

William Wing Loring, George Brinton McClellan and Ulysses S. Grant: American Civil War Generals in Egypt during 1870s

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[A]Summary

Of the many world-famous politicians and military officers who visited Egypt during the second half of the nineteenth century there were several American Civil War generals who lived or travelled there. This chapter focuses on three of them: William Wing Loring, George Brinton McClellan and Ulysses S. Grant. Loring visited Egypt for the first time after 1859, and between 1870 to 1879 he served in the Egyptian army, along with fifty other American Civil War veterans. He published several articles and a book about his life and military experiences in Egypt between 1877 and 1884. McClellan visited Egypt during the 1860s and 1870s but not in a military capacity. Between autumn 1874 and winter 1875 he travelled with his family around the Nile on a *dahabiyya* called *Nellie*. His description of and thoughts about the voyage were published in three articles in *Scribner's Monthly* (1876). Ulysses S. Grant visited Egypt from 5 January to 9 February 1878, and again at the end of January 1879 during his world tour (May 1877–Autumn 1879). Descriptions of his world tour were later published in 1879 in a book by journalist John Russell Young, in memories by Julia Dent Grant published in 1975, and in the Grants' personal letters.

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[A]Egypt during the reign of Ismāʿīl the Magnificent (1863–1879)

Egypt, with its rich and fertile agriculture land, began to be modernized and influenced by the West during the first half of the nineteenth century during the reigns of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha (1805–1848), ʿAbbās I (1848–1854) and Saʿīd Pasha (1848–1863) (Fahmy 1998: 139–179; Hunter 1998: 180–197; Ibrahim 1998: 198–216; Toledano 1998: 252–284). In the early 1860s Egypt was a province of the Ottoman Empire, and its rulers, although independent, were still provincial governors. The period from the early nineteenth century until the end of the reign of Ismāʿīl the Magnificent (1863–1879) is crucial to modern Egyptian history, for it was a time when various European powers slowly economically and politically penetrated Egypt (Hunter 1998: 180).

Ismā'īl the Magnificent, who inherited the Egyptian throne from his father in 1863, was described by McClellan (1876a: 372) as

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a man of extraordinary intelligence and vigor, and that he earnestly desires to increase the prosperity of his country and the well-being of his people. He conversed fully and frankly upon the changes in progress, and seemed broadly and intelligently acquainted with the full scope and details of his work. His conversation was not that of a man who had merely learned by heart certain formulae for current use, but indicated a clear and comprehensive grasp of all the subjects referred to. Where he had not originated ideas, he had at least made himself master of them. That he has made no mistakes; that he has always carried his plans into effect in the best way, or in the best order of sequence, I neither say nor believe.

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By 1867 Ismā'īl had been awarded the title *Khedive* of Egypt — Viceroy of Egypt — by the Ottoman Sultan Abdül Aziz (1861–1876). McClellan (1874: 732) and Loring (1884: 77, 289) suggested that this honour was purchased with great tributes and enormous sums of money that were sent to the sultan in Constantinople. Whatever else, to bring stability to the Egyptian government, Sultan Abdül Aziz allowed Ismā'īl's descendants direct succession to the throne. By 1873 Egypt was granted full autonomy, though it remained part of the Ottoman state (Hunter 1998: 192–193). The Viceroy's power was absolute and was based on Islamic norms and also the laws of the Ottoman Empire and Egypt (181). All these changes were important for the position of Egypt in the global political arena.

The other important element introduced by Ismā'īl was the establishment of the first representative form of national parliament. In 1866 he formed an advisory governmental body of local political leaders (Loring 1884: 78; Hunter 1998: 181). During the 1860s foreign investment in Egypt was increasing, and its new industry of cotton production was beginning to flourish (Loring 1884: 45, 47; Hunter 1998: 187; Toledano 1998: 273). Gradually, from the 1860s, Egypt took over control of the world's cotton production from the United States of America, exporting particularly to Europe (Loring 1884: 73; Hunter 1998: 187). Egypt banned the slave trade in Nubia and Sudan too (McClellan 1876a: 375–376; Loring 1884: 78; Ibrahim 1998: 212).

Ismā'īl, meanwhile, lived an extravagant lifestyle spending much more than he could afford and adopting many European customs. McClellan (1876a: 379) and Loring (1884: 66, 73) agreed, for example, that the Khedive was spending too much money on

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the erection of new places and other buildings, in the support of hareem, in the tribute to Constantinople, in lavish display and entertainments, in large sums thrown away upon the travelling expenses of impecunious and brazen-faced European princes, the construction of unprofitable sugar-mills, the maintenance of the army, in distant campaigns, and in many other ways, besides the losses through corrupt and ignorant officials, the expenses of the Khedive are certainly enormous, and far beyond the capacity of the country. His court started to dress in European style clothes; whilst men and women around the table started to use 'knives and forks and eat like Europeans instead of dipping the fingers into their dishes'. (Loring 1884: 78)

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Although he invested in the production of sugar and cotton, Ismā'īl also built a modern Egyptian infrastructure (McClellan 1876a: 372, 374–377; Loring 1884: 45, 47, 65, 73–76, 79; Langer 1950: 355; Hunter 1998: 181, 186, 189–190; Toledano 1998: 261; Reid 2002: 85, 97). This included the Suez Canal; a transport system with 1400 km of new rail tracks; 8,000 km of telegraph lines and 400 bridges; canals; harbours in Alexandria and Suez; and setting up various educational and cultural institutions, palaces, theatres, and the National Library in Cairo (Cleveland & Martin 2013: 88–89.). Ismā'īl built nearly 4,500 schools and, in 1867, took control of all primary schools in Egypt. There children were trained for jobs in the bureaucracy or the Egyptian Army. Public schools for girls were also established under royal patronage. The National Opera House was opened as part of the celebration of the opening of Suez Canal on 1 November 1869.

