

EGYPT AND THE ENGLISH

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

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The Bahr Yussuf (Joseph's Canal) in the Fayyum.

[LEKEJIAN, Cairo.

[*Frontispiece.*

EGYPT AND THE ENGLISH

SHOWING BRITISH PUBLIC OPINION, IN
EGYPT UPON THE EGYPTIAN QUESTION:
WITH CHAPTERS ON THE SUCCESS OF
THE SUDAN AND THE DELIGHTS OF
TRAVEL IN EGYPT AND THE SUDAN

BY

DOUGLAS SLADEN ~~ROYA~~

AUTHOR OF

"The Secrets of the Vatican," "Queer Things about Japan,"
"Sicily," etc., etc.

AND JOINT AUTHOR OF
"Queer Things about Persia"

WITH 40 ILLUSTRATIONS AND A MAP

LONDON

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1908



Dedication to

SIR WALTER ROPER LAWRENCE, BART., G.C.I.E.

MY DEAR WALTER,

There is a special fitness in my dedicating these pages to you, who were private secretary to Lord Curzon of Kedleston during his memorable and constructive vice-royalty, and have yourself restored Kashmir, because the book deals with some of the problems which you have helped to solve during your Indian career.

• And the dedication will serve to remind you of the time—perhaps five-and-thirty years ago—when you and I edited the school magazine together at Cheltenham College, just before we went up to Oxford.

Always yours,

DOUGLAS SLADEN.

TO THE READER.

IN my frequent use of the word ENGLISH as if it meant the same thing as BRITISH, I have no intention to be invidious to the Scotch, the standard-bearers of British nationality overseas; to the Irish; or to the Welsh.

It is the custom of the country. In Egypt, as in Japan, everyone uses the word ENGLISH to include the other British.

I have retained the spelling *Courbash* because it is so familiar to English readers in this form. It is difficult not to be betrayed into inconsistencies when writing Arabic words.

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P R E F A C E .

THIS book was written to make the intelligent British reader familiar with British public opinion in Egypt upon the Egyptian Question ; to show him the success which has followed upon firm British administration in the Sudan ; and to remind him of the delights of travel which await him in Egypt and the Sudan, if he does the best thing of all and goes to investigate their conditions for himself.

It is curious that with an Egyptian crisis hurrying upon us we should have no reliable book upon British public opinion in the Egypt of to-day. Lord Cromer felt that he was bound to stop at the date when he became virtual ruler of Egypt ; Lord Milner, the sincerest and clearest-sighted of the coming politicians, wrote as a public official, not as one of the public. Sir Auckland Colvin's sound book was written before the puffing-up of the Egyptian Nationalist.

It is much to be regretted that etiquette prevented Lord Cromer writing of the Egypt of to-day as he wrote of the Egypt which he was called to regenerate, and which he did regenerate so marvellously. Up to the date when diplomacy sealed his mouth, Lord Cromer expresses British public opinion in Egypt with singular force and fidelity. His book has been furiously assailed by Little Englanders and swollen Egyptians ; but apart from the importance conferred upon it by the circumstance that its author was the creator of Modern Egypt, it has an intrinsic and a literary importance, from the fact that no book ever contained so many epigrams crystallizing political situations. Lord Cromer's sayings are as imperishable as his political achievements. Of his book, as truly as of any that ever was written, it may be said, *Litera scripta manet*.

But I believed it to be high time that British readers should know the anxiety of British public opinion in the Egypt of to-

day, and the dangerous ambition of the Egyptian Nationalist, when every year some M.P., wishing to use Egypt as a poster for himself in the House of Commons, rushes in where angels fear to tread.

There is practically no book on the subject. Mr. Dicey, the most recent writer, does not always reflect British public opinion in Egypt; he rather enjoys defying it. Much may, of course, be read between the lines of Lord Cromer's and Sir Eldon Gorst's reports, which are gold-mines of statistical information about the state of Egypt, but are restricted by the reticence imposed by office.

I do not trouble my reader with the details of the present Constitution of Egypt—that extraordinary resurrection-pie of privileges granted to timid and unconscionable aliens by barbarian rulers in barbarous days.

