings at Zula were required in order to give cover "and protection from the sun to troops on the eve of embarkation. The piers were also "in use till the very end. The Commanding Engineer was of opinion that it would "not be worth the time it would take to draw the piles of the piers. The floorings, "however, were to be removed and shipped off for Bombay.

Proposals
regarding
disposal.

"All hutting material of teak not put up, the Engineer park, and Engineer "stores, were being shipped at Zula, and arrangements were being made to ship off all "articles belonging to the Engineering Establishment at Zula not absolutely required "for the troops, as well as all Ordnance and Commissariat stores, so that the shipment of

" 'dangerous, from falling stones, and the animals are not safe in the floods; each repair of the Pass is more " 'difficult than the last.'"

From Captain Hodges, Transport Train, at Zula.—"22nd May, 1868.—Road as far as Suru in good order; "from Suru to Lower Suru very bad, impracticable for carts."

From Captain Blakeney, Commanding at Suru.—"23rd May, 1868.—Sappers and 100 men Army Works "Corps working defile. Blasting rocks where most needful; 150 more men Army Works will be at Lower Suru "this evening under Lieutenant Rule, R.M.A., F.E.; all will (D.V.) be well. No rain since flood of 19th at "Suru. Flood came down at 5 P.M. on that day. Loss of animals, 17; loss of life, seven natives. Three "carts were washed down the Suru Defile. Road safe, will be ready for carts to-morrow night, if no flood "comes."

From the Officer Commanding at Rahagedi.—"26th May.—Very heavy rain yesterday afternoon; road "after the descent from Senafè much cut up; water a foot and a half deep; ran off in about three hours. I "had to send as many as a dozen men to help one cart. A few men under an Engineer could in two or three "hours make the road practicable for carts."

From the Officer Commanding at Rahagedi.—"25th May, 1868.—Flood coming down the Pass from Senafè "direction."

From Officer Commanding at Senafè.—"26th May, 1868.—Road from bottom of Senafè to ghāt impassable "for carts."

“these stores might not in any way interfere with or impede the embarkation of the troops.

“At Antalo, arrangements were made for the return of the Force to Senafè. As soon as the pioneer force, under Major Chamberlain, reached Antalo, the garrison of Antalo moved to Zula. The portion of the force in rear of the pioneer force was divided into five columns, and moved on Adigrat and Senafè. The 1st column left Antalo on May 11th; it consisted of the 3rd Regiment of Sind Horse, the 10th Bengal Cavalry, the B Mountain Battery, the 3rd and 4th Companies of Bombay Sappers and Miners, and the Head-Quarter Wing of the 23rd Punjab Pioneers. The 2nd Column left Antalo on May 12th; it consisted of the 12th Bengal Cavalry, one wing of the 33rd Regiment, and one wing of the 23rd Punjab Pioneers. The 3rd Column marched from Antalo on May 13; it consisted of the Armstrong Battery, the Mortars, the Head-Quarters of the 33rd Regiment, and the K Company of the Madras Sappers. The 4th Column marched on the 14th; it consisted of the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry, Penn's Mountain Battery, the 2nd Company of Bombay Sappers and Miners, the Head-Quarter Wing of the 45th Regiment, and the Head-Quarter Wing of the 10th Native Infantry. The 5th Column marched on the 15th; it consisted of the 3rd Dragoon Guards, the Naval Brigade, the 10th Company Royal Engineers, the 4th (King's Own) Regiment, and the Beloochees. The Head-Quarters of the 1st Division marched with the 4th Column, while the Commander-in-Chief and Head-Quarters' Staff accompanied the 5th Column. Each column took 10 days' rations with it from Antalo, and one from Adigrat.

Return of
the Force
from
Antalo.

Division of
the Force
into five
columns.

Marching
arrange-
ments.

“The sick of the European and native troops in the Depôt Hospitals at Antalo joined their respective corps on arrival there. The Native General Hospital at Antalo, under Surgeon-Major Maitland, with sick followers, &c., accompanied the Antalo Garrison on its march. Surgeon-Major Wyllie's Field Hospital, with the wounded, accompanied the 2nd Column, 1st Division, to Senafè. The European Depôt Hospital, at Antalo, accompanied the 3rd Column, and Surgeon Straker's Field Hospital marched with the 4th Column, and Surgeon Madden's Field Hospital accompanied the 5th Column.

Hospital
arrange-
ments.

“Twelve camels, with riding saddles for foot-sore men, accompanied the Antalo Garrison, and the same number of camels, with riding saddles respectively, marched with the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Columns; 28 riding camels, with saddles, accompanied the 5th Column.

Arrange-
ments for
carrying
sick and
wounded.

“Arrangements for carriage for the sick and wounded, and hospitals and establishments, were made in accordance with the recommendations of Dr. Currie, Inspector-General of Hospitals.

“On the day of the arrival of the 1st Column at Adigrat, the Adigrat Garrison marched on Senafè, and the troops generally as they arrived at Senafè were moved on to Kumayli for embarkation at Zula.

“The 10th Bengal Cavalry was ordered to Zula at once for embarkation, and arrangements were made to move all Cavalry regiments to Zula for early embarkation, in order that the vessels conveying them to India might reach their destination without encountering the heavy gales of the monsoon.

Cavalry
ordered
down for
embarka-
tion.

“The Head-Quarters Wing of the 5th Regiment Native Infantry arrived in Zula after the capture of Magdāla, and was sent back the next day to Bombay. The ships conveying the remaining wing of this regiment, and the 8th Regiment Bombay Native Infantry, were sent back to Bombay from Aden. A wing of the 10th Regiment Bombay Native Infantry, and the company of the Bombay Marine Battalion, located at Senafè, left that station on the 6th May for embarkation at Zula on the 10th.

Embarkations.

26th Regiment, 5th Battery
25th Brigade R. A.

1st Company Native Artillery.

2nd and 18th Bom. N.I.

Conservancy arrangements.

Stores.

Number of Transports at Zula.

Zula Hospital.

"The 26th Regiment (Cameronians) which, 845 strong, had arrived on the 30th and 31st March, the 5th Battery 25th Brigade Royal Artillery, and 1st Company Native Artillery, were under orders to embark for Bombay on the 15th, and a portion of them left Senafè on the 10th for Zula.

"The 18th Native Infantry embarked at Zula on the 11th May, and sailed for Bombay the following day.

"The 2nd Bombay Native Infantry and 21st Punjab Native Infantry embarked as soon as relieved by the 3rd and 25th Regiments Bombay Native Infantry.

"Transports for these troops had already been watered and provisioned, as well as those for the conveyance of all the Cavalry corps.

"Orders were sent for efficient conservancy arrangements in the Suru Pass, while the troops were marching through. Standing camps were pitched at the several stations in the Pass, and arrangements made so that troops passing through might have their meals ready cooked for them on arrival.

"All stores on the highland that could be spared had already been sent from stations to Adigrat and Senafè *en route* to Zula.

"At this time, 77 sailing-vessels in Annesley Bay were ready to carry men and animals, as also 26 steamers to carry troops, capable of towing, besides tug vessels.

"Four of these 26 steamers were kept at Zula till the last, as condensers.

"A large amount of tonnage was also available for stores, and altogether there was, at the termination of the campaign, enough tonnage to move the whole Force with horses, elephants, stores, and 5,000 mules.

"The hospitals at Zula had already been cleared of their sick, and each Department had already sent off every man whose services were not actually required. Vessels allotted to particular regiments were moored as near as possible to each other, and in fact every arrangement was made to ensure the embarkation of the Force in the shortest possible time."*

The Commander-in-Chief at Antalo, on the 12th May, received by telegraph and published in General Orders, the following messages:—

Message from the Queen.

From the Queen.—"The Queen sends hearty congratulation and thanks to Sir Robert Napier and his gallant force on their brilliant success."

Message from the Duke of Cambridge.

From the Duke of Cambridge.—"We all rejoice in your great success, and in that of your gallant and enduring army."

Message from the Sec. of State.

From the Secretary of State for India.—"I congratulate your Excellency with all my heart; you have taught us once more what is meant by an army that can go anywhere, and do anything. From first to last all has been done well."

Circumstances having rendered it impossible to supply the proper quantity of horse rations, the Commander-in-Chief ordered that the rate chargeable to officers for rations supplied for their horses should be 8 annas per diem per horse, from the 15th April, 1868, pending sanction for further retrospective effect.

* Extracted from Report furnished to the Horse Guards by Captain Holland, Assistant Quartermaster-General, dated the 12th of May, 1868.

The subjoined extract from a letter from the Government of India to the Government of Bombay as to the replacement of casualties (caused by epidemic) among the horses of the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers and rank and file of the Sillidar Corps was published for information :—

“The Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council sanctions the horses being replaced, on the condition that the Chunda Fund make good the depreciated value consequent on age of the horses which have died, viz., that the original value be assessed at the Regulation cost of Rs. 200, and a deduction of 10 per cent. for every year of age above four years be made and credited to the Imperial Government, which would then be charged the actual cost of the remounts supplied to replace the casualties.”

Compensation for Cavalry horses.

A Permanent Medical Invaliding Board was ordered to assemble at Zula, for the purpose of reporting on the state of health of all British soldiers on board the hospital ships; and all sick belonging to regiments and batteries under orders for England who were considered unable to endure the fatigues of the overland route, were sent home *via* the Cape, as well as of all men belonging to the 5th Battery 25th Brigade Royal Artillery, 26th and 45th Foot, who might require change of climate, to Europe.

Invaliding Board assembled at Zula.

Officers Commanding British regiments and batteries *en route* to Zula were directed on arrival at that port, to send on board the hospital ship all sick men who, in the opinion of the Regimental Medical Officers, were either unable to go by the overland route should the corps be proceeding to England, or who required change of climate to Europe. Should the corps be returning to India, care was to be taken that each man ordered to proceed to England, *via* the Cape, was provided with documents to show up to what date he had been paid, as also the nature of any claims he might have to make.

Sick ordered on hospital ships.

The necessary discharge documents of all men belonging to corps returning to India were to be prepared as soon as practicable, and forwarded to their respective depôts.

In consideration of the hard marching performed by the Advanced Brigades, the Commander-in-Chief sanctioned a gratuitous issue of one pair of boots to every soldier and public follower who had accompanied his corps beyond Antalo.

Gratuitous issue of boots.

A Board of Officers, experienced in the care and management of animals, assembled at Zula, for the purpose of inspecting and reporting on the state and condition of all horses, mules, and other animals proposed to be embarked for Bombay; and no animal was allowed to be put on board ship that was found too weak, old, lame, or diseased, to sustain a sea voyage.

Board assembled to report on horses.

On the 15th of May, the rear of the Force evacuated Antalo, and marched to Eikullet, where a letter was received from Ras Guksa, the elder brother of Kassai, Prince of Tigré, requesting permission to visit the Commander-in-Chief. Being duly invited, he arrived, and was told that some munitions of war would be presented to Prince Kassai at Senafè. At Eikullet, the widow of King Theodore died in the British camp, from disease of the lungs. She had received every comfort that it was possible to afford her. Her body was attended by a guard of honour and was buried by the priests of the Abyssinian creed in the church of Chelikot. Her son remained with the Commander-in-Chief, and subsequently accompanied him to England.

Antalo evacuated, 15th May.

Death of Theodore's widow.

On the 21st May the Commander-in-Chief reached Adigrat. Here the 2nd Division of the Force was broken up from the date of the 4th Column reaching Senafè, and all troops then remaining in the country were considered as belonging to the 1st Division.

Arrival at Adigrat. 2nd Division broken up.

The Staff of the 2nd Division (Divisional and Brigade) at once embarked for India.

The 2nd (or Lieutenant-Colonel Milward's) Division of Royal Artillery was also broken up from the date of arrival at Senafè of Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, who then assumed the command of all Artillery remaining in the country.

Cavalry
brigade
broken up.

Arrange-
ments for
volunteering
from
regiments
ordered to
England.

Officers'
horses
purchased
by Govern-
ment.

Arrival at
Senafè.

Review in
honour of
the Queen's
birthday.

Durbar
at Senafè.

Presents to
Prince
Kassai.

The appointments of Brigade-Majors and all other Staff connected with the Cavalry ceased from the 24th May, the date appointed for the embarkation of the first Cavalry regiment for India.

Non-commissioned officers and privates belonging to the 3rd Dragoon Guards, A-21 Royal Artillery, B-21 Royal Artillery, 4th Foot, and 33rd Foot, under orders for England, were permitted to volunteer for further service in India.

Column or Station Committees were assembled to receive the names of all such volunteers, nominal rolls of whom were sent in to the Deputy Adjutant-General. The Committees examined the Defaulter Sheets of all men volunteering, and rejected any whom they considered from that record to be decidedly bad characters. Every man was also examined medically, and none allowed to volunteer who were pronounced unfit for further service in India. The Committees explained to those anxious to volunteer that, in the absence of instructions from India, they could only be permitted to volunteer for general service; on arrival at Bombay, however, they would have the usual privilege of selecting the regiment they wished to proceed to from amongst those that would be named in the General Orders.

The Commander-in-Chief sanctioned the purchase for the public service of any horses, the property of officers or gentlemen attached to the Force, that might be pronounced by a Committee suitable for Artillery or Cavalry purposes.

The Committees ordered to assemble at Senafè and Zula for the inspection of all animals the property of Government, previous to embarkation, were authorised to purchase all such horses as might be offered for sale, subject to the approval of General Officers Commanding. The sum given for such horses was in no case to exceed the remount price laid down by Regulation.

The embarkation of the troops having commenced, the number of officers attached to the Land Transport Train was ordered to be reduced as opportunity offered.