From the mid-1850s one of the most important innovations in Egypt was the construction of the Suez Canal. This important project started with a French concession in 1856 but by 1859, when construction started, it still did not have official permission from the Sultan in Constantinople to go ahead (Loring 1884: 73–76; Reid 2002: 97). It was financed by the Suez Canal Company, which was proportionately owned by the French (52 %), Said Pasha (44 %), and 4% by fourteen other European countries (Hunter 1998: 187). The plan was to finish the Canal in six years, but the construction took four additional years. When the Canal was

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finally opened in 1869 it was not as big success as everyone had anticipated and it had been an expensive construction,

Ismā'īl's successful achievement of Egyptian autonomy in the Ottoman Empire led him to seek an even more important position for Egypt, for he wanted to build a regional empire in north-eastern Africa too. With the prohibition of the slave trade in the Sudan during the 1860s, Ismā'īl wanted to expand his rule to Abyssinia (Ethiopia), Equatorial Africa and the whole region around the Red Sea (Ibrahim 1998: 211). In order to do this, he needed a modern army, so he recruited and hired numerous foreign veteran soldiers and generals. Military experts were brought in to train Egyptian troops in modern warfare and military equipment. According to Ismā'īl, Egyptians did not want the European powers to take care of this modernization, so he invited Americans. McClellan (1876a: 373) described the condition and reasons why he employed American officers in his army as follows:

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Under Mohammed Ali and Ibrahim, the Egyptian army attained a comparatively high degree of efficiency, as is proved by the campaigns of the Morea and Syria. The Khedive has done much toward increasing this efficiency, and has called into his service several American officers in place of the Europeans formerly employed. This was, no doubt, mainly because of the improbability of our country ever taking part in European general wars, so that he could count upon Americans standing by him in any complication; while European officers might at any moment be ordered away by their governments in the event of war, and, at the same time, carry with them knowledge valuable to his enemies.

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Most of the soldiers were hired in the United States of America where few years earlier, in 1865, the Civil War between Northern and Southern States had ended. In the United States, Ismā'īl sought recommendations for future recruits from General William Tecumseh Sherman, one of the most important Union generals during the Civil War. In 1869, on Sherman's recommendation, Ismā'īl's government enlisted more than fifty ex-Confederate and Union officers for various positions in Egyptian Army, recruited not only to modernise that army but also to aid the future expansion southwards.

The most important enlisted United States' generals were Charles P. Stone, Henry H. Sibley and William Wing Loring. They arrived to find a poorly organised Egyptian Army, as Loring (1884: 350–351) described:

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When, in the Spring of 1870, General Stone entered the War Office of Egypt as chief of staff of the army, he found there no staff existing. There was one 'colonel of the staff' on the rolls, but he, an able French officer, was in England on special duty procuring supplies, and he remained there until 1880. He found in the War Office no maps, no military books, no military magazines or journals.

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Loring (349–363) went on to detail efforts to modernize the Egyptian Army in his chapter VI entitled 'Something about the organization and personnel of the Egyptian army and the Abyssinian expedition'. McClellan (1876a: 373–374). also made some remarks about the bad condition of the army before the American officers arrived in 1870. By 1874, enlisted officers had managed to improve the standards of Egyptian troops and artillery, and also set up coastal defences on the Red Sea.

In 1874, Egypt started a war with Abyssinia in order to control the Nile valley (Ibrahim 1998: 213). Before the war, Loring was promised the command of the Egyptian Army but the position of Chief Commander of the troops went to Ratib Pasha, an influential ex-slave with little military experience (Loring 1877: 27; Ibrahim 1998: 213). This meant that the campaign was a complete disaster, with the Egyptians defeated at the battle of Gura in 1876 and leading to the withdrawal of the Egyptian Army from Abyssinia (Loring 1877; 1884 II; Ibrahim 1998: 213). Soon after the war ended, Egypt proclaimed bankruptcy (Loring 1884: 174–177; Reid 2002: 96).

These various enterprises, along with the extravagant life of Ismā'īl, led to a huge national debt (Hunter 1998: 187–189) and the financial crisis of the 1870s. At the beginning of Ismā'īl's rule, the national debt was around £8 million but by 1876 Egypt's national debt had risen to £90 million (Loring 1884: 64; Langer 1950: 355). Hence, in a letter of 1878, Grant (2005: 344) wrote: 'I wish Egypt was free from debt and the iron heel of her creditors.' At the same time Egypt had a population of 5 million, with an annual treasury revenue of £8 million (Langer 1950: 355). Despite all his good intentions, Ismā'īl still organized the national economy mostly for the benefit of the rich and not for the peasants (Hunter 1998: 187–189).