Lord Cromer, Lord Milner, and Sir Auckland Colvin have all written exhaustively on the subject; and their books would have been classics even without the prestige of their names: they are so lucid, so impartial, so penetrating. I need not, therefore, write about it; I can confine myself to the Egyptian's development under it and attitude towards it. Far from being too stringent for the Egyptian of 1908, in most particulars it errs on the other side. His ingratitude to his benefactor shows that he was not sufficiently developed to receive so much consideration.

I open with giving details to prove the value of the English to Egypt and Egypt to the English. After showing what the English have done for the country, I give my diagnosis of the present situation in Egypt, and an intelligent Egyptian's view of it. This is supplemented by what I learned in a private audience with the Khedive.

I then give an expert's report, and a long chapter of anecdotes about the Egyptian student, to prove the low standard of education which stands in the way of the Egyptian receiving representative institutions; and, under the title of "The Guileless Egyptian," a chapter of anecdotes to prove his utter unfitnes to be accorded responsibility of any kind, let alone the control of the finances and the foreign relations of his country. One instance will suffice to substantiate this—none of the agitators who clamour for Government posts to be confined to Egyptians ever suggests that Egyptian engine-drivers should be employed

on the State Railways. The Egyptian agitator is as unwilling to risk his life with an Egyptian engine-driver, as the few rich Egyptian Nationalists are unwilling to put their money into the land until they are quite sure that they will not succeed in driving the English out.

In the chapter on the Egyptian Nationalist I show his violence, his childishness—his utterly unpractical visions and methods. I have something important to say about the influence of the Revolution in Turkey upon the plots of the Egyptian Nationalist. It came too late to go into the main body of the book, and it will, therefore, be found in the Introduction. The chapter on the Press in Egypt is largely taken up with the political influence exercised by the Vernacular Press. The chapter on Egyptian bankruptcy shows the disastrous effect which the irresponsibility of the Egyptian in business had, when it was brought to face the temptations of a land-boom; and the almost instantaneous bankruptcy which would overtake Egypt if the guarantee afforded by the English Occupation were withdrawn. The chapter on the Army of Occupation speaks for itself.

From the above it will be seen that I have aimed at awakening British public opinion to the danger we should be running if we were to let the childish and vicious young Egyptian take the helm in politics.

It is pleasant to turn from the consideration of the quicksands which beset the Government of Egypt, to the house built on a rock by the firmness and beneficence of British administration in the Sudan. It must be remembered that though the Sudan (which lost four-fifths of its population in the devastating wars of the Mahdi—one of the Moslem Jahads which the Egyptian Nationalist contemplates with such a light heart), has no "educated class" to correspond to that of Egypt; yet in the primary schools the Sudanese is the superior of the Egyptian.

I do not mean by this that it would be possible to go back to government by proclamation in Egypt. I hint that when the Egyptian chafes at the infinitely slighter restrictions to which he is subjected, he should remember the happiness and prosperity of the Sudan.

The Sudan is a possession of which England may well be proud as she sees prosperity springing up on every side, now that the territories devastated for so long have good government flowing over them like a full Nile. And as the Englishman travels to the ends of the Sudan his heart must swell within him to see nations of fierce warriors who love war for its own sake and, like Gordon, have never seen fear, giving to an English colonel—even a captain, with hardly a white man beside him, the fealty and obedience that a Scottish clan offered to its chief before the 45. It is not lip-service, for they gladly pay their tribute for protection and most of them volunteer a rate for education.

The chapters entitled "A Tropical Utopia" and "On the Nile through Nubia" give a picture of the marvellous progress, the peaceful prosperity of the Sudan, and the beauty of the Nile and its surroundings above the Great Dam. That on "The Tragedy of Gordon" shows how easily the tragedy could have been avoided, even when Gordon—the last of the demi-gods—was in Khartum. Other chapters about the Sudan describe the life and amusements and picturesque tropical surroundings of Englishmen in the triple city of Khartum, Khartum North and Omdurman, where one hundred and twenty thousand human beings are gathered together—the largest town of tropical Africa. The last chapter describes the wonderful Desert Railway which has brought Khartum almost within a week of London.

Part III., "Sight-seeing, Sport and Society," is what its title implies. The first six chapters deal with the delightful Arab monuments of Cairo, which is still a mediæval Arab city, like Granada was before the Moors were driven out of Spain, and is full of Arab life hardly altered from the Middle Ages. The mediæval monuments of Cairo are simply marvellous; they are so exquisite and interesting.