On May 24th, the Commander-in-Chief reached Senafè, where, on the 25th, a review of the troops was held in honour of Her Majesty's birthday. Prince Kassai was present, and in the afternoon paid the Commander-in-Chief a private visit. The following day a durbar was held, at which Kassai was received with a salute, and at which he was informed that some arms and ammunition were about to be presented to him. Sir Robert Napier impressed upon him that the weapons were designed solely to aid him in the defence of his own country, and not in the invasion of that of his neighbours. On May 28th, Kassai reviewed his troops, and, leading his horsemen himself, made them, to the number of 2,000, perform various movements, consisting chiefly of furious charges and personal tilts. The British Army had released four chiefs of Tigré from Magdāla, and brought them to Senafè. These were introduced to Kassai, and took an oath of allegiance to him on the Gospels—Kassai, in his turn, swearing that he would accord them his protection. He requested afterwards, in a private audience, that two or three Europeans might be left behind for three months, to teach his soldiery the use of their new weapons; but to this Sir Robert Napier replied, that the soldiers belonged to the Queen of England, and could not be left behind without her special orders, but that any of the men of Tigré whom Kassai would send to Aden, could there be taught how to use their guns.

The presents bestowed upon Prince Kassai were a recognition of his friendly services towards the Expedition. Through the failure of the Land Transport Corps, Sir Robert Napier found himself, at the outset of the campaign, compelled to look to local resources for the supply of transport and commissariat requirements to an extent which he had not intended, and which these resources proved very inadequate to meet.

All that could then be done was to develop to the utmost such sources of supply as were within reach. It must be remembered, that the delay of a fortnight, or even less, might have made the difference between the campaign being terminated before the rains or not. Owing in part to the ravages of locusts, the resources of Abyssinia had fallen so low that special efforts were necessary before it was possible to purchase even the little food that it contained. This was one of many reasons which made it desirable to establish friendly relations with Prince Kassai. Such relations were established at his first meeting with Sir Robert Napier, near Adabaga. During the second interview, at the same place, the Commander-in-Chief saw that the grain, which the Prince had on the previous day promised to collect, would be furnished with all the more certainty if he had cause to expect some tangible acknowledgment of his services; he therefore informed him that if he proved himself a true friend of Her Majesty, he would be presented with the means of defending himself against his enemies; and that, although no promise could be made, it was hoped that guns suitable for mountain warfare might be given him by the Queen of England. Large quantities of grain, to the value of about 10,000 dollars, were soon afterwards sent as a gift to Sir Robert Napier by the Prince himself, at a time when every load of flour was of great value; and the far more important supplies which, with his help, the Commissariat was able to purchase in the province of Enderta, during the halt at Antalo, enabled the force to advance beyond that position. The assurance, therefore, which Sir Robert Napier conveyed to Kassai, near Adabaga, was as fully justified by the result as it appeared expedient at the time. The cordiality and completeness, moreover, with which Prince Kassai, although pressed by Turkish intriguers to oppose the British advance, entered into the views of the British Commander, by appointing some of his confidential chiefs as commissioners with the commanders of our troops in Tigré, tended greatly to secure peaceful intercourse with the people.

Good effects
of Kassai's
friendly
relations.

Object of
of present-
ing Kassai
with arms.

There is, however, another view of the subject which must be mentioned. The best hope of Abyssinia enjoying peace lay in the partition of its provinces between at least two distinct rulers. Many circumstances, independently of the great extent of the country itself, and the geographical barriers which subdivide it, support this view. Any attempt on the part of one chief to take possession of all Abyssinia would not only lead to a long civil war, but to a continuance of anarchy and disorder, if his objects were attained. When the positions of the two chiefs who govern Tigré and Lasta are considered, it does not appear likely that Kassai will ever attack Gobaze, while it is only too probable that the ambition of Gobaze will extend itself to Tigré. Indeed, one of the motives of the latter in not coming to meet the British General appeared to be a fear lest that the latter might require from him a promise that he would not invade Tigré, which promise he was not prepared to make, or at all events to keep, and he feared that he might afterwards incur the resentment of England by breaking such stipulation if made.

The four Tigréan Chiefs who had been released from Magdāla had enjoyed influence in their own province under a former dynasty. Had they not been restored to their homes, they would have been exposed to the danger of destruction by the Gallas, or have been driven to seek a refuge with Gobaze, who would have found them useful agents in any designs against Kassai. They were accordingly taken back to Tigré; but it was apparent that, though this course involved the lesser of two dangers, it might in the end prove a source of trouble to Prince Kassai. All that could be done towards securing their allegiance was done. At Senafè they solemnly took oath, before the Prince, that they would be faithful to him; and Kassai as solemnly promised, in return, to afford them his protection. But this ceremony might or might not have the effect of restraining them from intrigues against him. Therefore, as the British restored them

to a place in his dominions, they were bound to strengthen him against insurrection on their part. Had we left a ruler whom we had found just struggling into power, and whose first use of that power had been for our assistance, exposed to pressing dangers, when we could materially add to his means of self-defence by a gift, which was as nothing compared to our own resources, we should have adopted a course foreign to the characteristic policy of our country towards weaker States, even if hopes of the acknowledgment of his services had not been held out to him.

Consequently, when Sir Robert Napier arrived at Zula, the Field Commissary of Ordnance was authorised to issue Enfield rifles to the 3rd and 25th Regiments Native Infantry, to replace their smooth-bores given to Prince Kassai, and the under-mentioned ordnance, small arms, and ammunition were presented to him :—

6 five and a half inch mortars, with 200 rounds of ammunition per piece, and small stores complete, with 14 sets of mule harness.
 6 four and two-fifths inch howitzers, with 50 rounds of ammunition per piece.
 180 sets of saddlery.
 725 muskets, .656 bore.
 130 fuzils, .656 bore.
 1,650 lbs. powder, Ordnance, Bombay.
 349,000 rounds .656 musket ammunition.
 2,000 do. .67 Cavalry carbine ammunition.
 1,000 do. Sinde Horse pistol ammunition.
 2,200 do. .67 pistol ammunition.
 30 do. of gun, Armstrong, 12-pounder ammunition.
 585,480 caps, percussion, with a due proportion of packing material.

The following is a list of the articles of Commissariat stock made over to Prince Kassai :—

List of Commissariat stock handed over to Kassai.	Names of Articles.		Number or Quantity.	Names of Articles.		Number or Quantity.
	FROM SENAFE DEPÔT.			Dead Stock.		
	Biscuit	bags	2,000	Empty bags, canvas	bales	32
	"	barrels	80	Grindstones	number	92
	Rice	bags	3,888	Beam scales	sets	4
	Flour (barrels 400, bags 900) ..		1,300	Horses' shoes	boxes	4
	Flour, 1st sort	boxes	20	Tinning materials	"	4
	Sugar	bags	380	Pickaxes	number	30
	Wheat	"	96	Shovels	"	30
	Grain	"	700	Steelyards	"	8
	Preserved potatoes	box	1	Buckets, zinc	"	20
	Onions	bags	50	Lanterns	"	12
	Oil cans	cans	2	Crowbars	"	6
	Lime juice	kegs	8	Weights, iron, from 56 lbs. to 14 lbs.	sets	4
	Porter	hogsheads	9	Pumps, copper	number	15
	Compressed forage	bales	181	Dales, leather	"	80
	Hay	"	80	Puckalls, leather	"	150
	Wood	hogsheads	400,000	Tarpaulins, large	"	90
	Live Stock.			Sieves	"	2
	Bullocks	number	72	Awnings	"	8
	Sheep	"	5	Triangles, bamboo	"	14

They were the
 presents with
 which King
 John was his battle
 against Goberse,
 near Addis Ababa, the 11/11/11
 1871. Cf. Ch. de M. II,
 T. I, p. 119, n. 1. and
 the author's photo.

LIST OF ARTICLES—continued.

Names of Articles.	Number or Quantity.	Names of Articles.	Number or Quantity.
<i>Dead Stock—continued.</i>		<i>FROM RAHAGEDİ DEPÔT—cont.</i>	
Tarpaulins, small number.	220	Oil, cocoa-nut lbs.	138·2
Bullock hides "	400	Candles "	59,778
Sheep skins "	1,400	Hay "	2,010
Sheds, Commissariat stores "	2	Beans "	4,505
Canvas paulins "	150	Barley "	10385·10
Weights, iron, 7 lbs. "	1	Compressed forage "	
STORES issued to the natives of Abyssinia on leaving Senafè, for services performed:—		Grain "	
<i>Samuel.</i>		<i>Dead Stock.</i>	
Sugar bags	2	Buckets, zinc number	4
Rice "	15	Cock, brass "	1
Flour "	15	Measures, copper, $\frac{1}{2}$ gallon "	2
<i>Mudbeen, Shoun Amer, Abdoola, Ibrahim, suppliers of native carriage, each—</i>		Steel yards "	2
Sugar bags	1	Funnel, tin "	1
Rice "	10	Hammer, cooper "	1
Flour "	10	Chisels, cooper "	1
<i>Three muccadums for the supply of wood, and two ditto for the supply of grass, each—</i>		Driver, cooper "	1
Rice bags	5	Scales, copper, small "	2
<i>FROM RAHAGEDİ DEPÔT.</i>		Weights, iron, 56 lbs. "	2
Biscuit lbs.	5,403	" " 28 lbs. "	1
Flour, 1st sort. "	473	" " 14 lbs. "	1
Rice, 1st sort "	7,361	" " 7 lbs. "	1
Sugar "	891	" " $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ set	1
Tea "	720	" " 4 lbs. to 2 oz. "	1
Onions "	126	Triangle with scales number	1
Porter gallons	409	Tents "	2
Flour, 2nd sort lbs.	10071·10	Choppers, butcher's "	2
Rice, 2nd sort "	24655·4	Knives, large "	1
Dhall "	12411·12	" small "	2
Ghee "	801·6	Saw "	1
Salt "	2515·13	Tarpaulins, 1st size, large "	40
Tobacco "	..	<i>FROM UNDUL WELLS DEPÔT.</i>	
Turmeric "	3712·15	Biscuits lbs.	38
Pepper "	50	Sugar "	1297·12
Kokum "	447	Salt "	3,146
Garlic "	70	Rice, 1st sort "	2,424
Chillies "	162·1 $\frac{7}{16}$	" 2nd sort "	16,294
Coriander seeds "	179	Flour, 2nd sort "	1,103
Mustard "	50	Dhall "	7,431
Pickles "	88	Ghee "	939
Lime juice "	..	Turmeric "	20
		Chillies "	10
		Kokum "	136
		Coriander seed "	254
		Grain "	7,818
		Barley "	2,478
		Beans "	740
		Hay "	45,507
		Tobacco, country "	52
		Porter gallons	230

Reserve
ammunition
destroyed.

The Ordnance Department was at Senafè authorised to destroy a quantity of reserve ammunition on the highlands, no carriage being available for its transmission to Zula.

In the mean time, corps and batteries were gradually moved down to Zula pursuant to orders issued in the Quartermaster-General's Department, at whose disposal all troops were now placed for embarkation.

Sanitary
arrange-
ments in
Suru Pass.

Sanitary arrangements in the Suru Pass were not omitted, latrines were dug and establishments were placed at each station to fill them in on the departure of the troops, to bury offal, to burn all dead animals, and to arrange for all conservancy matters. An officer was appointed at each station in the Pass for the duty of seeing the conservancy arrangements properly carried out.

Tents, ammunition, and entrenching tools in charge of regiments were packed and given over to the Staff Officer at Senafè, who arranged for their transmission to the Ordnance Store Depôt at Zula, forwarding duplicates of the receipts given by him, for the information of the Field Commissary of Ordnance. Such hospital stores and sick carriage as were not required for the journey down the Pass were also handed over to the Staff Officer at Senafè.

Marching
arrange-
ments down
the Pass.

Movements down the Pass were efficiently carried out by the Quartermaster-General's Department, as well as the embarkation arrangements at Zula, during which not a single mishap occurred. Troops marched from Senafè to Undul, Undul to Suru, Suru to Kumayli; and on arrival at Kumayli got into the train, and proceeded at once to the pier-head at Zula, where steamers were ready to take them on board their respective transports. They left Senafè at 4 P.M., arrived at Rahagedi about 7 P.M., where tea was ready for them; thence they marched on Undul at 2 A.M., and left Undul for Suru at 2 A.M. next day, and marched from Suru that night at midnight on Kumayli, where a train was ready at 5 A.M. to take them to the pier-head, there to embark at once. An after-train left at 7 A.M. with their kits, which were shipped on board as soon as they arrived at the pier-head. Breakfasts, dinners, and teas were cooked and ready for the men at Undul and Suru, and breakfast at Kumayli, dinners being ready for them on board ship. Each regiment or corps sent an indent for rations twenty-four hours a-head to the Commissariat agents at Rahagedi, Undul, Suru, and Kumayli, and to the Deputy Commissary-General at Zula, in order that all might be ready on board ship on their arrival. Standing camps had already been ordered to be pitched at the stations in the Pass. Cooks and cooking pots were sent to each station in the Pass; also rations for men, horses, mules, &c. The men's kits were taken down in carts. One mule was given for every two men to ride from Senafè to Kumayli.

All surplus regimental tents or baggage, and Commissariat or Ordnance stores at Senafè or Adigrat, not required for the troops on their return march, were packed under the superintendence of an officer, and sent down with an escort to Zula, where they were stored under a guard till claimed. All regimental baggage at Antalo, or Commissariat stores not required for the troops, and which could be conveyed by native carriage, were sent to Zula in advance of the troops, under a suitable escort.

Services of
G Battery
14th Brigade
Royal
Artillery
and Arm-
strong Guns.

The movements of the Armstrong Battery, as far as Magdāla, have already been shown.* Their return march from Magdāla was a work of no slight difficulty. On the 14th of April, the day after the battery was engaged at Magdāla, it was laden on elephants in the afternoon, and marched to the Second Brigade camp. The horses were sent on to the Bashilo (7 miles) for water, which they had been without for 48 hours.

* See pages 13, 40, 63. Chapters XIV, XVIII, XIX.