Loring (1884: 165–182) described the reasons for Egypt's national bankruptcy in a special chapter of his memoirs and neatly described the results of Ismā'īl's investments which led to national bankruptcy with these words:

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The investment of his enormous private fortune in landed estates, together with the extensive purchase of machinery and implements of agriculture, plainly show the confidence he had in the schemes into which he was persuaded. Disaster to the finances of the country and the ruin of his own fortune were the result. Neither the state treasury nor the Khedive personally was able to meet even the interest on the immense loans contracted by them, and creditors at once became clamorous (67).

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On the other hand, it is due to truth to admit the folly and wrong of Ismāʿīl's lavish outlay upon palaces and dinners, his waste of great sums on his harems and their gardens, his huge expenditure for iron-clads in the foolish hope of building up a navy, and his boundless extravagance in entertaining the world at the opening of the Suez Canal. ... This was the paying of hotel bills and the cost of steamboat excursions up the Nile for innumerable princes and other dignitaries (66).

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In 1875, Ismāʿīl sold the Egyptian shares of the Suez Canal to the British government in an attempt to resolve his crisis over the national finances (Loring 1884: 76; Hunter 1998: 195). This sale greatly increased British influence in Egypt. McClellan (1876a: 372) nicely predicted that this acquisition of shares could lead to a 'form of a protectorate' or mean that Egypt would become the 'most important colony of Great Britain', for 'England cannot afford to permit the control of her most direct communication with India to pass into the hands of her enemies; at any cost she must secure the uninterrupted use of the Suez Canal' (380). But this act did not save Egypt from bankruptcy a year later, just as McClellan predicted: 'so there can be no doubt that this financial condition is unpromising in the extreme, and must result in total bankruptcy, unless the entire change is promptly effected' (Hunter 1998: 195).

In a letter to General W.T. Sherman, dated 21 March 1878, Grant (2005: 358) wrote:

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But things are different with him [Khedive] from what they were when you were in Egypt [in 1869 while preparing the arrival of Egyptian officers for the Egyptian Army; author's comment]. His debts, private and public, have accumulated to such an extent that the resources of the state cannot possibly meet the interest. ... This leaves nothing for the Khedive to use in payment of current expenses of Govt.

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These financial crises gave the European imperial powers ample opportunities to intervene in the domestic policy in Egypt and forced Ismā'īl to leave his throne on 26 June 1879 (Loring 1884: 179–182; Hunter 1998: 195).

[A] William Wing Loring in Egypt (1870–1879)

William Wing Loring (4 December 1818–30 December 1886) was a Southern Army and then a United States Army General. He was well educated in history, geography, classical languages and law. During his life he practiced law and was a state legislator. His military career started at the young age of fourteen in the Florida Militia, and after he quit his law and political career in 1846 Loring joined the United States army. During his early life, he fought with Seminole Indians (1832, 1836), and shortly after joined the Texas army during the war for Texan Independence ('Florida'). During his military career in the United States Army he fought in the Mexican-American war (1846–1848), during which he lost his arm.¹ After the war he continued his military career as part of the United States Mounted Rifles at the western frontiers of the United States, fighting various Indian tribes including Comanche, Kiowa and Apache. In May 1859 he started a year-long tour around Europe visiting Great Britain, France, Sweden, Prussia, Switzerland, the Habsburg Empire, Italy and Russia, as well as the Ottoman Empire and Egypt where he studied new military tactics and techniques ('West'). In Egypt he met the Egyptian viceroy Sa'īd I Pasha (r.1854–1863) and his son Ismā'īl (r. 1863–1879) ('West'). During the American Civil War (April 1861–May 1865), Loring joined the Confederate army as Brigadier General (*Civil War Home*, 'William Wing Loring'). Between May 1861 and the end of April 1865 he was fighting with varied success in Virginia and various areas of the western front (Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Tennessee and Georgia) as part of commanding divisions.² After the Civil War he served for

¹ On 13 September 1847, during the battle of Chapultepec, Loring was shot by a bullet that shattered his arm; his arm was later amputated ('Mexico'; 'William Wing Loring').

² For a more detailed analysis of his life during the Civil War see 'South'. *Civil War Home* William Wing Loring [???]; Koestler & Grack 2009: 88–89.

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several years as a banking consultant in New York City. His duties mostly related to various financial investments in the South of the United States ('Adrift'). In 1869 he went to Egypt as Inspector General of the Egyptian Army and stayed there until March 1879 ('Egypt'). After his return to the United States, he tried his luck in politics as a candidate for the United States Senate but was unsuccessful. The last years of his life were spent in New York City, where he was cremated and buried. Later his remains were removed to St Augustine, Florida, where, in 1920, a marble obelisk was erected to mark his final resting place ('Beyond').

[B]Loring and other United States officers in Egypt (1869–1879)

At the end of the 1860s Ismā'īl, the Khedive of Egypt, wanted to modernize his army and was seeking experienced American officers with a knowledge of modern military technology and tactics. That was a good opportunity for many American Civil War veterans to get back into military action or to get more experience in foreign countries. The first American to join the Egyptian Army was Major General Thaddeus P. Mott, who was recommended by General William Sherman, who was a United States General under President Ulysses S. Grant and involved in United States foreign policy. Soon afterwards, Mott and Sherman made a list of forty-six suitable American officers and three military doctors for positions in the Egyptian Army. Some of the American military personnel, such as Major Oscar Eugene Fechet, Major Charles F. Loshe, Colonel Robert M. Rogers and Doctor William H. Wilson, were keen to leave the United States Army to get more experience abroad (Loring 1884: 354; 'Americans Who Served in Egypt'). Among them was Major General Loring,³ who in 1869 had renewed his acquaintanceship with Sherman, whom he had known for many years. Loring was also a friend of President Grant from the time of the Mexico-American War.