One chapter is devoted to Alexandria; another to sight-seeing from the Egyptian State Railways, chiefly in Lower Egypt; the Fayyum and the Great Oasis. Two are devoted to the Nile voyage on Cook's tourist steamers and the celebrated monuments of Ancient Egypt, which can most conveniently be visited from them; four additional chapters being devoted to the principal points—Luxor, Thebes, Karnak, and Assuan;

though the Tombs of Memphis and the Pyramids of Gizeh are included in the general chapters.

If I have given as much space to the Mediæval Arab monuments at Cairo as to the monuments of the Pharaohs in Upper Egypt, it is not from any desire to slight the importance of the latter, but because they are universally recognized as among the wonders of the world, while few people know of the almost perfect Oriental city of the Middle Ages which is hidden under the Citadel at Cairo.

Those who intend to visit Egypt themselves, and do not care about monuments, will see what comforts, conveniences and attractions Egypt has to offer them in the chapters on "Society and Sport in Cairo," "Theatres and Music," and "Hotels and their Entertainments." Those, to whom the long journey to Egypt and sea-voyages are a trial, will find advice on the easiest and pleasantest ways of making and breaking the journey in the chapter on "Ways of Getting to Egypt."

I have many people to thank for the assistance they gave me in collecting the materials for this book—above all, Sir Reginald Wingate, Sirdar of Egypt and Governor-General of the Sudan, who offered me every possible facility in investigating the Sudan; and my old schoolfellow, Major-General G. M. Bullock, C.B., who furnished me with the introductions I needed, and, with another old schoolfellow, Corbet Bey, the Procureur-Général, indicated many sources of information. I owe much to Sir Eldon Gorst, the British Minister Plenipotentiary, Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, who fills an ill-supported position with so much quiet strength; and to the eloquent Maître Carton de Wiart, the leader of the Egyptian Bar, the most powerful unofficial personage in Egypt, the one high personage who was willing to express his opinions frankly, and did not mind their being quoted as his opinions—a Belgian Seigneur of ancient lineage, who has in his hall the portraits of a long line of illustrious ancestors, all famous in the law; and has become an enthusiastic British subject. He exposed many frauds to me, and Mrs. De Wiart gave me some of the most valuable of my information about Society in Cairo.

To no one do I owe more than to Mr. Edward Fothergill, the Cairo correspondent, and lately acting editor, of the *Egyptian Gazette*; and the editor of the *Egyptian Morning News*, Mr. John

Prioleau, and the editor of *The Sphinx*, Miss N. Griffiths. I saw many things which I could never possibly have seen but for the kindness and energetic intervention of Mr. Fothergill, whom I consulted daily. Having been long in the country he could answer almost any question about life in Egypt or the Sudan, and, speaking Arabic fluently, he often interpreted for me. He is at present writing an important book upon the pioneering days of the Sudan. Mr. Prioleau allowed me to draw upon his articles on the Situation in Egypt. I wish I could have made my chapters as witty and pungent as his articles were. To Miss Griffiths I owed my introduction to Maitre and Mrs. Carton de Wiart, and much of the information given in the chapters on Society and the Hotels.

There are two Syrian households in Cairo in the same building—a great old Arab mansion in the Abdin quarter, which I should visit before I went to any English house if I returned to Cairo. Nowhere in Cairo did we find anything approaching the literary atmosphere of London so nearly as when we were taking tea with Dr. and Mrs. Nimr or Dr. and Mrs. Sarrûf. I went there very often, and it was to them more than anybody else that I owe the non-contentious information about the Egyptians. Dr. Sarrûf took me, for example, to the Sheikh El-Bekri, to see the Mûid of the Prophet from his pavilion, and to Sheikh Sadat's, while his son, Sarrûf Bey, took us to the Arab Theatre and to a banquet at a native restaurant. And when we went round with the Sarrûfs, as Arabic was their native language, and they had lived among Arabs all their lives, there was no question upon Arab customs which they could not answer. Dr. Nimr is one of the most remarkable men I met in Egypt. Whenever I was talking to him I wished that I was a phonograph, so as to take down every word he was saying. His knowledge and political experience are prodigious; he is one of the best public speakers in Egypt, and his private conversation is a succession of felicitous phrases, like those which distinguish his speeches. If I had succeeded, as I desired, in persuading him to give me the points for a chapter on the flagrant miscarriages of justice which have occurred almost monotonously in Egypt of late, the book would have been enriched with a severer indictment than any which have appeared in it. But I tried in vain. The attitude of Dr. Nimr and Dr. Sarrûf, as editors of