They returned about midnight, and on the 15th marched to the Bashilo; on the 16th to the Talanta Plain, when one of the elephants died on the ghât, and was thrown into the ravine. On the 21st they commenced the return march. Captain Murray describes this as follows:—

“April 22nd. Descended to the Jedda, and marched up the opposite side to Bet Hor; took the battery on wheels the first half of the descent, then loaded it on elephants; left at 8 A.M., arrived at midnight. 23rd. Marched to Sindi on wheels. 24th. Marched to Gahso on wheels; when about 2 miles from camp, the horses were so fatigued that we had to dismount the metal and put it on elephants; left at 7 A.M., arrived at 4 P.M. 25th. Marched to the Takazze; left with carriages in draught, metal on elephants, at 6 A.M.; on arriving at the head of the ghât, took the battery to pieces and packed it on elephants; reached camp at 8 P.M. 26th. Marched to Muja; battery on elephants; left at 10 A.M., arrived at 4.30 P.M. 27th. Shot three horses before marching to Dildi; battery on elephants; ordered to march in rear of the baggage animals. Just as it was getting dark, and about 4 miles from Dildi, a complete block took place. Attempted for hours to get along; but finding it of no use, halted and unloaded the elephants, though not before two had dispossessed themselves of their loads, one throwing a gun-carriage into the ravine, and another falling over the side of the road with a gun. 28th. Started at daybreak; loaded the gun-carriage, but in loading the gun the spar broke; left a guard with the gun, till another spar could be got; arrived in camp about 8 o'clock A.M.; the gun left behind was brought in about 1 o'clock P.M. 30th. Marched to Marawah; battery on elephants; left at 8.30 A.M.; the elephants very much fatigued, and continually throwing their loads; had to leave four to come on as they could, with a portion of the gunners; arrived in camp with the remainder, at midnight; the four left behind came in at 5 o'clock the next morning.

“May 1st. Marched to Lat; battery on elephants; left at 8.30 A.M., arrived at 5 P.M., except one elephant, which came in the next morning. So many elephants had now become weary, there was not a single spare one; and when one broke down on the march, had to leave him and his load under a guard, until he had rested sufficiently to be able to proceed, or until one could be sent back from the camp to bring the load in. 3rd. Marched to Mussagita; left at 7 A.M., arrived at 3 P.M.; very heavy rain and hail during the march; the elephants continually slipping and throwing their loads. 4th. Marched to Ashangi; left at 7 A.M., arrived mid-day. 5th. Marched to Mākan; left at 7 A.M., arrived at 3 P.M.; elephants refreshed considerably by the previous two short marches. 6th. Marched to Bulago; left at 7 A.M., arrived mid-day; very heavy rain. 7th. Marched to Atsala; one horse shot on the march. The tents were so wet, from the heavy rains the night before, that battery could not start until 9.30 A.M. The camping ground was a perfect swamp. Before we had got 300 yards from the camp, one of the elephants completely broke down, and had eventually to be shot. There happened to be a spare one, and so shifted the load to it. On arriving at the top of the first hill, a tremendous storm of hail came down. An elephant, carrying a gun-carriage, threw it off and refused to stir; reloaded the carriage three times, and each time he threw it off, and would not move an inch. After the third time he lay down on his side, and nothing could be done with him; left a guard and a detachment strong enough to put the carriage up, when another elephant could be sent back for it. About a hundred yards down the other side of the hill, a second elephant lay down and refused to move; this one had eventually to be shot; a guard was left with him. On arriving at the foot of the hill, two of the others commenced to lag behind; the rest went on under a Serjeant and a detachment. When the foot

Captain
Murray's
report of
return
march of
Armstrong
guns.

“ of the second hill was reached, one of the two got the staggers, and rolled over with
“ her load ; she had also to be left with a guard ; arrived in camp with the remaining
“ one at midnight ; heavy rain or hail the whole day. 8th. At daybreak, some of the
“ men and elephants that had arrived the previous evening were sent back to bring in
“ the loads left behind ; the gun-carriage was brought in at 4 o'clock this afternoon.
“ 9th. Marched to Māshik ; left at 8 A.M., arrived at 4 P.M. 10th. Marched to Masgāh ;
“ left at 11 A.M., arrived at 3 P.M. 11th. Marched to Antalo ; left at 9 A.M., arrived at
“ 1.30 P.M. ; carriages on wheels, guns and limber-boxes on elephants. 13th. Marched
“ for Senafè, which was reached, without making a single day's halt, on the 22nd. On
“ the 15th, the forge-cart, with the team, capsized ; the horses came on their backs ;
“ neither men nor horses injured. At Senafè, picked up three wagons which had been
“ sent up from Kumayli. 23rd. Marched at 7 A.M., reached Rahagedi at 1 P.M. ; went
“ down the ghāt in draught. 24th. Left at 6 A.M., arrived at Mayen Wells at 12 o'clock
“ mid-day ; left at 7 P.M., and reached Upper Suru at midnight. The elephants and
“ stores followed shortly after the battery, but their march was continued at once,
“ intending to halt at Lower Suru. On arrival there it was found advisable to continue
“ their march on to Kumayli, which they did, reaching that place about 5 next morning,
“ thus marching, with the escort of gunners from Rahagedi to Kumayli, a distance of
“ 46 miles, between 6 A.M. on the 24th and 5 A.M. on the 25th. The battery in the
“ meanwhile halted at Upper Suru, and proceeded on wheels, at 11 A.M., to go through
“ the Pass, having been assured that the same would be practicable by that hour.
“ 25th. Left Upper Suru at 11 A.M. The Pass was said to be practicable for guns to go
“ down in draught, but before they had proceeded a mile, had to halt while the Sappers
“ blasted the rocks in front. Having got about half-way down the Pass, found it utterly
“ impossible to proceed. Rain commenced, and as constant messages came down, saying
“ that the flood was coming, parked the battery. Carriages were run close together, and
“ lashed, to ensure all possible safety. The horses and all the men, excepting Com-
“ manding Officer and four men who remained as a guard, hurried on to Kumayli, and
“ arrived there at 9 P.M. At 1 o'clock the following morning, gunners and elephants left
“ Kumayli to return to the battery ; this was taken to pieces, and in two trips carried
“ through the Pass to Lower Suru, where the horses met them, and after being again put
“ together, were taken to Kumayli ; arrived about midnight. The battery had now
“ marched 177 miles in 13 days, without a halt. The strength of gunners for 29 elephants,
“ throughout the march, was 26 non-commissioned officers and men ; the remainder
“ being employed necessarily as baggage guard, regimental guard, and with horses. An
“ average of 18 being required to unload a gun-carriage, some idea may be formed of
“ the work these men had to perform, viz., unloading and loading daily 29 elephants,
“ and reloading such as threw their loads on the march. Those who fortunately arrived
“ in camp earlier than the rest were necessarily turned out throughout the night to
“ unload the tired elephants as they reached the camp. This was in addition to the
“ marching, and does not include the numberless occasions on which the battery was
“ taken to pieces and put together again—a work in itself of great labour. The number
“ of horses lost by the battery, between Senafè to Magdāla and back to Zula, was as
“ follows :—One killed by accident, one shot for sore back, and four shot on the march
“ from sheer exhaustion and inability to proceed. The horses dragged the battery about
“ 400 miles, going and returning, marching the remaining portion, carrying harness and
“ drivers. 28th. Left Kumayli at 1 o'clock A.M., arrived at Zula bunder at 6 A.M., and at
“ once commenced embarking battery and horses ; everything was clear of the bunder
“ by the evening. Gunners very much exhausted, not having had a regular night's rest

"since they left Rahagedi. 29th. Completed stowing the battery away on board ship.
"30th. Sailed from Zula at daybreak."

On May 29, the last of the British troops evacuated Senafè. The Commander-in-Chief was accompanied by Prince Kassai to the head of the Pass, where the troops composing the rear-guard were formed up, while a salute was fired in honour of the Prince, who shortly afterwards took leave of Sir Robert Napier, and returned to Senafè. All local information had led to the belief that there would be no danger of floods in the Suru Pass before the middle of June; but owing to the extraordinary severity of the spring rains, a succession of floods, during the early part of May did much damage to the road through the defile. On May 19, with hardly any warning, a heavy flood, coming from a lateral tributary which enters the Pass above Suru, filled the channel of the Suru Defile so suddenly that seven camp followers and some cattle were swept away and perished, although every precaution had been taken by the establishments at the signalling stations at either end of the Pass to prevent such a calamity. By the exertions of the garrison of Suru, the damage to the road in the Pass was rapidly repaired after each flood.

Evacuation
of Senafè.
29th May.

Flood in
Suru Pass.

On May 28th, Mr. Dufton, who had been attached to the Intelligence Department, was attacked by a party of Shohos in the Kumayli Pass, and wounded so severely that death resulted. It is much to be regretted that he disregarded the stringent orders in force against marching without an escort. Possibly he thought his position allowed him a certain degree of latitude in arranging his own movements. No doubt, also, his having travelled a good deal in Abyssinia, and his being well known among the Shohos, had made him less careful of his safety than he otherwise would have been. He had been able to render, in a quiet, unobtrusive way, no inconsiderable service to the Expedition, chiefly in the important work of assisting the Commissariat to purchase supplies from the people. His character had gained him the respect of every one with whom he was associated; and when his remains were interred, at Undul Wells, it was felt by all that the Force had lost an useful and deserving officer. As soon as the report of Mr. Dufton's death was received, a party of the 25th Regiment Native Light Infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Little was sent to obtain, if possible, some clue to the murderers, and to punish them. Lieutenant-Colonel Little's report is given below.*

Mr. Dufton
killed.

25th Regi-
ment sent
to punish
murderers.

* "From Lieutenant-Colonel Little, Commanding 25th Regiment N.I.L., to the Brigade Major, Brigadier-General Schneider's Column.

Lieutenant-
Colonel
Little's
Report.

"Sir,

"Camp Kumayli, 1st June, 1868.

"I do myself the honour to report that, agreeably to instructions, I proceeded with the head-quarters of my regiment yesterday morning to Seaule, the country in the vicinity of the spot where the late Mr. Dufton was attacked. Our party of 50 men under Major Roome (who has doubtless reported his proceedings), accompanied by Lieutenants Poole and Hennell, of the 25th Regiment, proceeded up one ravine, while I with 50 more ascended the heights more in the direction of Suru. We saw a few men in the distant mountains and ravines who made off as we approached. I then moved down the opposite side of the chain of mountains at the bottom of which I could see a few huts; on reaching them, I found them unoccupied except by an old man and woman and a child; nothing was found there belonging to the late Mr. Dufton or Government. I had not proceeded far, when passing under a steep rugged cliff I came on some bundles of kit lying in the path; I searched them but found no stolen property, and was proceeding, when I was saluted by a volley of stones from some six or eight men who were concealed within the rocks, some distance above us. We fired several shots as opportunities offered, but as they kept behind the crest of the hill, little chance was given my men for their shots taking effect; however I sent a few men upon the left hand and others round the hill to the right, when the few Shohos made off at once to the high country; where it was useless attempting to follow, especially as our water was running short and we had several miles yet to march. One of my men received a blow on the head from a stone, but his pagree saved him, though it inflicted a wound, but of no serious nature as he was able to march home with the detachment.

Last column
passes
through the
Suru Pass.

Arrival at
Kumayli.

Arrange-
ments for
re-embarka-
tion.

Survey
Boards on
transports.

Embarka-
tion in May.

On June 1, the Commander-in-Chief, with the last column of the Force, passed through the Suru Defile and reached Kumayli. On the following day he arrived at Zula, where the embarkation of troops, stores, and animals had been busily progressing.

Sir Robert Napier had commenced preparatory arrangements for the re-embarkation of the Force so early as the 21st March, on which date Captain Tryon, the Principal Transport Officer, was informed by Captain Holland, in charge of the Quartermaster-General's Department, of the strength of each regiment, number of transport animals, horses, &c., and tonnage generally required; and Major-General Russell and the Commissariat Department at Zula were, at the same time, requested to make all further arrangements, so that, should the Expedition terminate in April, there might be no delay in the re-embarkation. At the same time the Bombay Government was informed of the arrangements thus ordered, and requested to inform Sir Robert Napier, at as early a date as possible, of the proposed destination of each corps. Application was also made for the services of the three Indian overland troop ships.

Orders had been received from the Horse Guards regarding all regiments which were to go to England. All others were sent to Bombay, and the embarkation was completed as rapidly as possible. Final Survey Boards assembled on each ship, as in Bombay, prior to embarkation. These Survey Boards assembled, as a rule, three days before the date named for the embarkation. The Naval Brigade rejoined Her Majesty's steam frigates "Octavia" and "Satellite," and arrangements were made to prepare and provision ships for all the efficient mules, all the elephants, and 500 of the best camels.

The troops destined for England were despatched to Suez, thence by rail to Alexandria, and by troop transports* home. The Native regiments, and those European regiments that had not completed their period of service, returned to India; the 25th Regiment Bombay Native Light Infantry forming the rear-guard of the Force.

By the 1st June all stations, except Zula and Kumayli, had been finally evacuated. The following Return shows the strength of the several corps serving in the Force on this date :†—

" We regained the Suru road at about 1 o'clock, when I halted during the heat of the day, and rejoined the camp at Suru at about half-past 7 p.m.

" I was accompanied by Mr. Munzinger, by whose advice I was guided as to the line of country I took Lieutenant and Adjutant Withers, Assistant-Surgeon Knapp, of the 25th, also Captain Bates, Transport Train, also accompanied my party.

" My men had a long and fatiguing day's work, and though without food or water, were as eager and willing as I could wish.

" The prisoner under trial by General Merewether, C.B., and who was sent with me, was shot while attempting to escape from the guard. I was not present at the time, but the subject has, I am aware, been reported.

" I have the honour to be, Sir,

" Your most obedient servant,

" A. R. LITTLE, *Lieutenant-Colonel,*

" *Commanding 25th Regiment, N.L.I.*"

* "Simoon," "Crocodile," "Serapis," and "Urgent," were ordered to be at Alexandria by the 26th May.

† Quartermaster-General's Returns, 1st June, 1868.

Strength and disposition of the Force on the 1st of June.