Soon afterwards, Loring accepted this opportunity and left the United States along with Mott and Brigadier General Henry Hopkins Sibley. They travelled together by steamship to Egypt and arrived at the beginning of 1870 after a journey of three weeks. On arrival they were appointed to their new posts. Loring was appointed Inspector-General of the Egyptian Army and soon afterwards he started to build the fortifications along the Egyptian coast that still stand today. With this success, Loring was soon in favour with the Khedive, who granted him Gabara palace in Alexandria, the late residence of Sa'īd Pasha, and a good salary of \$4,200 ('Egypt').

³ For a complete list of American officers and doctors who served in Egypt between 1869 and 1879, see 'Americans Who Served in Egypt'.

Loring's service in Egypt was not always easy and sometimes even ended in bloodshed. According to various telegrams to the *New York Herald* in July 1872, there was a violent skirmish between United States Consul-General G.H. Butler supported by his secretary Major George Wadleigh against ex-Confederate Major William P.A. Campbell supported by Colonel Alexander W. Reynolds. Loring backed Campbell and Reynolds and witnessed the incident. Wadleigh shot Campbell and badly wounded him; then Reynolds fired at Wadleigh but without effect. According to a telegram of 17 July 1872, the cause of this accident was 'a long-standing enmity between Butler and Campbell'. Soon after this accident, Butler fled Alexandria on a postal steamer and faded from history ('An Affrey in Alexandria'; Dunn 2005).

After the annexation of Darfur in the 1870s (Sik 1966: 348), Ismā'īl wanted to extend his authority southwards into Sudan. An opportunity appeared in 1874 and 1875 when there were 'incessant raids made by the nomadic and warlike Abyssinians upon the peaceful and timid Egyptian fellahs dwelling in convenient proximity to these uncomfortable neighbours' (Loring 1877: 26). In October 1875,⁴ Ismā'īl sent 3,400 Egyptian soldiers under the command of the Danish Colonel Arendrup to protect the border and to enforce peace (Loring 1877: 26–27; 1884: 301–302). This was treated as an act of war by the Abyssinian king Yohannes IV (1837–1889) and on 18 November 1875 Ismā'īl's forces were massacred in the defile of Goundel (Loring 1877: 27; 1884: 303–304; Ibrahim 1998: 213). As a result, Egypt started a war with Abyssinia. Soon after, at the end of 1875, Khedive Ismā'īl prepared a second expedition to make war against the Abyssinians, sending an army of 16,000 well-armed soldiers equipped with Remington rifles and Krupp guns (Loring 1877: 28–29). Ismā'īl's forces were under the command of the Egyptian 'generalissimo' Ratib Pasha, who did not have any military experience (Loring 1884: 329–348) though he was accompanied by General Loring as his chief of staff and many other American and foreign officers. According to his memoirs of 1884, Loring had expected to oversee this campaign, but as result of various court intrigues that position was given to Ratib Pasha (Loring 1877: 27; Ibrahim 1998: 213) about whom Loring did not find a good word to say in his memoirs. The whole expedition travelled south by steamships through the Suez Canal, and down the Red Sea to Massawa. After several months of preparation, they started to penetrate Abyssinia (Loring 1877: 28; 1884: 365–399). During the march south they established several fortifications, the most important being Fort Gura with 7,700 soldiers and Kaya Khor with between 5,000 to

⁴ In his article published in 1877, there was a typing mistake, for Loring wrote 'October 1865' (Loring 1877: 26). These events actually happened in autumn 1875.

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- Title: Agent/Consul General and listed in the list of US Ambassadors to Egypt
- Appointed: March 15, 1870
- Presented credentials: June 2, 1870
- Terminated mission: Left Egypt July 16, 1872

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6,000 soldiers⁵ (Loring 1877: 29). In contrast, under the command of Yohannes IV, Abyssinia had around 40,000 to 60,000 men, mostly equipped with old arms and muskets.⁶ Fighting started in early March 1876. American officers suggested that they attack the small number of Abyssinian troops who were advancing towards them but Ratib Pasha did not want to listen their advice, as McClellan (1876a: 373) wrote:

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In the recent Abyssinian campaign, most of the American officers were with the active army, and there is good reason to believe that, had the Egyptian commander, Ratch Pasha, followed their counsels, his miserable fiasco would have been converted into a brilliant success. They did their duty gallantly and loyally, and deserved a better commander.

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On 7 March 1876, when the Abyssinians arrived with more troops, Ratib Pasha attacked with his forces divided and with only 5,000 men from Gura. They were quickly surrounded by the much larger enemy force and defeated (Loring 1877: 30). On 9 and 10 March the Abyssinians attacked the remaining 3,000 Egyptian soldiers in Fort Gura but were unable to defeat them. Peace negotiations began and took several days, after which the Egyptians retreated northwards (Loring 1877: 32–39; 1884: 435–448; Ibrahim 1998: 213). Tensions between Egypt and Abyssinia simmered until peace was established with the Treaty of Adwa (also known as the Hewitt Treaty) in 3 June 1884 (Hewitt 1884). After this war, the whole contingent of American officers were blamed by Ratib Pasha for the Egyptian retreat.