El-Mokhattam, the Cairo vernacular paper which might be called *The Times of Egypt*, was that they must avoid being associated in any political way with a book which unmasks the Egyptian and shows him to be a shifty and imperfectly educated Oriental. But it is not easy to exaggerate the value of the assistance I received from them in every other way, because they are familiar with English life and ideas as well as Arab (in London they would be taken for Englishmen), and are, therefore, able to speak from both points. It was from another Syrian—that most cultivated man, the late Negib Tabet, who took an astonishing amount of trouble on my behalf—that I learned the iniquity of the Egyptian from the business point of view. It was he who conferred on us the privilege of visiting the *Maison de France*, the residence of the French Agent, the most beautiful house in Cairo, constructed of *chefs d'œuvre* from mediæval Arab palaces and mosques.

The political indictment in the book is the British public opinion gathered from all sorts and conditions of Englishmen holding responsible positions in Egypt. Wherever the indictment was very severe I discussed it with some eminent man who was not of English birth. One afternoon, for example, I went over the principal points with the great advocate, *Maître Carton de Wiart*, and I found the German opinion of Egyptians far more severe than my own; while the leading Syrian and Armenian merchants favoured me with withering condemnations of English manners, and English short-sightedness in not using more force in governing the country, and proclaimed the absolute worthlessness of Egyptians—the absolute unfeasibility of their political aspirations. These conversations were like eating pickles with a spoon.

Not only to the Sirdar, but to Colonel Bernard, who arranged for my meeting Zubeir Pasha, to Captain Amery, D.S.O., Captain Carroll and Mr. Dill, I owe much for kindnesses during my visit to the Sudan; while in Upper Egypt I was enabled to see monuments not shown to the general public, by the favour of Mr. A. E. P. Weigall, the accomplished contributor to *Blackwood's*, who is Inspector of Monuments in Upper Egypt; M. Legrain, the Curator of the Temples of Karnak, who made the greatest discovery of statues ever found in Egypt; Mr. E. R. Ayrton, who has made the principal discoveries of recent years in the

Tombs of the Kings at Thebes; Mr. Harold Jones, who is equally distinguished as an artist and an explorer in the illustrated reports of newly-opened tombs. Mrs. Low, mother of Mr. John L. Low, the famous golfing amateur, and another son of hers, the Captain of the Assuan Golf Club, and Dr. Canney, the Resident Physician, helped me in my investigations at Assuan.

I am entirely at a loss how to express my indebtedness to Thomas Cook and Son at Cairo. There seems to be no limit to the influence of this firm in Egypt. All the way up the river I found my path smoothed for me by letters from Mr. Harrison, their general manager in Egypt; and no matter what I wanted to do when I returned to Cairo, Mr. Vesey, their assistant general manager, could always tell me how to do it, and wrote letters which made locks fly open. I am under the deepest obligations to him.

Mr. Russell Rea, M.P., who had arranged before leaving Cairo that our parties should share a table in the voyage up the Nile, knowing Egypt well from earlier visits, helped me in a variety of ways. He was kindness itself. Mr. Snelling, of the *Egyptian Gazette*, who has written a valuable monograph on Menas, the Christian Pompeii outside Alexandria, helped me at Alexandria; Mr. and Mrs. R. H. Sherard, at Helwan; Mr. Tully, secretary of the Standard Insurance Society, and Mr. René Francis, author of "Egypt and How to See It," at Cairo.

I have many thanks to tender for permission to reproduce photographs in this volume; to B. K. Miller, Esq., the eminent Milwaukee lawyer; to Dr. Llewellyn Phillips, physician at the Kasr-el-Aini Hospital in Cairo; to Dr. Morhig, the proprietor of the huge pharmacy at Khartoum; to Messrs. Lekejian, Dittrich, Peridis, and Zangatti, of Cairo; Signor Piromeli (late Beato), of Luxor; and Signor Fiorillo, of Alexandria and Assuan.

And, lastly, I have to thank Miss Olave Potter for the very full index which she has compiled for my book:

DOUGLAS SLADEN.