Corps.	Station.	Number of Troops or Companies at each Station.	At Regimental Headquarters, or on detached duty at the Station.					Effective Strength, exclusive of those sent or left at Home or in India.								
			Field Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native Officers.	Staff Serjeants.	Serjeants.	Trumpeters or Drummers.	Farriers.	Rank and File.			Total Non-Commissioned Officers and Men.	Horses, including Officers' Chargers.
												Fit for Duty.	Sick in Hospital.	On Command.		
ROYAL ENGINEERS.																
10th Company..	Zula ..	1	1	..	1	..	..	1	5	1	..	70	3	1	81	1
SAPPERS AND MINERS.																
Bombay Sappers	..	4	..	2	2	2	8	2	20	7	..	435	86	..	500	8
Madras "	..	3	1	2	8	2	5	..	29	6	..	327	..	..	367	13
NATIVE INFANTRY.																
3rd Regiment	Zula ..	8	1	2	5	5	14	..	35	15	..	588	10	..	618	10
25th "	Kumayli.	8	2	..	3	4	12	..	29	13	..	370	17	127	514	12
27th "	"	8	2	1	2	4	15	..	35	16	..	478	114	27	670	10
Total	..	32	7	7	21	17	54	3	153	58	..	2,268	180	155	2,817	54

The following Statement shows in detail the troops that left the shores of Africa in May:—

Departures
of troops in
May.

Corps.	Officers.	Non-Commissioned Officers and Men.	Horses.	Date of Departure.	Destination and in what Ship.
<i>For Bombay.</i>					
18th Regiment Native Infantry .	8	755	9	4th May, 1868	Camperdown.
5th Battery 25th Brigade Royal Artillery	4	98	7	15th " "	Avabhoy.
Details	4	366	10	16th " "	Irwell.
26th Regiment	29	795	20	12th " "	Sir Bartle Frere.
Details	2	294	6	15th " "	Sam Cearns.
Invalids	1	20	..	16th " "	Gavin Steel.
10th Bengal Cavalry	9	448	231	17th " "	Trafalgar.
45th Foot	29	598	14	19th " "	British Princess.
Invalids	..	40	..	22nd " "	Scimitar.
2nd Grenadiers, Native Infantry .	4	430	6	19th " "	Water Witch.
21st Punjab Infantry	10	755	9	22nd " "	Ellen Stuart.
23rd Punjab Pioneers	14	721	..	25th " "	Winchester.
3rd Sind Horse	15	449	205	22nd " "	Dallam Tower.
12th Bengal Cavalry	11	371	180	29th " "	T. A. Gibb.
G Battery 14th Brigade Royal Artillery	11	168	..	29th " "	City of Manchester.
10th Regiment Native Infantry .	7	359	10	22nd " "	Ann Millicent.
Volunteers	7	350	11	23rd " "	Michael Scott.
3rd Light Cavalry	13	414	429	24th " "	Alabama.
				25th " "	Catherine Apcar
				25th " "	Vernon.
				26th " "	Durham.
				26th " "	Howrah.
				25th " "	Malabar.
				25th " "	Surrey.
				25th " "	Beaumaris Castle.
				25th " "	Louisa.
				25th " "	Zoroaster.
				25th " "	Kingston.
				25th " "	Continental.
				29th " "	Nile.
				29th " "	Underley.
				28th " "	Legion of Honour.
				29th " "	Decision.
				29th " "	Sultan.
				29th " "	American.
				29th " "	Canova.
				29th " "	Humber.
				29th " "	Arrundel.
				29th " "	Star of the North.
				29th " "	Queen of Australia.
<i>For Suez.</i>					
33rd Foot	4	590	11	30th May, 1868	Queen.
3rd Dragoons	21	154	..	30th " "	Ottawa.
4th Foot and Royal Artillery ..	51	702	5		England.
Total	254	8,878	1,163		

NOTE.—From Quartermaster-General's Return dated the 1st June, 1868.

On June 10th, Sir Robert Napier, after handing over to the Egyptian Governor, Abdul Kadir Pacha (who offered to take charge of them), the care of some railway plant and buildings which could not conveniently be removed till after the monsoon, and the custody of the British cemetery at Zula, embarked in the "Feroze," accompanied by a few officers of his Staff,* and the Prince Alamayou, and sailed for Suez, whence he was conveyed to England, by rail to Alexandria, and thence in Her Majesty's ship "Urgent" (Captain S. Henderson, R.N.) to Malta and Marseilles.

Charge of stores and cemetery at Zula given over to Egyptian Governor.

The following Report by Captain Tryon, R.N., explains some matters connected with the Naval Transport Department at Zula :—

Departure of Sir R. Napier.

"Till we received decisive information that the object for which the Abyssinian Expedition was undertaken was attained, everything was conducted as though the war was to last an indefinite period.

Captain Tryon's report.

"The only exception to this was, that the arrangements for completing the transports with water, which necessarily would occupy much time and many steamers, were commenced so soon as the Force was known to be actually advancing on Magdāla.

"At one time we had no less than nine first-class steamers condensing with their main engines into vessels requiring to be supplied with water.

Arrangements for watering transports.

"It was necessary to collect in Abyssinia as many stores of all descriptions as would provide against the season of the south-west monsoon, when no sailing-vessel could make the passage from Bombay to this port.

"All stores were pushed to the front, and to a distant point, as rapidly as possible; the stations or posts were held by as few men as was consistent with their safety; the labour at Zula was continually being drafted to the front to supply wants there, and but very few coolies arrived to take the place of those thus removed, or of the very large number that were returned as unfit to India: thus the labour on the beach was far too little for the work to be done.

"From this, as well as from other causes, a very large number of sailing-vessels were detained in Annesley Bay longer than they otherwise would have been. The store-houses were not sufficiently capacious.

Cause of detention in Annesley Bay of so many vessels.

"After a time, sailing-vessels could not be expected to make a second trip to Annesley Bay before the change of seasons, besides weekly mails had to be run to Suez and to Bombay. These vessels returned here loaded, and it was decided to clear steamers in preference to all other vessels, and to keep them going.

"At no time would it have been difficult to have cleared the vessels, but it could only have been done by pitchforking the stores on to the beach, and leaving them there; for there were neither men enough to remove nor storehouses to receive them.

"We had several sharp warnings which showed us that exposed stores would certainly perish. The local rains, or rain on the hills, would cover the plain with pools of water and innumerable streams, which would rapidly run off into the sea, but would certainly destroy any stores not placed in safety. Again, during spring tides, if the wind was a little stronger than usual, and a point or two more to the eastward, it would carry the sea-water far inland, over the very low shore; and though barriers were thrown up to check this, they were not always sufficiently high or strong.

"When Magdāla fell, and we became aware that the campaign, as far as the object of it was concerned, was over, it became necessary to arrange for the return of the troops.

* Colonel the Honourable F. Thesiger, Deputy Adjutant-General, Lieutenant-Colonel Dillon, Military Secretary, Captain Holland, Assistant Quartermaster-General, Captain Speedy, Amharic Interpreter, Lieutenant Twcedie, Political Secretary, Lieutenant Scott and Cornet Lord C. Hamilton, Aides-de-camp.

"The position of the main body of the Force may be described as being at the extreme end of a long chain of posts, which had a bare sufficiency of men to guard them.

"It is apparent that, with a force so situated, but very few troops or followers could be spared to be embarked till the main body had gained, on their return march, a position of security, not only with reference to their supplies, but in case the Suru Pass should be so impracticable from the threatening rains as to necessitate their delay on the highlands any considerable time.

"The return of the Force necessitated the landing and sending to the front large quantities of stores to place the different stations in a state of efficiency to receive and victual the troops on their return.

Insufficiency of labour at Zula.

"Thus, as I have already pointed out that the labour on the beach was insufficient, there was no cessation to their ordinary work, viz., landing stores and pushing them to the front; and, as it was, the number of hours the men were kept to their work was considered excessive, and several remonstrances were made by the medical authorities, and not before it was necessary, for many were prostrated from the effects of the sun and overwork.

"It will be apparent, therefore, if the above remarks are accepted, that it was not possible to do much to prepare ships to receive men and animals; nor was it possible to detail ships with any degree of accuracy, as there was the widest divergence of opinion as to the number of 'cooking' or 'non-cooking' men left with the different corps.

"Great changes had been made in the composition of the Force since its last arrival in the country, to render it better suited for the work before it; however, the ships were prepared as soon as embarkation returns were received from the front.

"A considerable number of our best steamers, which were greatly relied on to re-embark the Force, were absent either at Bombay or Suez; and these, when they arrived, were not prepared to embark troops, &c., being loaded, holds and decks being crammed with all descriptions of stores; these had to be removed to sailing-vessels, which were prepared and kept in readiness for the purpose.

Necessity to send ships in tow of steamers as far as Cape Furtak.

"On no occasion were men detained more than one day on board; and this, when it did occur, was the result of some sudden pressure, or of some unavoidable change in arrangement. It must be borne in mind that it was considered necessary to escort sailing-vessels with steamers, in the first instance as far as Cape Furtak, then 60 miles beyond Aden, and always as far as the latter place. It thus was necessary to arrange matters to fit the steamers we had at our command, and to load sailing-vessels of proper sizes simultaneously with suitable steamers. Thus, when any change occurred which necessitated the delay of a single vessel, whether the alteration was due to the difficulties of bringing the men down the Pass, or from any other cause, it was liable to cause the detention, if of a steamer, of the sailing-vessels she was to tow also, or, if of a sailing-vessel, of the steamer that was to tow her, as we could not afford to start steamers without the vessels to which they were attached.

"Great care was taken to discover all deficiencies in the equipment of the vessels before they left this port, and I trust that the object was secured by the precautions that were taken.

Embarkation arrangements.

"The regiments had part of their baggage with them, and a part was left on board a store-ship at Zula. The troops came in from Kumayli in the morning; medical surveys were held; invalids, as selected, were despatched to ships for conveyance to England, *via* Suez or *via* the Cape, or to India if necessary. Horses and animals were inspected and cast on arrival, and spare animals were kept in readiness to ship in their

“place, and baggage had to be sorted. All this took place on the beach. The troops embarked and sailed the following morning.*

“The baggage from the “Indian Chief” (the store-ship) was sent direct to the respective head-quarter vessels, directly the vessels were selected for the different portions of the Force; and an officer of each corps was sent on in advance, to be responsible for its proper distribution.

“I believe that whether we regard the extreme distance of Magdāla from the beach, or the narrow pass through which the Force had to be brought—a gorge up which the road at one time was so good a four-in-hand might have been driven, and yet a few hours afterwards it would be filled with a raging torrent, which equally suddenly, in its turn, subsided, leaving but few traces of the road, but in its place huge projecting boulders washed bare; and up the bed of this dry torrent, till the road was temporarily renewed, it was barely possible for foot people to scramble.

“When one recalls these circumstances, one cannot do otherwise than appreciate the punctuality with which the Force arrived at Zula, and the foresight which directed its movements.

Punctuality of arrival of troops at Zula on dates originally specified.

“The tonnage that was collected at Zula for re-embarking men and animals was ample for all. The animals appear to have suffered much on the return march, and their numbers were much reduced in consequence.

“Our resources for embarking the Force were ample. Six to nine vessels could be victualled a-day, without disturbing other arrangements. We had nine large iron lighters and four tugs, three steam water-tanks, besides a large number of native boats.

Iron barges.

“The iron barges were admirably adapted for the purpose; they held 300 men, or 120 mules, or 60 Cavalry men, with horses, &c., or 8 to 10 elephants.

“They receive a locomotive with ease, had good anchors, chain and windlass to weigh with, hauling lines, &c. A small housing was put up aft, to protect their crew, and they carried a large cargo safely and well, under all circumstances. These lighters had a crew of a Tindal and six men, and their draught of water was small.”

The following extract from the fortnightly Report furnished to the Horse Guards by Captain Holland, Assistant Quartermaster-General, on the 11th June, 1868, explains the state of affairs generally on the day Sir Robert Napier quitted Africa.

Captain Holland's report of 11th June.

“By the time that the Commander-in-Chief left Zula, 4,332 mules and ponies, 860 draught bullocks, and about 650 carts, had been shipped and sent to Bombay. Tonnage was then available in Annesley Bay for 600 bullocks and 100 ponies, in addition to the above. These were shipped on the 11th and 12th June.

Land Transport Corps.

“The remaining animals of the Transport Train were left on the coast of Abyssinia, under the charge of the acting British Consul at Massowah, Mr. Münzinger. These numbered 6,065 camels, 1,257 donkeys, and about 6,000 mules and ponies. Most of them were in poor condition, and unfit to be sent on a sea voyage to India at that season of the year. The pack bullocks had been disposed of, generally as beef, to the several ships in harbour, and to meet the requirements at Aden.

Number of animals left with Mr. Münzinger.

“The arrangements made with Mr. Münzinger for the care of the animals left in his charge, were, that he should engage a sufficient number of watchers to provide for their safety while grazing on the ground to the north and north-west of Massowah, and along the eastern edge of Abyssinia, where forage and water were said to be abundant. No

Arrangements for their care.

* Arrangements for the embarkation of the Force were made on the 21st March. See page 102. The date proposed for the embarkation of each corps was fixed by the Quartermaster-General's Department on the 1st of May, and the programme then arranged carried out, with very slight deviations.—See accompaniment No. 4 to Sir R. Napier's despatch, dated 19th May, 1868, page 468, Chapter XXXVIII.