Soon after the unsuccessful military campaign, the effects of the financial crisis in Egypt became an even greater burden for the government. By the end of 1876 Egypt was declared bankrupt. Ismā‘īl could no longer afford to pay foreign officers and by 1878 the contingent was dismissed. Yet, according to McClellan who visited Egypt in 1874–1875, the Khedive was ‘much pleased with them, and desired more in his service.’

McClellan (1876a: 373) also wrote, ‘I would by no means advise anyone doing well at home to accept a commission in the Egyptian service. Two large parties under American officers are now exploring Darfour, a tedious and difficult task.’ During their service in Egypt, six American officers died during the war with Abyssinia: Major William P. A.

⁵ These numbers are different in Loring’s publications. In 1877 he gave c.5,000 soldiers (Loring 1877: 29); in 1884 c.6,000 soldiers (Loring 1884: 398).

⁶ Loring (1877: 30) estimated the number of soldiers in the Abyssinian army to be between 40,000 and 50,000; in 1884 he stated that Yohannes IV had an army of 60,000 men (1884: 348).

Campbell, Major Cornelius Hunt, Major Robert S. Lamson, Major Edmund Parys and Colonels Alexander W. and Frank A. Reynolds. Another five officers died from diseases (Captain Henry Irgins, Colonel Walter H. Jenifer, Major Charles F. Loshe, Brigadier General Erastus Sparrow Purdy and Colonel Thomas G. Rhett). The most interesting case was Major D.G. White, who deserted from the Egyptian Army, soon leaving no trace of his existence in any source ('Americans Who Served in Egypt'). Most of the American troops were still in Egypt when former United States President Ulysses S. Grant visited Egypt in January and February 1878 but the remaining thirty-eight American officers, along with General Loring, left Egypt by the spring of 1879.

[B]Loring's writings about his life in Egypt

Whilst in Egypt, Loring wrote various essays and journal articles about his life and experiences there. These writings are a valuable source for the study of Egypt in the nineteenth century. In July 1877 he published an article entitled 'The Egyptian Campaign in Abyssinia – from the Notes of a Staff Officer' in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, in which he described his experiences during the war with Abyssinia (Loring 1877: 26–39). This article was reprinted in the magazine *Littell's Living Age* on 4 August 1877.

Loring's sound education is clearly visible in his writings, especially in his memoir entitled *A Confederate Soldier in Egypt* (1884). In this memoir he described his experiences in Egypt as a foreign traveller, politician and military officer in the Egyptian Army. His memoir is considered an important authority on the history, economic changes, reforms and politics of Egypt and includes his opinions on Egyptian rulers until the early 1880s: Muḥammad 'Al Pasha, 'Abbās I, Sa'īd Pasha and Ismā'īl Pasha (28–50, 62–79). As Loring described, despite all the reforms and changes, foreign travellers in 1870s 'were still shocked when they journeyed on the Nile to find the people were not so enlightened as the shopkeepers about Cairo.' Tourists mostly 'lounged at their hotels in Alexandria and Cairo ... forgetting that only a few years ago they were all but savages' (66).

Loring (67) criticised Ismā'īl for spending a great of money on unnecessary hospitality for foreign rulers and princes and commented on Ismā'īl's delusion that such acts would lead to long-term gain and ally Egypt with foreign powers who had world-wide influence. Loring, however, also described modernization and changes made in various Egyptian cities, especially in Alexandria and Cairo.

He described Alexandria as the city 'founded by Alexander, defended by Caesar, and taken by Napoleon ... which suffered to fall into decay under Christian and Mussulman rule,

it is only in these latter days that it has again arisen from its dejection under the inspiration of Mehemet Ali and his successors, but more especially under his grandson, Ismā'īl Pacha' (6). He described the transformation of Alexandria during the 1860s and 1870s, with its new harbour, streets, shops and hotels for foreign travellers (6–7). Like other notable travellers who passed through Alexandria, Loring mentioned that not much was left of the past glory of this ancient city: 'Pompey's Pillar, the only monument now left standing to link Alexandria with the past, was not named after the great warrior, but after a Prefect of Alexandria, who erected it by order of the people in honor of Diocletian's clemency' (10). He described the city's history and its other monuments, palaces and ancient Ptolemaic necropolis to the south-west of Alexandria (10–12).

He described Cairo and its beautiful monuments in a separate chapter (80–104): 'On one side, in full view, stood the Mokuttum hills, the citadel on their slope, with the tall minarets of the mosque of Mehemet Ali peering far above and overlooking in their height the 400 mosques in the heart of the curious old city beneath' (80). He was 'pleased to find untouched the narrow and crooked streets teeming with people, and its little shops, with their picturesquely dressed crowds of customers, as in the olden time' (80–81). He described the development of the city, its ancient and modern buildings, and archaeological sites nearby at Giza, Saqqara, and Heliopolis (86–98). He acknowledged Auguste Mariette's work on various excavations, preservation of the monuments, and the Museum in Būlāq (8–9, 86–104).