Oct. 1908.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

I HAVE pointed out in my Preface that this book aims at giving a faithful reflection of British public opinion in Egypt. It was written in the hope that a knowledge of what the British in Egypt think might awaken in the British at home, who love their country, an anxiety about Egypt which will react upon our rulers.

It is indisputable that we have a glorious heritage in Egypt, and that we stand in danger of losing it, because we have Governments, of both parties, who can be squeezed into giving up anything, and because *sedition is busy in Egypt*.

In the following pages will be found a mass of instances and anecdotes which show the parlous state of the country. If you go into the Club in Cairo, or the office of the *Egyptian Gazette* in Alexandria; if you listen to a mess-room conversation, or to what the hard-working British medical inspector or irrigation-engineer is telling an English traveller who is questioning him about the country—you will hear what I have set down in the political portion of this book. And you will hear added to it alarming accounts of the epidemic of rioting in Cairo streets; attacks of bandits on trains in populous parts of the Nile valley; vain prosecutions of seditious journals whose violence could no longer be safely overlooked; open incitements to revolution and massacre of foreigners—which has swept over Egypt since I left it in the early summer.

In collecting the materials for my book, I have conversed with all sorts and conditions of men in Egypt, from the Khedive and Sir Eldon Gorst and the General-in-Command and the Leader of the Bar, down to English inspectors, engineers, police officials, schoolmasters, managers of great business houses, and every kind of British employee in business houses and Government offices. In the last three or four months of my stay in

Egypt I spent a large part of every day in the company of the leading journalists of Cairo.

I have talked to Pashas and Beys and Mamûrs, and editors of both the Nationalist and the anti-Nationalist native newspapers; to Egyptians of all degrees; to the leading Syrians, who, speaking Arabic as their native tongue, mix with the Egyptians much more freely than the English can ever hope to, and are even invited to their intimate social functions, such as weddings; to the grim and watchful Armenians, so difficult to deceive.

I have had many discussions with Europeans of many nationalities—French, Italians, Germans, Austrians, Belgians, Swiss, Greeks, and others, who have made Egypt their home, and have made themselves factors in the country independently of, and often in strong opposition to, the English. At the present time it is rare to find one of them who wishes the English to withdraw; they fear that it would promptly result in the bankruptcy of the country.

Egypt can best be compared to a coal-mine full of fire-damp, with plenty of fools about to strike a match.

The saving feature in the situation is the Young Turk. It was on Turkey, the nation of their co-religionists, that the Egyptian Nationalists chiefly relied. There are many who have been prepared to welcome Turkish intervention, even to welcome a return to Turkish rule, in order to get rid of the hated English. The Egyptian Nationalist hates the rule of the English because they are Christians, and even more because they insist on honest administration. He sighs for a return to the days when Egypt was a cucumber-frame of corruption, in which blackmail grew like Jonah's gourd. He has the effrontery to go about saying that things were better in the days of Ismail Pasha, whose iniquities were condemned even by the Sultan.

Without calling himself "The Young Egyptian," the hobble-dehoy Egyptian Nationalist compared himself to the Young Turk, who has the spirit of the martyrs of the Redemption of Italy and the sound sense of the Anglo-Saxon—and he was confident that the Young Turk would support him in behaving like a spoilt child to the English, and dealing with his possessions like an imbecile who has succeeded to a fortune.

What has the Young Turk to say upon the matter? General Ahmed Pasha shall reply—I quote from the *Egyptian Gazette*, of September 14th, 1908 :—