- “charge was to be made against the State for forage; and the only expense to be incurred by Government, under this arrangement, was to be the pay of the watchmen and a commission of 5 per cent. to M. Münzinger on account of any animals sold by him. M. Münzinger gave receipts for all that were handed over to him, and received instructions to comply with any requisitions made upon him for Transport Train animals by the Governments of India, Bourbon, and the Mauritius. The Transport Train had to the last been employed in moving the tents, baggage, ammunition, and stores of the Army from Antalo to Zula, and in clearing out the several depôts on the line of march.
- Railway.** “The railway had been in use altogether three months, though it was only within the last month that the whole line had been open to traffic. On the 24th May, the Commissariat Department reported that no more carriage for stores from Zula to Kumayli would be required; and about this date the troops forming the Magdāla force commenced arriving at Kumayli, on their march to the sea-coast, and were conveyed by rail to Zula.
- Traffic returns.** “From the traffic returns it appears that in three months the railway had carried 9,000 tons Commissariat stores $9\frac{1}{4}$ miles; 2,400 tons of material $9\frac{1}{4}$ miles; 14,000 troops and 10,000 followers 12 miles; and 2,000 tons of baggage 12 miles. This work had been performed without accident; and for the short time and distance the railway had been in use, it proved invaluable in that it saved, during the hottest period of the year, the troops and baggage animals one of the most trying marches they would otherwise have had to undergo.
- Rails and sleepers.** “It was not thought advisable to delay the departure of the few troops at Zula, in order to remove the rails, sleepers, and sheds, many of these being considered not worth the cost of the demurrage that would have to be paid on account of detention of shipping for their conveyance to Aden or India.
- Locomotives.** “All the locomotive engines were shipped, as well as every article connected with the railway which it was considered possible to remove, without delaying the embarkation of the troops.
- Telegraph.** “All the telegraph wire stretched in Abyssinian territory (that is from Antalo to Senafè) was taken down and brought to Zula. The rapid march of the Army, however, from Senafè to Kumayli through the Pass, to save detention from the floods, prevented that portion of the line, which had been erected between these two stations, from being removed.
- “The following tabular Statement shows the number of messages sent from each station :—

Number of messages sent.	From.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	Grand Total.
	Zula	165	333	399	324	518	1,739
	Kumayli	175	309	302	200	446	1,432
	Suru	..	108	187	119	240	654
	Undul	..	127	218	134	327	806
	Rahagedi	..	96	200	137	413	846
	Senafè	..	146	370	250	507	1,273
	Focada	..	..	..	16	52	68
	Adigrat	..	..	245	175	171	591
	Antalo and the Head-Quarters of the Army ..	..	..	18	170	251	439
	Total during 5 months	340	1,119	1,939	1,525	2,925	7,848

"The works executed between Antalo and Kumayli, for the advance, for the supply of water, were in use during the return of the Army. The pumps were taken up and carried to the sea-coast as each station was evacuated.

Well-sinkers and water supply.

"On the 19th of May, the works at Upper Suru were entirely washed away by a heavy thunderstorm. At Kumayli, the works were also damaged by the same flood. The restoration of these works, however, was completed by the 26th of May; and they were more strongly protected in case of the re-occurrence of similar floods.

Thunder-storm and flood.

"In the meantime, temporary arrangements were made for watering the depôt at Kumayli.

"The delivery of water on the 1st June, at Kumayli, was in excess of 500 tons daily, exclusive of 3,000 gallons despatched to the railway terminus, three quarters of a mile distant, for the use of the men employed there, and the troops proceeding to Zula.

Delivery of water at Kumayli on 1st June.

"As the station of Kumayli gradually cleared out, and troops, followers, and transport animals removed to Zula for embarkation, the demand for water daily decreased till June 9th, when the station was finally evacuated and the water arrangements closed, the pumps being removed and stored on board ship for transmission to Bombay.

"The officer in charge of the arrangements for water-supply reported that the suction, force, and portable hand-pumps supplied by Messrs. Owen and Clinton, and the Bastier chain-pumps supplied by Mr. Jackson, had acted admirably throughout.

Postal Department.

"The detachments of Cavalry told off for postal duty at the several stations along the line of communications, rejoined their regiments on their return march, and embarked for Bombay. When Kumayli was evacuated, no inland post was of course required. One steamer left Annesley Bay for Suez with the mail for England, as soon as the last of the stores had been shipped and the troops embarked.

Roads and approaches.

"The returning Army found the road from Antalo to Adigrat improved. From Adigrat to Senafè a good cart road had been made over the original rough track; and from Senafè to Kumayli the road was found in fair order, although it had on several occasions been severely damaged by floods through the Pass, particularly on the 19th May, when a very violent flood came down in the neighbourhood of Suru, completely destroying the old road, and carrying away by its force seven native followers and several baggage animals. The repairs to the road, however, had been well carried out; and it was quite practicable for carts when the last column marched into Kumayli on the 1st June."

Heavy flood.

As soon as the news of the probable early termination of operations in Abyssinia reached England, the Secretary of State for War despatched two Commissioners, Messrs. Elliott and Robinson, to Zula, to advise as to the disposal of stores, and to value, on behalf of the Imperial Government, all stores sent back to India. When the vessel conveying these gentlemen arrived at Zula, it had to be placed in quarantine, and Mr. Elliott, shortly after his arrival, died at Zula of heat apoplexy. In consequence of this melancholy event, and the rapidity with which the re-embarkation and re-shipment of stores had taken place, the duty on which these Commissioners had been sent to Zula, could not be carried out.

War Office send two Commissioners to value stores.

Mr. Elliott's death.

Duty abandoned.

Final em-
barkation
and return.

The following Return, framed by the Quartermaster-General's Department, shows the number of troops, followers, and cattle embarked at Zula from the commencement of the re-embarkation (11th of May) to the departure of Sir Robert Napier on the 10th June :—

Name and Description of Transport.	Date of Departure.	Destination.	Corps or Department.	Numbers Embarked.						
				Officers.	European Troops.	Native Troops.	Followers.	Horses.	Mules or Ponies.	Civilians.
Sailing Vessel, Camperdown ..	11th May	Bombay ..	18th Native Infantry ..	8	..	755	51	9	..	..
" Avabhoy ..	"	"	"	..	..	..	100	..	..	..
Steamer, John Bright ..	"	Aden ..	Transport Train ..	..	..	..	86	..	..	..
" Pearl ..	12th	Bombay ..	"	..	..	..	88	..	..	..
Sailing Vessel, Sunbeam ..	"	Aden ..	"	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
" Sam Cearns ..	"	Bombay ..	Details ..	4	..	366	110	10	..	1
" Hodeida ..	13th	Suez ..	Transport Train ..	..	..	..	121	..	..	20
Steamer, Japan ..	15th	"	Bazarmen ..	1	..	..	..	..	..	3
Sailing Vessel, Irwell ..	"	Bombay ..	5th Bat. 25th Brig. } R.A. ..	3	97	..	61	5	85	1
" Gavin Steel ..	"	"	26th Regiment ..	13	378	..	25	6	..	2
Steamer, Sir Bartle Frere ..	16th	"	5th Bat. 25th Brig. } R.A. ..	1	1	..	119	2	80	..
Sailing Vessel, Trafalgar ..	"	"	26th Regiment ..	16	417	..	50	14	..	3
Steamer, General Outram ..	"	"	Transport Train ..	..	..	..	41	..	..	1
Sailing Vessel, Teazer ..	"	"	"	..	1	..	148	..	..	3
" British Princess ..	17th	"	Detachment ..	2	1	293	115	6	..	..
" Annie Frost ..	19th	"	Transport Train ..	2	1	2	89	3	163	..
" Scimitar ..	"	"	Invalids ..	1	..	25	310	..	..	..
" Waterwitch ..	"	"	10th Bengal Cavalry ..	1	..	76	146	53	18	..
" Ellen Stuart ..	22nd	"	"	1	..	109	84	39	73	..
Steamer, Indore ..	"	Suez ..	Commissariat ..	7	..	..	58	..	..	7
" T. A. Gibb ..	"	Bombay ..	45th Regiment ..	7	290	..	25	3	..	3
Sailing Vessel, Ann Millicent ..	"	"	Invalids ..	..	..	40	254	2	..	9
" Michael Scott ..	23rd	"	2nd Native Infantry ..	4	..	430	66	6	..	..
" Alabama ..	24th	"	21st Punjab Infantry ..	2	..	218	65	1	70	..
Steamer, Catherine Apcar ..	"	"	"	5	..	226	55	4	60	..
Sailing Vessel, Vernon ..	"	"	"	3	..	311	61	4	70	..
" Winchester ..	25th	"	10th Bengal Cavalry ..	4	..	136	72	75	19	..
" Dallam Tower ..	"	"	"	3	..	127	110	64	76	..
" Durham ..	"	"	23rd Punjab Infantry ..	5	..	178	96	6	77	..
" Howrah ..	"	"	"	5	..	172	71	48	14	..
" Zoroaster ..	"	"	Sind Horse ..	2	..	117	38	49	29	1
" Kingston ..	"	"	"	1	..	112	58	59	36	..
Steamer, Lord Elphinstone ..	"	Aden ..	Transport Train ..	..	..	..	25	..	..	..

Name and Description of Transport.	Date of Departure.	Destination.	Corps or Department.	Numbers Embarked.						
				Officers.	European Troops.	Native Troops.	Followers.	Horses.	Mules or Ponies.	Civilians.
Sailing Vessel, Beaumaris Castle	25th May	Bombay ..	Sind Horse	9	..	103	53	53	20	..
" Louisa	" "	" "	" "	3	..	117	15	44	28	..
" Malabar	26th "	" "	23rd Punjab Infantry ..	3	..	206	77	19	64	..
" Surrey	" "	" "	" "	1	..	165	86	4	83	..
" Continental ..	" "	" "	12th Bengal Cavalry ..	2	..	81	67	63	63	..
" Nile	" "	" "	" "	4	..	90	85	10	93	..
Steamer, Krishna ..	27th May	" "	Transport Train ..	5	..	49	259	4	..	..
Sailing Vessel, Cowasjee Jehangir ..	" "	" "	" 220 bullocks ..	..	1	..	153	..	..	..
" " " " " "	" "	Aden ..	" " " " " "	1	..	8	153	1	20	..
" Faizul Kurreem ..	" "	Bombay ..	Invalids	1	2	18	155	..	..	..
" Decision	28th "	" "	{ G. Bat. 14th Brig. } R.A.	6	48	..	120	7	77	1
Steamer, Sultan	" "	" "	" " " " " "	5	120	..	31	..	..	1
" Dessuck	" "	Suez ..	Transport Train ..	..	..	..	194	..	..	..
" American	29th "	Bombay ..	10th Native Infantry ..	7	..	359	52	10	..	..
Sailing Vessel, City of Manchester ..	" "	" "	45th Regiment	22	308	..	54	11	..	2
" Canova	" "	" "	Volunteers	7	350	..	19	11	..	1
" Underly	" "	" "	12th Bengal Cavalry ..	3	..	107	117	41	90	..
" Legion of Honor ..	" "	" "	" " " " " "	2	..	93	60	66	47	..
" Humber	" "	" "	3rd Bombay Cavalry ..	3	..	110	53	105	..	..
" Arundel	" "	" "	" " " " " "	2	..	89	31	92	..	..
" Star of the North ..	" "	" "	" " " " " "	4	..	99	91	110	..	..
" Queen of Australia ..	" "	" "	" " " " " "	4	..	116	84	122	..	..
Steamer, Queen	30th "	Suez ..	33rd Regiment	4	590	..	..	11	..	..
" Ottawa	" "	" "	3rd Dragoon Guards ..	21	154	..	21	..	..	18
Sailing Vessel, Moderation ..	31st "	Bombay ..	Invalids	..	..	..	241	..	..	..
" Compta	" "	" "	With 17 elephants ..	1	3	1	160	1	..	..
" Hahnehman	" "	" "	" 22 " " " "	1	1	..	46	..	..	..
Steamer, Mula	" "	" "	Transport Train ..	..	..	..	250	..	..	1
" England	1st June	Suez ..	{ Royal Artillery and } 4th Ft.	51	702	..	..	5	..	..
" Bengal	3rd June	Madras ..	Coolies	4	..	..	167	2	..	2
" " " " " "	" "	Calcutta ..	" " " " " "	7	..	1	393	13	..	..
" Arabia	" "	Kurrachee ..	27th Bombay N. I. ..	3	..	343	40	..	..	2
Sailing Vessel, Howden ..	2nd "	Bombay ..	" " " " " "	2	..	536	500	4	..	..
" Empire of Peace ..	3rd "	" "	Transport Train ..	5	7	17	556	3	..	..
" Dilawur	" "	" "	" " " " " "	1	2	7	174	..	190	..
" Star of Brunswick ..	" "	" "	" " " " " "	1	..	7	302	..	213	17
Steamer, Kangaroo	" "	" "	Commissariat	12	..	76	362	..	..	..
" India	" "	Kurrachee ..	27th Bengal N. I. ..	3	287	40	8	..	..	..
Sailing Vessel, Ophir	" "	Bombay ..	Coolies	..	1	420	..	..	..	..
Turkish Steamer, Cosseir ..	" "	Suez ..	" " " " " "	..	..	..	181	..	..	..