Much Ancient Egyptian history and monuments were described in the chapter about Thebes, where Loring visited all its grand temples and tombs (150–164). He had a high opinion of Ancient Egyptian civilization, describing it as follows: 'Egypt was then one of the mightiest of nations, and stood foremost in political status, in wisdom, and in the arts. This supremacy Egypt held for a much longer period than has been vouchsafed to any other nation.' (150).

The rest of Loring's memoirs contain his view of everyday life: Arab marriage (105–113), harems and the treatment of women (114–125); the Muslim religion (126–138); the river Nile; Egyptian agriculture (139–149), and the climate in Egypt (248–251). He also described a journey to Mount Sinai (208–240), and the building and status of the Suez Canal (241–247).

The political situation after the overthrow of Ismā'īl was described in detail by Loring: including the governance of Muḥammad Tawfīq Pasha (183–192), son of Ismā'īl Pasha; the 'Urabi revolution; and the annexation of Egypt in 1882 by Britain (193–207). In the last

chapter of the first volume Loring discussed the political future of Egypt, the British government, and policy and insecurity of the Suez Canal in the hands of foreigners (252–285). As a former General of the Egyptian Army he made valuable observations on the political situation in the 1880s .

Loring's entire second volume is devoted to the war with Abyssinia in which Loring was involved as the military commander of the Egyptian Army (289–451). He also detailed the role of each American officer in Egypt between 1869 and 1878 — a useful source for subsequent research on American soldiers in Ismā'īl's army (Crabitts 1938; Hesseltine & Wolf 1961). This volume also contains accounts of Abyssinian history and customs (Loring 1884: 307–328).

Upon his return to the United States, Loring gave several interviews to the *New York Herald* about the Grants' visit to Egypt in 1878, the situation in Egypt during the 'Urabi revolt, the Anglo–Egyptian war in 1882, and British involvement in Egypt (Interviews of 1880 and 1882, 'Writings').

[A]George Brinton McClellan in Egypt (Autumn 1874–Winter 1875)

George Brinton McClellan (3 December 1826–29 October 1885) was an American Northern Union General. His family was well established in Philadelphia, where he was born, and their connections and prestige allowed him to go to the best school for young children and the University of Pennsylvania by the age of thirteen (Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 306; Katcher 2002: 27). At the age of sixteen he was admitted to West Point, one of the top military schools in the United States from which he graduated second in his class in 1846 (Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 306; Katcher 2002: 27–28; Tulloch 2006: 126). He joined the United States Corps of Engineers as an engineering officer soon afterwards. Like many other young officers at that time he participated in the American-Mexican War (1846 to 1848), during which he was presented with two awards for the construction of roads and bridges in Mexico in 1847 (McPherson 1988: 4; Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 306; Katcher 2002: 28). In the 1850s he travelled to Europe to study the latest military equipment and innovations and to be an official observer in the Crimean War (1853–1856) (Katcher 2002: 28; Tulloch 2006: 126). Using a Hungarian saddle as a model, he later designed a new saddle for the United States cavalry which became standard issue (Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 306; Katcher 2002: 28). After he left the army in 1857, McClellan worked for the Illinois Central Railroad as an engineer, surveying possible transcontinental rail routes to the West (McPherson 1988: 299; Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 306; Katcher 2002: 28). In 1860, just before the Civil War

began, he became President of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad and, in Cincinnati, married Ellen Marcy, with whom he had a son and a daughter (Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 306–307; Katcher 2002: 28).

During the American Civil War McClellan re-joined the United States Army and soon became one of the most important generals of the North. In June 1861 he became Commander of the Army of the Potomac in the Eastern Theater (McPherson 1988: 348; Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 308; Katcher 2002: 28; Tulloch 2006: 126), and later the General-in-Chief of the whole Union army, a position he held until March 1862. During the first year of the Civil War he organized Union troops (McPherson 1988: 348–349; Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 309–312; Katcher 2002: 28–29; Tulloch 2006: 126) and was Commander in all important military campaigns on the Eastern Front in 1862 but without any huge successes (Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 309–314; Katcher 2002: 28–29; Tulloch 2006: 126–127; detailed in McPherson 1988: 453–570). As a General, he was always cautious. In November 1862 he was removed from the position of commander of the Army of Potomac. By 1864, when he left the United States Army, McClellan was basically inactive, constantly waiting for new orders that did not come (Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 314; Katcher 2002: 29). In the meantime, he began his career in politics in the Democratic Party and was nominated to run for President during the elections of 1864, campaigning to end the Civil War and make peace with the South. After Union victories in the summer and autumn of 1864 his presidential campaign ended with more failure. After the War he continued his career as a civil engineer. During the next ten years he travelled twice with his family around Europe and the Middle East (1865–1868, 1873–1875). At the end of 1870s he revived his political career and became Governor of New Jersey (1878–1881). After his retirement, he lived in New Jersey where he died. He was buried in Trenton, New Jersey (Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 315; Katcher 2002: 29; Tulloch 2006: 127).