“ I beg the courtesy of your columns, for the purpose of stating the extremely valuable aid which the British rule of Egypt has proved to be in paving the way for the Reformed Government in Turkey, with the necessary support of the Sheikh-ul-Islam, which was the essential feature in securing the adhesion of the Ulema to the new order of things. For twenty-five years the eyes of every Turk, as well as his ears, have been open to what was happening in Egypt, and the strenuous labours of Lord Cromer have been stamped with such a degree of unselfishness and perseverance in building up a sound administration that he has won the gratitude of Moslems in Egypt and the admiration of Moslems in Turkey ; because it has been manifested to all that Lord Cromer was as careful to preserve and augment the revenues and to improve the landed estates of the great Moslem University of El-Azhar, and of the Vakoufs of Egypt, which support the Mosques, as he was to improve the accommodation of Alexandria Harbour or the sanitary condition of Port Said. Officers in the Khedive’s army, when visiting friends in Turkish towns, have not been slow to speak in the highest terms of the kindness to them of the British officers under whom they were serving ; and so, little by little, your work and example in Egypt has become known and talked about in Mecca and Medina at the time of pilgrimage, and gradually percolated throughout Islam. We see, therefore, why the Young Turkish leaders are desirous of placing their confidence in England, and seeking guidance and help in the difficult task before them. Your rule in Egypt has been a magnificent success and absolutely just, and Turks recognize that King Edward reigns over more Moslems than the Sultan, so that it is of the greatest importance to the Ottoman Empire that we should gain and keep the good will of the British nation.”

• It would be interesting to hear what the editor of *Al-Lewa* has to say about the Young Turk’s lecture to Egyptians on their ingratitude to England, his declaration of his own devotion to England, and his unstinted admiration for Lord Cromer’s work in Egypt. When the Copts ventured to disagree with *Al-Lewa* much less decidedly, he wrote of them as follows—*vide* the *Egyptian Gazette* of August 27th, 1908 :—

• “ They should be kicked to death. They still have faces and bodies similar to those of demons and monkeys, which

is a proof that they hide poison^{ous} spirits within their evil soul (*sic*). The fact that they exist in the world confirms Darwin's theory that human beings are generated from monkeys. You sons of adulterous women, you descendants of the bearers of trays, have you become so foolhardy that you should start and abuse the Moslem faith? The Curse of Allah on you! You tails of camels, with your monkey faces! you bones of bodies! you poor, dreaming fools! you sons of mean rogues! is it with such acts that such people should win renown?"

The Khedive's laureate, Shawki Bey, "whose official, or semi-official, post prohibits his making any statements to the Press, except those which have been officially, or semi-officially, inspired by the men who are at the head of the native forces at work on the political stage of Egypt," is responsible for the following communication in the *Egyptian Gazette* of September 22nd, 1908:—

"The Khedive is personally in favour of granting the Constitution, but the Constitution cannot be granted unless the Occupying Power takes an active part in the promulgation. All other statements are erroneous."

And to fill the Egyptian Nationalist's cup to the brim, England's time-honoured enemy in Egypt—France—is no longer England's jealous rival, but her closest friend, hand in glove with her over every question of high politics; and Russia, for so many years England's rival in Asia, is hardly less friendly than France.

There remains Germany, in which some see the ultimate owner of Egypt. But for the time being, Germany has no *locus standi* for tendering advice about Egyptian affairs. It would be an evil day for Egypt if ever Germany had the ordering of them. But there does not seem to be a possibility of it.

It is fortunate for Egypt that England does not cherish methods and ambitions like Germany. It is easy to picture the great army the Kaiser would maintain in the Nile Valley, with railways converging on the Suez Canal, built upon all manner of plausible pretexts with the one object of the instantaneous transference of an army for the seizure and closing of the canal in case of war. And Egypt would have to pay for this huge

force, only kept in the country to be employed against its interests.

If we were like the Germans, we should turn the ancient kingdom of the Nile into a sort of Congo Free State for the exploiting of our manufactures, and the monopolizing of Egyptian raw materials. The land which has groaned under so many masters would groan as it never groaned before.

In reading over the *Egyptian Gazettes* of the last three months, with a view to giving the last word about Egypt, it is difficult to see what overt line of action the Egyptian Nationalist will take. He began with street riots, train brigandage and unbridled sedition in the Press. Then, hoping that the successful agitation of the Young Turkish Party for a Constitution in Turkey would make his own claim for a Constitution in Egypt irresistible, he quieted down, merely talking in a large way about justice for Egypt. But he is only "lying low." The idea of simply doing his duty in that state of life into which it pleased God to call him is altogether foreign to the Egyptian Nationalist. The question is, how will he break out? No national revolt is to be apprehended, though the police are said to be all Nationalists, which is less unnatural when one considers that they are all policemen against their will as part of the system of Conscription. And since Egyptians have such a hatred for serving in the army, it is probable that the Egyptian army, also, is full of Nationalists. But a large part of the Egyptian army is Sudanese, and the Sudanese have a contempt for the Egyptians and are much attached to their British officers. The only consideration that would make them cast in their lot with the Nationalists would be a Mohammedan proclamation against the English; but this must come from Turkey, and in the present temper of Turkey there is not the slightest chance of its coming.