Name and Description of Transport.	Date of Departure.	Destination.	Corps or Department.	Numbers Embarked.						
				Officers.	European Troops.	Native Troops.	Followers.	Horses.	Mules or Ponies.	Civilians.
Sailing Vessel, Western Star	4th June	Bombay..	Coolies	1	..	..	352	..	..	..
" Defiance ..	" "	" "	"	1	1	..	268	1	171	..
" Geraint ..	" "	" "	"	1	2	..	148	..	189	..
" Mai Blume ..	" "	" "	Details	1	..	53	45	98	..	..
" Middlesex ..	5th "	Madras ..	Madras Sappers ..	13	14	333	104	14	..	..
" Royal ..	" "	Bombay ..	Transport Train ..	3	5	26	745	10	..	..
" Standard ..	" "	" "	"	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hospital Steamer, Mauritius ..	" "	Suez ..	Details	33	111	..	..	..	..	..
Sailing Vessel, City of Dublin.	6th "	Bombay ..	"	3	32	52	398	5	..	..
" Prem. Chund ..	" "	" "	Transport Train ..	1	..	..	560	3	..	..
" Roy Chund ..	" "	" "	"	1	2	..	252	2	197	..
" Balkama ..	" "	" "	"	1	2	..	253	3	175	..
" Victoria Cross ..	" "	" "	Commissariat ..	..	..	..	220	..	..	..
Steamer, Viscount Canning ..	" "	" "	Transport Train ..	1	3	..	194	4	230	..
Sailing Vessel, Dreadnought ..	" "	" "	"	1	..	1	123	2	85	..
" Clytie ..	" "	" "	"	1	1	..	200	2	183	1
" Sophia Joachim ..	" "	" "	"	1	2	..	185	2	200	1
" Altcar ..	7th "	" "	Details	16	2	207	293	..	..	..
Steamer, Peruvian ..	" "	" "	Commissariat ..	..	..	..	151	..	..	..
" Bombay Castle ..	" "	" "	Transport Train ..	1	3	..	82	..	170	..
Sailing Vessel, Pearl of India ..	8th "	" "	"	1	2	..	154	3	210	..
" Mandelay ..	" "	" "	"	2	11	5	565	2	..	3
" Zenobia ..	" "	" "	"	1	..	12	53	60	70	..
" Bernice ..	" "	" "	"	1	2	..	96	3	157	..
Steamer, Earl Canning ..	" "	" "	"	1	..	..	108	14	150	1
" Tynemouth ..	" "	" "	"	1	13	38	218	6	287	4
" Great Victoria ..	9th "	" "	3rd Native Infantry ..	4	..	285	127	7	..	..
" West Indian ..	" "	" "	Remounts	2	1	..	152	113	..	..
Sailing Vessel, Mabel ..	" "	" "	Transport Train ..	1	..	..	250	..	..	..
Steamer, John Bright ..	10th "	" "	3rd Native Infantry ..	6	..	346	70	6	..	..
Sailing Vessel, British Monarch ..	" "	" "	Bombay Sappers ..	7	9	306	52	10	..	..
Steamer, Californian ..	" "	Bombay ..	"	1	3	102	10	2	..	..
" Norna ..	" "	Aden ..	Transport Train ..	8	6	10	130	20	..	..
Sailing Vessel, Kooriah Mooriah ..	" "	Bombay ..	" 120 bullocks ..	1	2	..	200	..	..	..
" Rowena ..	" "	" "	" 130	1	2	..	200	..	..	..
" Spray of the Ocean ..	" "	" "	"	1	..	..	350	..	..	..
Steamer, Feroze ..	" "	Suez ..	Staff	10	7	..	20	1	..	5
Total	..	..		440	4,000	8,727	15,534	1,673	4,332	114

In addition to the numbers noted above, 39 elephants and 478 draught bullocks were sent to Bombay.

On the 11th of June the 25th Regiment Bombay Native Light Infantry was the only regiment at Zula. This corps remained as a guard for the stores, &c.

The following letter from Major-General E. Russell, commanding at Zula, to the address of the Secretary of State for India, and dated the 19th June, 1868, reports the final evacuation of Zula:—

25th Regiment, N.L.I. last corps at Zula.

“ I have the honour to inform you that the whole of the troops and followers have left the Abyssinian shore. The last of the stores and followers, with the Head-Quarters of the 25th Regiment Native Infantry, embarked on the 17th instant, and the rear-guard, being two companies of the 25th Regiment, on the 18th instant, after having ascertained that no followers were on shore.

Final evacuation on 17th and 18th June.

“ The railway and sundry sheds and some railway trucks have been left, under charge of an Egyptian guard, until sent for.

“ Captain Edye, with some men-of-war, remained to bring away condensing vessels and lighters.

“ On the morning of the 18th instant all of the land forces and followers that remained, sailed out of Annesley Bay. The Navy will leave during the 19th.”

CHAPTER XXII.

TELEGRAPH AND ARMY SIGNALS.

THE direction of telegraph lines and the organization and control of the officers of the telegraph and army signal departments in Abyssinia, were, throughout the campaign, under the Quartermaster-General's department.

Prior to the commencement of operations, permission was sought by the Foreign Office, and obtained from the Porte, to send telegraphic messages along the Syrian coast line from Bombay to England, *viâ* Bagdad. The idea was also entertained that telegraphic communication might be established with Abyssinia direct, for it was understood that the telegraph line would be opened from Egypt to Suakin shortly. It was only about 280 miles from Suakin to Massowah, and it was thought that a telegraph might be laid for this portion in two or three months. The Viceroy granted the desired permission for the construction of this line. The idea was, however, afterwards abandoned on account of the following letter from the Vice-Consul in Egypt, dated the 31st August, 1867 :—

Proposals
for telegraph
communica-
tion between
England and
Massowah
viâ Bagdad,
and between
Suakin and
Massowah.

Difficulties
in laying
down a
line *viâ*
Suakin.

Wady Halfa
to Urdeh.

Urdeh to
Ambukol, to
Berber,
Shendy, and
Kassala.

Keneh to
Kosseir.

“ With reference to my telegram of yesterday, regarding the telegraphic communication between Lower Egypt and Nubia, it may be well perhaps that I should state, in explanation of the slow progress that is made in laying down a line to Souakin, that owing partly to negligence and general bad management on the part of the Egyptian authorities, and partly to misfortunes which it was impossible to foresee, the works have, on various occasions, and at different points of the line, been suspended. In laying down about 80 miles of line across the desert (from Suakin, and in the direction of Kassala), no less than 1,500 camels were allowed to die of starvation, and the two Englishmen who until lately directed the work in that part of the country fell, during the same period, victims to the effects of climate. An extensive gap in the line, between Wady Halfa and Urdeh, has been occasioned by the white ants which infest that region. It was found that no wooden posts could resist the ravages of these insects, which eat into, and in the course of a few hours effectually destroy, as far as the surface of the earth, any piece of timber that is fixed in the ground. 6,000 iron posts, to replace the wooden ones ordered from Europe several months ago, have not yet arrived.

“ From Urdeh, which is 260 miles distant from Wady Halfa, to Ambukol, that is to say, along a space of 120 miles, the line is completed, and it is in course of construction from the latter place to Berber, which is 170 miles further; from Berber to Shendy, 110 miles, and from Shendy to Kassala, 200 miles, there is nothing done. Of the remaining distance to Suakin, about 120 miles have yet to be laid down.

“ From Keneh on the Nile, or Assuan, to Kosseir, or Berenice, on the Red Sea, there are regular caravan routes, and the distance between these places being incon-

“siderable, a line along one or other of the routes could be laid down in the course of a few weeks. Such a project has frequently been entertained by the Egyptian Government, but I do not believe there is any likelihood of its being carried into execution.”

It was subsequently proposed to establish a flying line by way of Kosseir, but this idea was also abandoned, as it was deemed impracticable to maintain a line intact which would pass unguarded through the wild tribes who inhabit the districts through which it would have to be laid.

Proposed
line by
Kosseir.

A submarine telegraphic communication from Suez was also proposed by the Managing Director of the Telegraph Construction and Maintenance Company, but Sir Stafford Northcote was not disposed to enter into any arrangement for laying a cable down the Red Sea at the cost of the Government, with a view, as suggested, to ultimate extension to Bombay. He stated, however, that in the event of the Telegraph Construction and Maintenance Company themselves undertaking the construction of such a line at their own risk, Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to enter into an arrangement with them for its temporary diversion to Massowah, or some other suitable point during the continuance of military operations in Abyssinia.

Proposed
submarine
line from
Suez.

Relative to the proposal to construct a line of telegraph, *viâ* Kosseir, to Annesley Bay, Colonel Staunton telegraphed from Cairo on the 4th January, 1868, that the line was in operation only as far as Wadi Hâlfâ, but that the Viceroy had agreed to place all available material at the disposal of Her Majesty's Government, and to give every assistance in his power towards the construction of the proposed line. On the receipt of this information, the Secretary of State for India directed Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson, R.E., the Director of Indian Telegraphs, on the 10th January, to consult with the Consul-General, respecting the construction of this line, and to await further orders in Egypt. It was suggested to supply an insulated wire laid on the ground, and Colonel Robinson was directed to ascertain if the submarine wire between Suez and the Island of Jubal was in working order, and if it would be possible to negotiate with the tribes on the coast for the protection of a wire on shore between a point near Jubal and Annesley Bay?

Correspond-
ence regard-
ing the
proposed
line *viâ*
Kosseir.

Instructions
to Lieut-
enant-
Colonel
Robinson.

Colonel Stanton wrote as follows to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on the 8th January:—

“I have the honour to report, with reference to my telegraphic despatches to your Lordship, of the 4th and 8th instant, that immediately on receipt of your Lordship's instructions, I demanded an audience of the Viceroy, for the purpose of ascertaining from His Highness to what extent the co-operation of the Egyptian Government could be relied upon in affording aid in the construction of the proposed line of telegraph along the shore of the Red Sea to Annesley Bay.

The Consul-
General's
Report of
the 8th
January.

“His Highness expressed himself as willing to give every assistance in his power for the proposed object, and desired the Director-General of the Soudan telegraph (Mr. Gisborne, an English Engineer), to place himself in communication with me for the purpose of ascertaining the wishes of Her Majesty's Government on this subject.

Assistance
of Egypt.

“I requested Mr. Gisborne to inform me what amount of telegraphic material could be supplied by the Egyptian Government, and I have this day ascertained from that gentleman that there are about 900 miles of wire available at Souakin, and 6,000 iron telegraph posts in store at Alexandria.

Telegraph
Material
available at
Alexandria.

“These 900 miles of wire would probably be sufficient for the proposed coast line of telegraph from Annesley Bay to Kosseir and thence to Kenah, where it would connect

- Distance.** " with the existing Nile telegraph. This distance is roughly calculated at about
 " 850 miles, but without a regular survey it is not possible to give the actual mileage.
- Telegraph Poles.** " Mr. Gisborne could not give me any information as to the supply of telegraph poles
 " that could be depended upon at Suakin, and remarked that he had found the wooden
 " poles that had been supplied too heavy for transport, and strongly recommended iron
 " posts being employed, of which there were 6,000 in store at Alexandria, which would be
 " available for this service. Should iron posts be determined on, a further supply of
 " 13,000 would be required, calculating them at 22 per mile, the number stated to me by
 " Mr. Gisborne as required.
- Scarcity of Water.** " One of the chief difficulties attending the construction of this line will arise from
 " the scarcity of water throughout the whole distance ; and the problem as to how the
 " working parties employed in the construction of this line are to be provided with provi-
 " sions and water will require very careful consideration. The Viceroy informs me we
 " can secure a sufficiency of labour, and believes he can depend upon the chiefs of the
 " different tribes, through whose country the line will pass, for the maintenance of the
 " line when completed, but my own opinion on the subject is, that very serious difficulties
 " will arise, both in the construction and maintenance of this coast line, and I would
 " venture to submit to your Lordship that a submarine line from Suez to Annesley Bay
 " would probably be found to be more efficient than the proposed coast line, and at the
 " same time might be completed as expeditiously. I have reason also to believe that, in
 " case the coast line is determined on, it will be necessary to run a fresh wire from Cairo
 " to Keneh (the point of junction with the Kosseir line), a distance of upwards of
 " 400 miles.
- " I may also remark to your Lordship, in favour of the submarine line, that I am
 " informed the cable already laid from Suez to Jubal is ready for working."

And again on the 16th January, as follows :—

- The Consul-General's Report of the 16th January.** " I have the honour to report to your Lordship that Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson,
 " Royal Engineers, Director-General of Telegraphs in India, arrived here on the evening
 " of the 11th instant, and I have since been in constant communication with him on the
 " subject of the proposed line of telegraph along the shore of the Red Sea to Annesley
 " Bay. I have also placed Colonel Robinson in communication with Mr. Gisborne, the
 " Director-General of the Sudan telegraph, who has given all the information in his
 " power as to the extent of the co-operation that may be expected from the Egyptian
 " Government for this purpose ; and in order to assist that officer to ascertain, as far as
 " possible, what resources might be found available for the construction of the proposed
 " coast line, I accompanied him to Suez on the 19th instant, for the purpose of making
 " further inquiries there as to the general nature of the coast between Kosseir and Suakin.
- Difficulties in laying the line along the coast.** " The result of these inquiries confirms me in my opinion that very great difficulties will
 " be experienced in following the line of the coast, though they do not bear out the
 " assertion of the Governor-General of the Sudan that neither water nor inhabitants were
 " to be found on the proposed line. The evidence of some Arabs who declared they had
 " visited the coast, was to the effect that there were inhabitants thinly scattered about,
 " and water to be found in certain places, but that no cultivation existed. I should, there-
 " fore, presume the inhabitants were merely wandering Arabs, from whom no assistance
 " either in transport or labour could be expected, and who would, moreover, be more
 " inclined to destroy the telegraph than to assist in its maintenance.
- " It appears to me therefore, my Lord, that the most effectual means of having tele-

“ graphic communication opened without delay, supposing the idea of a submarine cable from Suez by Jubal to Annesley Bay is not approved, would be to press on the construction of the Egyptian Government line of telegraph, *vid* the Nile, to Berber, thence to Kassala, Suakin, and Massowah. Line from Suakin to Massowah.

“ The greater portion of the material required for this telegraph is already on the line, and the country through which it passes is more thoroughly in the power of the Government, and more within reach of its officers than the desert bordering on the Red Sea. The distances are great, and upwards of 1,000 miles of telegraph have still to be erected, but with good will and good management (the materials being mostly already on the line) I believe this line might be completed in about three months.

“ To ensure the work being done within that time, it will be necessary to organize, without a moment's delay, a proper staff of workmen with European inspectors, so that the work may be carried on simultaneously from several points; and I have begged Mr. Gisborne to endeavour to make arrangements for the transport of the iron poles now in store at Alexandria to Wadi Halfa on the Nile, in order that the gap in the line between that post and Berber may be forthwith made good, and I have reason to believe preparations have already been made to send these stores to their destination with as little delay as possible.

“ I am also informed by Mr. Gisborne that it is expected the line from Suakin to Kassala will be ready in about one month; it will then only remain to erect the telegraph between Kassala and Berber, a distance estimated at about 300 miles, and between Suakin and Massowah, a distance of about 250 miles, and as stores sufficient for both these distances are said to be actually at Souakin it will only be necessary to provide for their transport to the required points, and to organize working parties for the erection of the line between the above mentioned posts. Suakin to Kassala.

“ I beg also to submit to your lordship, that when the line is completed it will be absolutely necessary to have English telegraph clerks at the different stations to ensure a proper transmission of the messages. I believe the Viceroy will not make any objection to the appointment of these clerks under the existing circumstances, but I consider it would be advisable for Her Majesty's Government to have the entire control of the line so long as the Abyssinian Expedition lasts, and for this it will be necessary to enter into a special agreement with the Egyptian Government, specifying the terms under which the working of the line is ceded to Her Majesty's Government.