[B] McClellan in Egypt (November 1874–March 1875)

During his second voyage around Europe and the Middle East, McClellan visited Egypt in the autumn 1874 in a company of his wife, two children, a governess and a maid (McClellan 1876a: 370). They left Venice on the ‘Last Friday of October 1874’ [30 October 1874], on *SS Malta* with many other travellers on their way to India, China and Australia (368–369). On the way to Alexandria they stopped in Ancona and Brindisi. They arrived ‘Early on Thursday afternoon’ [5 November] in the Alexandrian harbour, where they disembarked to stay in Abbot’s Hotel (369). Next morning [November 6] unnamed American officers, who were

serving in Egypt in that time, showed them the undescribed ‘wonders of Alexandria’ (370). After sightseeing, the whole group had lunch at General Loring’s palace, where he

[start of indented quotation]

lives there quite *en prince*, in a handsome palace, with extensive gardens, filled with rare trees and flowers,— altogether a very enjoyable place. We were glad to find these old comrades, who had been tossed a good deal on the tempestuous sea of secession, so comfortably and honorably anchored at last, even if it were so far away from home. (370).

[end of indented quotation]

The day after [7 November] the McClellan family continued their journey by train, and after four hours they arrived in Cairo (370). From the railway station they went to Shephard’s Hotel, ‘the best hotel in Cairo’ (370). There they took the service of a dragoman, Mohammed Achmet Hedaya from Alexandria, and soon after set sail in a completely new *dahabiyya*, which they named *Nellie*, ‘a fine, large boat, one of the largest on the river, and proved a very fair sailer and most comfortable’. It had plenty of comfortable space and rooms: a butler’s pantry, a dragoman’s room, two double and two large single state-rooms, a large stern cabin and a bath-room. The crew included a captain, a steersman, twelve sailors, a cook-boy, a cook for the passengers and two waiters (370). The next morning [8 November] the McClellans set off, sailing around the waters of Cairo accompanied by three parties of other American travellers on *dahabiyyas*, *Alice*, *Zarifa* and *Mignonne*. The passengers on these *dahabiyyas* were not identified in McClellan’s account of their travel but research by Andrew Oliver, a long-time ASTENE member, has revealed their names: on the *Alice* travelled Arthur Dexter and his mother, Catherine Prescott Dexter, from Boston, and on the *Zarifa* were Mrs Randolph and her sister Miss Goodrich (Oliver 2019: 1756). The passengers on *Mignonne* are still not identified. Their cryptic names are written as ‘Mr. and Mrs. A_____’ (McClellan 1876a: 371).

Not many details are available about their time in Cairo over the next two weeks, but most likely they would have visited archaeological sites (Giza, Saqqara, Dahshur, Heliopolis, Memphis, etc.) and Islamic monuments. The McClellans met the Khedive and his sons during their stay in Cairo, but the exact dates of these meetings were not given.

On 27 November *Nellie* started to sail slowly towards the south and the McClellans enjoyed the panoramas and beauty around them (McClellan 1876a: 380). On one occasion they rescued thirteen men and a woman, merchants on the way to Cairo, after an accident

involving several boats on the Nile (378). Crocodiles were rare sight throughout the trip (1876a: 381) Sometimes they stopped and walked around villages and fields. McClellan ‘never had the least trouble in any of these walks, and do not remember that I ever saw even a scowling face, nor did I find any annoyance from beggars’ (382). They passed Denderah and Edfu; and stopped for two nights in Asyut where they met American missionaries Dr Hogg, Dr Johnson and Dr Watson and United States Consular Agent Wasif Georgis Kiatti, a local Copt (382). Sometime at the beginning of January 1875, after five weeks of sailing on *Nellie*, they arrived at Aswan where they made a short stop. McClellan described how the scenery changed between Aswan and Abu Simbel (1876b: 452). They then sailed further south in the company of *Zarifa*, including the *ma’ mūr* of Aswan, the head shaykh of the Cataract and their assistants who travelled on their *dahabiyya* (452) They passed by Elephantine and Philae islands where they made short stops (1876b: 453) and spent eight days exploring the ruins (1876c: 673–674). On a small island called Sehayls they wanted to buy some cheap ostrich feathers but without much success.

The McClellans enjoyed the different but ‘more picturesque’ scenery of Nubia, as McClellan described:

[start of indented quotation]

In Egypt, the cliffs are at first of limestone, afterward of sandstone; and it is only a little below Asswan that the granite appears, and changes the character of scenery; while in Nubia, granite is often the prevailing rock in the lower part, with sandstone here and there ... in Egypt, one or both banks are boarded by fertile plains; ... while in Nubia, there is very little arable land, no wide plains, and frequently the desert comes down on both sides to the very river-bank, leaving nothing to cultivation save the steep mud-bank between high and low water (1876b: 455).

[end of indented quotation]

On the way to Kalabsheh they visited several small Nubian villages near Tafah, Korosko and Wadi Halfa (457). In Wadi Halfa they met several American officers who were on their way to Darfur including Purdy, Mason and Colston (457–458). In the following couple of days they reached Abu Simbel, where they visited ‘two temples excavated in the solid rock ... and the larger temple is one of the wonders of the world’, McCellan providing a rare description of these two temples (458–459) After sightseeing there they started their voyage back north (1876c: 670).