I expect to see the leaders of the Nationalists in Egypt nonplussed by this attitude of Turkey. I expect to see the movement much less identified with Islamism—and without a backing of Pan-Islamism, Egyptian Nationalism is a mere husk.

II.

One of the great charms of Egypt, and still more of the Sudan, consists in the type of Young Englishman you see carrying on the administration of the country. He is often accused of arrogance; he sometimes makes no effort to conciliate the Egyptians and Levantines with whom he is thrown in contact, if he is one of the resolute men who are empire-builders. He is perhaps none the worse for this, though so many diatribes have been hurled against him on this account: the Egyptian is an Oriental, and has always had arbitrary masters; but he is quick enough to note the crocodile's pity, which trickles upon him like saliva from the jaws that would swallow Egypt like another Bosnia or Herzegovina if they got the chance. If the English only robbed and maltreated him, as well as disciplined him, the voice of complaint would cease. Æsop must have had some nation like the Egyptians in his eye when he wrote the fable of the "Frog and King Log and King Stork."

It is pleasant to turn from politics to follow the Nile through Nubia, to where Khartum lies embowered in palm trees and bright tropical flowers, on the steep bank of the Blue Nile, and Omdurman is a market for Equatorial Africa.

One passes on the way a long succession—from Ghizeh and Memphis to Halfa—of the most ancient and imposing monuments which the world possesses. The Pyramids and the Sphinx, the Tombs of Thebes, the Temples of Karnak, beggar description. All the world is familiar with their glories. But if it were not for the Museum of Cairo, and the buildings of the Pharaohs on the banks of the Nile, Egypt would be nothing but an Arab monarchy. The Copts, who have most claim to represent the ancient Egyptians, are inconsiderable in numbers, and have no political influence. Though the fellahin are actually free, and in theory the political equals of pashas, they are morally serfs: they affect the question of Government hardly more than they would if they were slaves. Besides the vast number of them are Mohammedans, and in Egypt a

Mohammedan, of whatever blood he may be, counts as an Arab, and will even speak of himself as an Arab.

In other words, Egypt is an Arab nation. And putting the great question of Egyptology aside, it is precisely as an Arab nation that Egypt interests us. For half the life of the Middle Ages was tinged by relations with the Arab powers of the Mediterranean and hither Asia. In the old caravan days, before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and America, the golden East had Arab gates, and some of the most brilliant chapters in Art and Romance belong to the Arab Courts, which were swept away in the cataclysms of the stormy fifteenth century.

We love the story of Granada, the more because we have an Arab Power still living in its ancient capital on the banks of the Nile. It is no matter that the Khedive of Egypt rules less orientally than more than one European monarch; that British authority, backed by British bayonets, will tolerate no summary justice, no examinations by torture, not even the bastinado; that picturesque plunder and abduction in the style of the Arabian Nights are denied to pashas, who also no longer dress the part. The tourist who explores diligently the quarters of Cairo, which are under the shadow of the Citadel of Saladin, is in an Arab capital still, with half a hundred noble antique mosques, the fountains of every-day life, and stately old palaces of Sultans and Mamlûks lurking unsuspected behind highways; and whole streets of old harem windows with meshrebiya lattices. Arab Cairo is mediæval still, though it is true that the wives of the Princes and Pashas and Sheikhs have learned to drive about in European broughams without blinds, and with only a chiffon pretence of a veil; and the Princes and Pashas themselves preserve no part of their Eastern dress but the tarboosh.

But the poor, and their spiritual pastors, have changed little. The Dervishes and the Sheikhs of the mosques are always in their robes, and the poor might have walked straight out of the Arabian Nights; the men wearing long blue or white galabeahs reaching to their bare feet thrust into red slippers, and usually with small white turbans on their heads — the women in black, with veiled faces and heavy silver bands on their ankles, whether bare or stockinged.