“ Pending the receipt of your Lordship's instructions on this subject, I shall endeavour to push on all the preparatory arrangements in this country, so that no time may be lost in the completion of the line.”

The reports of Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson, R.E., Director-General of Telegraphs in India, ran as follows :—

“ The unexpected arrival of the ‘ Mooltan ’ and probable departure of the mails from England two days earlier than was expected compels me to report more hastily than I could wish on the questions sent to me under your telegram of the 11th instant. Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson's Report of the 15th January.

“ Immediately after my arrival at Alexandria on the 11th instant, I started for Cairo, and entered into communication with the Consul-General, Colonel Stanton, Royal Engineers, C.B. I was by him introduced to Mr. Gisborne, Superintendent of the Nile Telegraphs, and some Egyptian officers well acquainted, or professing to be well acquainted, with the peculiarities of Nubia and Upper Egypt. The result of these enquiries were to the effect, that there were ample stores in Egypt for the con-

Stores avail-
able for line
to Souakin.

“struction of the line, Wadi Hālfa, *viā* Berber and Kāssala, to Suakin and then to Massowah, but that clerks, line men, and petty stores are needed. There are, according to Mr. Gisborne, at this moment at Suakin—900 miles No. 8 wire. 20,000 single insulators. 9 sets of Morse instruments, 19,800 dūm palms for poles.

“At Alexandria, 600 iron Siemens' poles, with double insulators to fit; and 25 Morse instruments, and a considerable quantity of wire. These stores were got out to construct the line between Wadi Hālfa and Berber, where the ravages of the white ants are so severe that (they say) posts are destroyed in a single night.

“These stores are evidently sufficient to complete the line beyond Wadi Hālfa, I have therefore urged their immediate distribution, and have told those concerned that I am sure that the British Government is prepared to pay any extra expense incurred from putting this line into order unusually quickly. Mr. Gisborne has promised to do his utmost, and the Viceroy does the same. They are both much interested in getting it done quickly, and will, therefore, doubtless, exert themselves. At the same time the difficulties are great. Sir Samuel Baker travelled from Berber to Kassala, and from Kassala to Suakin, and his description of the country is certainly not very encouraging. I have, however, no doubt but that it is possible to erect and maintain the line, and, therefore, recommend arrangements being made with His Highness's Government, whereby we shall have the use of the first wire, working it with our own signals, provided it is put up rapidly.

Time re-
quired to
complete the
line.

“The time allowed cannot well be less than two months.

“I allow from Alexandria to Cairo	2 days.
“From Cairo to Assuan (first cataract)	8 ”
“From Assuan they must be carried on camels 10 miles and again put on barges	1 ”
“To Wadi Hālfa 250 miles	9 ”

“Total 20 days.

“From Wadi Hālfa to Berber is 250 miles, and from Berber to Kassala 340	12 days.
“Kassala to Suakin about	16 days' march.
“To communicate with Suakin	5 ”

“So that under any circumstances, stores could not be laid along the piece between Kassala and Berber under a month, and even with soldiers and forced labour it would certainly take another month to erect the line.

“This is looking at the matter in the very best light. But from the little I have seen of the Egyptian Government, I much doubt their completing this line under a very much longer period.

“Regarding the other route, *i.e.*, by the route of the Red Sea,—

Coast Line.

“I was told at Cairo that there were no inhabitants, and no water along the coast, and that a man had never been known to travel by land from Suakin to Suez direct.

“If there were no animals and no water, nothing would be easier than to lay an insulated wire on the ground in the manner suggested in your telegram. I could not, however, accept so improbable a conclusion without satisfying myself from inquiries made on the spot that such an extraordinary state of things existed.

“I therefore came on here yesterday, and the evidence I have obtained from Captain

- “ Chitty, of the late Indian Navy, who navigated this sea for 20 years, from Mr. Mignon, late Indian Navy, who was in it for five years, from the Peninsular and Oriental officers, Egyptian officers, and Arab pilots, is to the effect that there are Arab encampments all along the coast at intervals at 8 or 10 miles; and that there are wells of water, but no cultivation and no labour, as the Arabs will not labour. Some might be got from Kosseir, and some from Berenice, but very little. Plenty of powerful Turks can be got here (Suez). The Arabs are said to be, for Arabs, quiet and under two Sheikhs who, if subsidized, could keep the line safe. The shore is said to be desert, sometimes flat, at other times rocky and almost mountainous to the water's edge; with a guide a man can travel (they say) the whole way from Suez to Massowah, following (generally) the coast line. An aerial line would be liable to be destroyed by the violent sand storms which occasionally prevail, the insulated wire (they say) can generally be buried in a trench which it would not be difficult to excavate. A Frenchman is said to have walked, a short time since, the whole way from Massowah to Suez. Altogether, a coast line appears to be not impossible and may be very practicable, but we cannot depend on information derived from mere sailors, and for a tract 900 miles long, if trustworthy evidence is required for the purpose of laying a telegraph. The coast must be visited and interviews obtained with the people and Sheikhs by a British officer duly accredited and understanding what is required. Should the Government desire me to go, I should like to be accompanied by Mr. Mignon, late Indian Navy, who speaks Arabic, knows the sea well, and is now employed at Alexandria as Assistant Transport Agent.
- “ Such an examination and interview will unfortunately take time. It could only be done by day, and the distance being 920 miles, would occupy at least a fortnight; another week would be spent in returning to Suez, the nearest telegraph station; and, after all, may be valueless.
- “ It therefore seems to me that the only dependable course will be to lay a cable from Jubal to Massowah in the deep water of the Red Sea, slack and as clear of coral reefs as possible. This cable could afterwards be utilized to connect Aden with Suez; and if Aden be hereafter connected with Kurrachee, we shall have another line to India thoroughly independent of that now existing, and of incalculable importance in the event of a war with Persia or Turkey.
- “ To recapitulate. The evidence I have obtained is to this effect:—
- “ The Viceroy has the stores for, and is anxious to construct an aerial line, *viâ* the Nile and Kassala, to Suakin and Massowah, through a very difficult and unhealthy country (*vide* Baker), and could possibly, *i.e.*, under the *most favourable conditions*, open it in two months, though, owing to peculiar difficulties, it would take a great deal more.
- “ 2nd. It does not appear *impossible* to run up a flying line along the coast of the Red Sea, sometimes aerial, sometimes buried; but, before it can be attempted, local investigation should be made of the peculiarities of the shore and people.
- “ 3rd. A cable can be laid with *certainty*, and possibly even in less time than either of the afore-mentioned, if part be sent through the Suez Canal and part through the Cape to Massowah or Suakin.
- “ Lastly. There is no reason why a land line should not at once be run up between Massowah and Suakin, and possibly further north, with the stores now at Suakin, so as to reduce the time from Massowah to Suez by at least two days.
- “ Lastly. There are, besides the ‘Malabar,’ at this port, or belonging to this port, six steamers belonging to the Egyptian Steam Company, now employed by

Labour obtainable.

Description of the shore.

Opinion on practicability of coast line.

Cable from Jubal to Massowah.

Line to Suakin and Massowah.

Coast Line.

Cable.

Suakin to Massowah.

Steamers
available.

" Government, and sundry transport ships (a full list of which I will send by Messagerie
" mail of the 19th), and a small steamer belonging to the Royal Navy called the
" 'Prompt,' which would be very valuable for a coast examination."

Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson's next Report was dated Cairo, 18th January,
1868:—

Lieutenant-
Colonel
Robinson's
Report of
the 18th
January.

" In continuation of former correspondence of 15th instant, which I was unfortu-
" nately obliged to hurry off earlier than I expected, I have the honour to report that
" I hear that the piece of old Red Sea cable, between Massowah and Suakin, is in
" sufficiently good condition to be easily repaired. I am making further inquiries on
" this head, and, if favourable, you will have heard by telegraph ere this reaches you.

Suakin to
Kassala.

" I am also glad to be able to report that the Egyptian authorities are pushing up
" the telegraph stores from Alexandria as fast as possible, and that the portion between
" Suakin and Kassala is reported to have been under construction for some time past.
" This is very satisfactory, and it will certainly be a great gain if the Nile Valley
" telegraph be soon in working order. At the same time, we cannot shut our eyes to the
" fact that the normal state of the Egyptian official is rather apathetic; that his arrange-
" ments are made and carried out in an irregular manner; that those who have to carry
" on the work cannot be communicated with in much less than a month; and that agents
" at that interval cannot be impregnated with the force and energy of those urging them
" here to exert themselves to the utmost. Moreover, the climate is undeniably very bad,
" especially to unacclimatized Europeans; and yet, without European superintendence,
" they can hardly erect their lines in a state that will admit of their being worked.
" For the above reasons, though I hope much, I do not expect to see the Nile Valley line
" erected in half the time it might be, 2½ months, or maintained long together in working
" condition.

Submarine
Cable recom-
mended.

" In regard to the broken cable at Massowah, it might be worth while, if she can be
" spared, to send the 'Amberwitch' from Kurrachee, to look at it; and I propose writing
" to Lieutenant St. John by to-morrow's mail, that he may see how the Massowah end is,
" if possible.

" I believe that a good cable laid slack is the only plan that can really be depended
" on. According to the charts, there is plenty of depth in the Red Sea; and if a cable
" were laid from Suakin to Jubal, it could be utilized after the war, by extending it to
" Aden, and eventually to India, whereby a very important alternative line would be
" secured, altogether free of Northern and Eastern political dangers.

Coast line
recom-
mended.

" From all I can learn, and every additional item of information I could obtain at
" Suez strengthens the opinion, I am sure that the better land line is by the coast. All
" who know the coast agree in saying that there are Arab encampments or villages at
" intervals of 10 or 12 miles; that the inhabitants, mostly fishermen, are civil and hospi-
" table, and, not being numerous, would not require a heavy payment to induce them to
" protect a line. The checking clerk of the Transport Service told me that he had
" conversed with a Frenchman who had walked (18 months since) from Massowah to
" Suez, and that the Arabs treated him very well. I am endeavouring to trace the
" Frenchman, who is a sub-contractor on the canal. His evidence would be very valuable,
" because he made the complete circuit, from Cairo up the line to Massowah, and back by
" the coast. If all this be true, it will probably be the quickest way to run a flying line
" between Jubal and Suakin as soon as material can be sent out; but, before it is
" attempted, the coast should be examined by a competent person, who would, of course,
" require a steamer for the purpose, and require three weeks for the purpose.

“ The only steamers suitable, now in the Red Sea, are the two smaller steamers of the Azeeziah Company (400 tons), the ‘ Prompt,’ of 120 tons (the transport tender), and the Viceroy’s gun-boats. If the ‘ Prompt’ be employed, it will be necessary to obtain the sanction of the naval authorities. Captain Chitty, who was employed for many years, or Mr. Mignon, also late of the Indian Navy, now in the Transport Agency, would gladly accompany me, if the Right Honourable the Secretary of State wishes me to carry out this investigation. Their knowledge of the language and people of the Red Sea would be most valuable. Steamers available.

“ If a cable be ordered, it would be possible to get the barges carrying it through the Red Sea in five days. Contractors agree to do it.

“ The steamers in the Red Sea are of all dimensions; six of those belonging to the Azeeziah Company are now under charter for the Expedition; three are required for pilgrims, but two of the former will shortly be available.”

Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson’s next Report was dated Cairo, 25th January, 1868 :—

“ I regret that it is not in my power to report much progress during the past week until to-day, this being the fast, Ramadan. To-day is Bairam, and during the next two days nothing will be done. After the 28th we may be able to get the Egyptian Government to listen, and perhaps to issue orders, but with so effete a machinery it is quite hopeless to get anything done energetically, especially at a distance from head-quarters. Lieutenant Colonel Robinson’s Report of the 25th January.

“ Mr. Gisborne, the Director of the Sudan Telegraphs, has been at Alexandria during the last week expediting the despatch of materials to the Upper Nile, but the good effect of these exertions is destroyed in consequence of the order to send them by rail to Cairo being rescinded. Now they are to come by boat, which entails the loss of 14 days in reaching Cairo, and if the same want of pressure prevails hereafter they will not be distributed for the next three months. Delays in sending Stores.

“ It is, however, but just to say that the rail has already more traffic than it can conveniently carry; and, I may add, is so disgracefully worked that it bids fair to tumble to pieces ere long for want of ordinary care.

“ When these stores reach Cairo they will be at once pushed on to Assuan, the first cataract; over this or past this they must be transported on camels, then again put on board boats, and so to the second cataract. The further from head-quarters they arrive the less attention they will receive; and if I may judge from the reputed state of affairs in that part of Egypt, the prospect of that part of the line being completed within a reasonable period is very, very small. I am well informed that in that part of Egypt the troops and all the officials are greatly in arrears of pay, and no effort is made to send them remittances, and for the sake of subsistence all Government employes are forced to pillage the natives; that the Government, knowing how much it is their fault, connives at this sad state of things; and, consequently, there is absolutely no Government or police, and it has become most difficult to procure labour, camels, or any similar kind of assistance.

“ I confess that, under these circumstances, I am hopeless of the Nile Valley line being constructed within six months, and that I fully anticipate that it will never be kept in working order for many months together. Indeed, I believe that it will be worse than useless, because it will disappoint whoever puts his trust in it. The coast line seems more promising. The Government officials from whom I obtained the first information Nile Valley Line.

“ reported it impossible to make the line, as there was no water and no inhabitants. This
 “ is not quite the case. The Arab pilots I examined at Suez say there are both at moderate
 “ intervals on the sea-shore, but that the coast is in many places difficult of access by
 “ reason of coral reefs or shelving beach. An Arab of the Ababde tribe, a resident of
 “ Keneh, whom I examined yesterday, says there is a good camel road from Kosseir to
 “ Berenice, some miles from the coast, but no water for the first three days (say 60 miles)
 “ march, excepting immediately after rain. Abdala Pasha (Englishman named Richards),
 “ whom I saw to-day, tells me that he has travelled the country often, and that there is no
 “ difficulty whatever as far as travelling goes, nor of maintaining the line if once con-
 “ structed, provided the arrangements be made and the subsidies to chiefs be paid directly
 “ by the British Government. If through the Egyptians, the payments will be uncertain
 “ and the line cut. Altogether, I am of opinion that the line is practicable, though by no
 “ means easy of construction and maintenance.

Submarine
Cable.

“ The remaining alternative is the cable laid in the deepest part of the Red Sea.
 “ Moresby's survey and charts are the only data I can obtain bearing on this point. There
 “ is a Report by Captain Pullen, which I understand gives further detail, but I cannot hear
 “ of any one possessing a copy of the work in Egypt.

“ According to Captain Moresby, the mid-channel of the Red Sea is over 200 fathoms,
 “ a depth at which a cable would be safe, and at that depth coral reefs would not abound
 “ if they exist at all. No intermediate stations would be needed, but even if required
 “ there would be no difficulty in establishing them. The only thing against a good cable
 “ is the expense of manufacture and laying, and before it should be incurred we must
 “ weigh well what would be the advantages accruing from it.

“ Commercially, I don't suppose it would be worth much. If connected with India it
 “ would receive a good many messages, but at the expense of the Indo-European cable, for
 “ I do not anticipate much increase in the number of Indian messages until Australia and
 “ China are included in the system, when the increase of messages would be very great.
 “ Politically, its value would be great, and may become invaluable, either in the event of
 “ disturbances occurring in, or our friendly relations being interrupted with Persia,
 “ Turkey, Russia, or any eastern State of Europe, or of the campaign in Abyssinia being
 “ prolonged.

“ Captain Arbuthnot, Sir R. Napier's aide-de-camp, who arrived here yesterday, com-
 “ missioned to purchase remounts for the Abyssinian Force, tells me that, when he left on
 “ the 16th, the latest information from England was of 18th December, and that Sir
 “ Robert Napier was most anxious for the means of obtaining speedier communication
 “ with England and Bombay.

“ From what Captain Arbuthnot tells me of the condition of the Force, there appears
 “ to be but little probability of its being moved forward for some time to come, and that,
 “ if Theodore is able to hold his own against the rebels, it must remain in Abyssinia next
 “ hot weather. This again may, and probably will, lead to still greater complications.
 “ Public opinion here is to the effect that the Viceroy of Egypt is intriguing to seize
 “ Abyssinia the moment we vacate it. These intrigues may embroil us with tribes now
 “ disposed to be friendly, and thus, when we wish to vacate, we may find it impossible to
 “ do so. Altogether, appearances are certainly in favour of a good trustworthy telegraph
 “ being worth far more than its cost.

“ At the same time, I hesitate to express an opinion as to how a cable should be
 “ laid, or whether it may not be worth while to lay a light and less lasting cable, to save
 “ the time that must be consumed ere a suitable permanent cable can be made, shipped,
 “ and laid.

“ On this point, Mr. Latimer Clark can give as sound an opinion as any one I know.

“ I consider, too, that it is of the utmost importance that the western shore of the Red Sea, as well as the Red Sea itself, should be carefully examined by a competent telegraphist, ere any decided action is taken.

“ Such an examination might be compressed into a month or six weeks, and should be undertaken immediately, before the heat becomes insupportable ; a steamer of 350 tons should be chartered, if procurable, or the Commodore might be able to spare one of the three gun-boats now in Annesley Bay. Meanwhile, a cable might be commenced, of such form as Mr. Latimer Clark should devise, but with a dielectric better adapted to a hot climate than gutta-percha. The cable, if not wanted for the Red Sea, would serve some other purpose. Supplies of land line stores should also be prepared, which, if not required for Abyssinia, are sure to be wanted in India.

“ Should a land line be decided on, I think it quite possible that the Viceroy may be induced to lend us the spare stores he has now at Souakin, until such time as we could replace them from England ; Colonel Stanton thinks he would not, but will ask him on the resumption of business (Tuesday next). Mr. Gisborne thinks he would lend, but would certainly refuse to sell.

“ In the event of a cable being sent out, it could be sent through the canal in a chain of barges, a certain amount being uncoiled as each set of barges is passed through the locks. If a dielectric such as I have mentioned be employed, tanks would not be required ; the dynamometers, paying-out and picking-up apparatus, &c., could be sent out overland, and fitted to the steamers to be employed, some time before the cable itself is sent out. The staff should come from England. I could arrange for them within a month of the cable approaching completion. Soundings should be at once commenced on the track on which it is proposed to lay the cable.”

Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson was, on the 24th day of January, directed to proceed at once to India, to give the Governor of Bombay all the information he could about Egyptian telegraph, and the idea of the coast line was abandoned, it having been deemed impracticable to keep the line intact when laid. Kosseir line abandoned.

Field Telegraph in Abyssinia.

On the 22nd of August the Secretary of State for India inquired of the Government of Bombay if a field telegraph was required, stating that, with the exception of bamboo poles, one could be sent from England. To this the Government of Bombay replied by a request that a field telegraph might be sent. Major Champain, the Director-General of the Persian telegraph, submitted the following Report upon the subject, and the Secretary of State for India gave his sanction to the proposed arrangements, and orders for the immediate collection of the several articles to be supplied in England. He further appointed Lieutenant St. John, R.E., to proceed in charge of the stores. Field telegraph suggested.

Major Champain's Report was forwarded to Bombay. It was as follows :—

“ In compliance with your wishes I have the honour to submit an outline of the preparations I consider it advisable to make for equipping a Field Telegraph Train for service in Abyssinia. Major Champain's proposals for a field telegraph.

“ Since you first spoke to me on the subject I have consulted Captain Stotherd, R.E., who is in charge of the Engineer Telegraph Class at Chatham. I have had access to

- “ Captain Weber’s Reports on the Continental equipments, and I took advantage of my recent visit to Paris to examine the Austrian Field Train, the details of which were explained to me by the man in charge.
- Simplicity and lightness.** “ I am decidedly of opinion that in the present instance simplicity and lightness are the main points to be looked to. The heavy carriages and elaborate appurtenances of the Austrian and Prussian field telegraphs, adapted as they may be to a European campaign, would prove utterly unsuitable to a wild, roadless country like Abyssinia.
- Main points.** “ It must be borne in mind that in European warfare a Commander finds the general system of telegraphs in each country ready to his hands. He has only to arrange for its maintenance or repair, and on it he grafts his temporary branch lines. In Abyssinia we must of course look for no assistance of this kind, and I would therefore propose that stores should be supplied for two distinct objects.
- “ First.—For a semi-permanent aerial line from the port of debarkation, say Mas-sowah, to whatever point in the interior might be selected as the head-quarters of the Force.
- “ Second.—For flying lines to connect the head-quarters with the different out-posts, &c.
- Requirements for a Semi-permanent line.** “ The first or semi-permanent line may be calculated at about 300 miles in length, and I would consequently provide material for 350 miles. For such a line 10,000 poles would be amply sufficient, which, made of stout bamboos 18 feet long, could easily be obtained and shipped from Bombay. I understand that a belt of forest divides the low land near the coast from the plateau of Abyssinia Proper; and if this be the case insulators to carry the wire could be fixed to the trees, and fewer bamboos would be necessary; but to avoid risks it would be better to supply the 10,000 poles, and use them or not according to circumstances. Bamboo supports over an open country will require no insulators, the wire being passed over a notch at the top, but for forests or marshy land I would send out a supply of 4,000 light insulators of simple construction. Half the number according to a pattern which I saw at the Paris Exhibition for supporting a wire on living trees, the rest for fixing with ease and rapidity on the top of the bamboo standards. Copper wire presents so many advantages as regards conductivity, facility of manipulation, and especially portability, that after much deliberation I venture unhesitatingly to recommend its adoption in preference to iron wire. I presume that the question of carriage will be of the first importance; and, judging from our experience in Persia, I do not think that the one material would present greater temptation to marauders than the other. The copper wire should be that known as No. 16, which weighs under 60 lbs. per mile, and costs, I think, from 55s. to 60s. It should be ordered from Messrs. T. Bolton and Sons, Broad Street, Birmingham, and must possess at least 85 per cent. of the conductivity of pure copper. I would provide for use on this semi-permanent line, eight of Siemens and Halske’s lately improved recording Morse instruments, with portable tables fitted up for writing. To the design and construction of these I shall immediately turn my attention.
- “ To erect a line of the above description, keeping pace with the march of the Force at say 20 miles a day, a company of Native Pioneers, or 150 ordinary coolies, would suffice. To avoid the possibility of confusion, I would recommend that the necessary tools, such as crowbars, borers, axes, rammers, and rope, should be sent from England. Spades and pickaxes were in the first instance supplied for erecting the Persian permanent telegraph, but were rarely, if ever, used; and should a few be required in the present instance, doubtless they could be borrowed from the Engineer Park. I will, after careful enquiry, submit an estimate of the number of baggage animals which will

“probably be required, and may then perhaps take occasion to add to or even alter some of the proposals put forward in this rather hurried letter. Of the organization of the Staff for working this semi-permanent line I shall treat in a future paragraph.

“The flying lines should in my opinion be laid on the ground. There are objections to this plan, but they apply entirely to European battle-fields, where the forces engaged number hundreds of thousands, and where the carts, waggons, and guns are innumerable. As a rule, a wire laid on the ground for a short time only would attract less notice, and be infinitely easier to put down and to pick up, get less in the way of cavalry, &c., and would not be one whit easier to damage wilfully than a line on poles. I would most strongly recommend for such work Hooper’s india-rubber core of small diameter, with a strand conductor. Captain Stotherd informs me that he has seen a battery of Artillery drive over this core laid on a hard macadamized road, without doing it the smallest injury. India-rubber stands dry heat infinitely better than gutta-percha, and the cost is about the same. Probably 50 miles would be enough to send out. The Hooper’s core must be carefully coiled, after manufacture, on drums made expressly for the purpose, the weight of each drum and coil not exceeding 140 lbs., so that one mule may carry two. This load may seem large, but I am informed on unimpeachable authority that none of the passes between Massowah and the interior can be compared in difficulty to the road between Bushire and Shiraz, where mules regularly travel 20 miles a day under loads of 300 lbs., in addition to the pack-saddle. Fifty mules would carry the whole flying line equipment, including Hooper’s core, light tents, apparatus, &c.

Require-
ments for a
flying line.

“For these flying lines I am inclined to recommend the acoustic field apparatus of Messrs. Siemens and Halske, which after long trial in Persia have given great satisfaction. They are portable, easy of adjustment, and bear any amount of rough usage; but before finally deciding this point I should wish to make fuller enquiries, particularly as to the qualifications of the men we may expect to get from Chatham, the result of which shall be communicated in my supplementary report. The necessary stationery and forms for the field telegraph must be furnished from this country. I now come to the important question of the best method of organizing the Staff to whom the working of the telegraph train is to be entrusted; and I would strongly advise that the control and superintendence of the whole department, including both semi-permanent and flying lines, should be placed in the hands of some Engineer officer who has not only had experience in practical telegraphy, but who has also been accustomed to the direction of Native working parties. Under this Superintendent should, I think, be appointed one Junior Engineer officer as Assistant-Superintendent in charge of the semi-permanent, and a second in charge of the flying lines; the former of whom at any rate should have served in the East. For the semi-permanent I would suggest that twelve European or Eurasian signallers, well accustomed to the Morse instrument, should be engaged and sent out from Bombay. These would be employed in the standing offices only, and I think that four European non-commissioned officers should also be sent from India, expressly to supervise the construction and maintenance of the aerial line. In selecting the latter I would look rather for steadiness, temper, and experience with natives, than for technical knowledge, which will really be scarcely required.

“The working Staff of the flying lines, under the Assistant-Superintendent mentioned above, should consist of at least twenty thoroughly trained non-commissioned officers or Sappers of Royal Engineers, from the Telegraph School at Chatham. This number could, I believe, be obtained without difficulty by application, through the Horse Guards, to Colonel Simmonds, the Director of the Royal Engineer Establishment, who could, I have no doubt, recommend an officer to accompany them as Assistant-Superintendent.

Working
Staff.

“ An indispensable adjunct to the Field Telegraph Train will be an apparatus and special Staff for day and night signalling by means of flags and cones, heliotropes and flashing lights. I have never had an opportunity of studying the details of this method of telegraphic communication, but I know that the system in all its parts has been brought to considerable perfection at Chatham; and if authorized I would place myself in communication with Colonel Simmonds, and report further on the steps which ought to be taken. Such a system would be invaluable in communicating with the shipping from land, and also in case of accidental breaks in the flying lines, or in situations where some intervening obstacle might preclude the laying of the core. The officer and men in charge of these apparatus should certainly be under the orders of the Superintendent of the entire Telegraph Train.

“ The following Table shows that Staff and stores should be furnished from England and Bombay respectively :—

“ STAFF.

Staff.	No.	Rank.	Remarks.
	1	Superintendent.	To take charge of the whole equipment.
			<i>For Semi-permanent Line.</i>
	1	Assistant-Superintendent.	In charge, should be a Subaltern, R.E., from India.
	4	Non-commissioned Officers.	To supervise construction and maintenance of aerial lines must be from India.
	100	Native Pioneers or Sappers.	From India. If not to be procured 150 coolies will be necessary.
	12	Signallers.	From India. European or Eurasian for service in the standing offices only.
			<i>For Flying Lines.</i>
	1	Assistant-Superintendent.	In charge, should be a Subaltern, R.E., from Chatham.
	25	N. C. O. and Sappers R.E.	To lay and work flying lines. The whole number to be obtained, if possible, from Chatham.
			<i>For Signal Corps.</i>
	1	Assistant-Superintendent Staff.	Subaltern R. E. from Chatham, according to Colonel Simmonds' advice.

“ STORES AND MATERIAL.

“ FROM BOMBAY.

Stores and material from India.	No.	Detail.	Remarks.
	10,000	Strong bamboos, 18 feet long ..	Of the kind usually employed for scaffolding in India.
	1	Large double-poled tent ..	Office at Massowah.
	3	Single-poled tents	For intermediate offices on semi-permanent lines.

“ Tents for the Staff and workmen will, I presume, be supplied as for the rest of the Force from Bombay.