Were it not for the carts off building materials and the carriages carrying foreigners, there would still be no wheeled traffic in the streets; for pack-camels and asses bring in the produce of the farmer, and thousands of white asses with silver trappings carry dignified Arabs through the streets, with the curious swift clicking walk which is one of the tight sounds of Cairo. If you go into the Bazar in the morning you can see life very little changed from the days of Harûn-er-Rashid. The mourned will be going about the streets heralded by a wailing chant and carrying shoulder-high a long coffin with a high horn, and a domed lid covered with a rich shawl; the water-sellers clinking their brass cups, and the lemonade-sellers with their tall brass vessels, domed and minaretted like miniature mosques, will be standing at every corner; the women will be haggling in the narrow jeweller's sùk, or disappearing into a bath-house with a towel stretched across its door as a warning of sex.

Egypt offers more than any other country to the traveller. A full purse he still needs, a very full purse, but if he makes his connection well at Marseilles, the *de luxe* steamers of the Egyptian Mail Steamship Company will land him at Alexandria during the fourth day from London, and Alexandria is but three hours from Cairo, in which there are quarters where he is as deep in the Orient as he could be in Kyoto or Canton.

How to cheat the winter is the problem of the rich. They can find Society and English sports in the sunshine of the Riviera; they can find art and antiquities in the sunshine of Italy and Sicily; they can find them all in Egypt, and the sunshine of Egypt can only be compared to the ocean. To cross the winter in the sunshine of Egypt is like crossing the ocean. Egyptian sunshine is limitless, and Egypt is still under the aegis of England, though at any moment it may be given away with a pound of soft soap.

Few tourists will prefer the art and antiquities of Egypt to those of Italy, but if their beauty is less obvious, the monuments of Egypt are almost as remarkable for their innumerability as for their inconceivable antiquity.

For the intelligent traveller Egypt is, above all, interesting as an Oriental country. It is not, like Tunis, a bit of the Arab Middle Ages preserved under a glass case; it is as Oriental as Japan or China; you can still see Oriental agriculture, hardly

to be distinguished from the agriculture on the tombs of the Pharaohs, progressing in every mile of the Valley of the Nile, from Cairo to Halfa and Cairo to the sea. You can still see the primitive Oriental buying and selling, gambling and sleeping, watching the snake-charmer, listening to the story-teller, in the Market of the Afternoon under the Citadel.

In El-Azhar, the University of the Mohammedan world which the victorious Gohar founded in the days when tradition pictures our Alfred giving Oxford the first of her proud colleges, bookless students still crowd in little clusters round professors as poor as themselves, like the pupils of Roger Bacon and Abelard. England, the benevolent mistress of seventy millions of Mohammedans, Defender of the Faith of the Ottoman Empire, has by the hands of her Proconsuls-General dealt gently with the antiquated curriculum of the twelve thousand students who eat the bread of Gohar's glorious foundation. And many an ancient mosque has been snatched from ruin and reclothed in splendour by her influence.

Restoration is England's watchword in Egypt. The restoration of Egyptian Nationality, which has been her aim in the years of her ministration, is harder to compass than the restoration of a temple of the Pharaoh who oppressed the Israelites, or a mosque of the magnificent Saladin who fought with our Richard Cœur de Lion for the Holy Land of Israel. For these monarchs of long ago could lay up for themselves treasures under the rainless heaven of Egypt which neither moth nor rust could corrupt, while the men born on Egyptian earth have ever been the prey of corruption—thieves who broke through and stole in the Tombs of the Kings of the old time before them.

The fascination of Egypt is eternal. It is the other Bible-land about which we learned at our mothers' knees, and that is to most of us a perennial spring of feeling; and it is the cradle of the civilization which has made History. Civilization dawned from the East, and it shone over the waters from Egypt to Carthage, Athens, and Rome, and Trinacria, the Sicily with a headland pointing to each, which all three exhausted themselves to conquer, as if knowing that with the conqueror of Sicily the Empire of the World would rest.

As we sit on the banks of the Nile at Luxor, gazing at the

plain of Hundred-Pyloned Thebes, and the steps of the Sahara, we marvel why, in that land of long-drawn sunsets, whose heraldic emblem was the lotus, there dwelt not lotus-eaters, but those terrible Pharaohs who wrote the story of their wars on the slave-built Pyramids of the Desert.

Egypt is full of the footsteps of conquerors—Cambyses the Persian, who might have strangled the infant Greece; Alexander the Great, of Macedon; Julius Cæsar; Saladin; Napoleon, and Nelson.

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