During their voyage home they stopped in Thebes where they visited many sites. McClellan wrote: ‘... nothing on the Nile compares with the vicinity of Thebes in the variety and magnitude of the objects of interest.’ (670). McClellan’s knowledge of the history and culture of Egypt can be seen in all his three papers. This is especially noticeable in the part where he compared chronologies of Wilkinson and Mariette with the *Ebers Papyrus* which was purchased in Luxor during the winter of 1873/1874. Two years after the discovery of *Eber papyrus*, he wrote about the importance of chronological changes based on it (671). They stayed in Thebes almost a week to explore the ruins of the ‘City of the Hundred Gates’ (671). He described Theban temples: the Memnon Colossi (671–672), the Ramesseum (672), Medinat Habu (672), Deir el-Bahri (672–673), the Valley of the Kings (673), Karnak and Luxor. Especially interesting is his remark about the greatness of Karnak: ‘By the side of Karnak, the Colosseum [sic], the Baths of Caracalla, the temples of Paestum, sink into comparative nothingness, and are mere modern toys’ (673).

On their way back to Cairo they stopped in Dendera and Edfu, which they explored for couple of days (1876a: 382). After a hundred days sailing on the Nile, they arrived back to Cairo in early March 1875 after a ‘delightful Nile trip’ (1876c: 677). During their stay in Cairo the McClellans explored the city, the Bulaq museum (677), and ancient ruins in Giza, Memphis and Saqqara (676–677). In his essays McClellan did not give any detail about how long they stayed in Cairo, nor when they left Egypt, but we can assume that this would have been at the beginning of Spring 1875.

[A]Ulysses Simpson Grant in Egypt (January–February 1878)

The family of Ulysses Hiram Simpson Grant (27 April 1822–23 July 1885) was not wealthy: his father worked as a tanner and farmer and lived the life he did not like (Grant 2004: 3–4; Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 160; Katcher 2003: 16; Tulloch 2006: 120; Crompton 2009: 15; McNeese 2009: 71). In 1839 Ulysses began his military career at West Point without any enthusiasm but managed to graduate in 1843 (Grant 2004: 11). His first of many assignments was in St Louis, where he met his wife, Julia Boggs Dent, and her brother Frederick Dent.⁷ He fought in the American-Mexican War, during which he met Loring and they briefly became friends. He served under Generals Zachary Taylor and Winfield Scott, who influenced him greatly with their style of military life and active service (Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 161). Grant was appointed as officer responsible for supplies (food, clothing,

⁷ She was a daughter of a Missouri planter who owned his own slaves (Grant 2004: 15–16; Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 160).

equipment and ammunition) and won several awards (Grant 2004: 22–81; Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 161; Crompton 2009: 26–32; McNeese 2009: 74). After that war he married Julia in St Louis with whom he had three sons (Frederic, Ulysses Jr., Jesse) and a daughter, Nellie (Grant 2004: 83; Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 161; Katcher 2003: 17; Crompton 2009: 23–24; McNeese 2009: 74, 76, 78).⁸ The first years of his marriage were spent in Detroit (Grant 2004: 83). In 1852, he was posted as an army Captain to military duties on the Pacific Coast, in California (Katcher 2003: 17; Crompton 2009: 35–36; McNeese 2009: 77) and later at Fort Vancouver as regimental quartermaster. There he lived without his family:

[start of indented quotation]

My family, all this while, was at the East. ... I saw no chance of supporting them on the Pacific coast out my pay as an army officer ... I concluded, therefore, to resign, and in March applied for a leave of absence until the end of the July following, tendering my resignation to take effect at the end of that time. (Grant 2004: 91)

[end of indented quotation]

He left the United States army in 1854 to continue his life as a civilian. Most historians, however, think that his problems with alcoholism were one of the main reasons why he left the United States Army at that time and he probably started to drink because of unhappiness related to separation from his family and financial problems (Katcher 2003: 17; Tulloch 2006: 121; Crompton 2009: 37; McNeese 2009: 76).

Reunited with his family, Grant tried to work hard as a farmer, an estate agent and a customs clerk but without much success in any of these occupations. In the end, his unstable financial situation forced him to work as a clerk in a tannery in Illinois that was owned by his father (Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 161–162; Katcher 2003: 17; Crompton 2009: 39–41; McNeese 2009: 77–78).

In April 1861 he re-joined the United States Army as a strong supporter of the Union (Katcher 2003: 17; Tulloch 2006: 121; Crompton 2009: 44; McNeese 2009: 79). During the American Civil War, he became a national hero. During the first phase of the war between 1861 and 1863, he won important battles at Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Shiloh and Vicksburg (Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 163, Katcher 2003: 17; Tulloch 2006: 121; Crompton 2009: 48–61; McNeese 2009: 83–85). His manoeuvres were considered brilliant and a complete

⁸ During his life Grant owned just one slave, whom he freed in 1859 (McNeese 2009: 78).

success, so that his reputation increased considerably among Union politicians and military leaders. In October 1863 he became the Chief Commander of the Division of the Mississippi, and in March 1864 was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the entire Union army. In 1864 and 1865 he fought several battles against the Confederate General, Robert E. Lee, but without immediate success (Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 166; Katcher 2003: 17; Crompton 2009: 62–68; McNeese 2009: 86–87). After the capture of Petersburg in March 1865, Confederate forces were forced to surrender at Appomattox Court House, Virginia, on 9 April 1865; the peace treaty between both armies were signed by Grant and Lee (Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 168; Katcher 2003: 17; Tulloch 2006: 121; Crompton 2009: 8–12, 69–75; McNeese 2009: 88–89).

After the war, Grant was made a permanent General in the United States Army with a salary of \$21,000. Favoured by many politicians, he joined the Republican Party (Crompton 2009: 77). In presidential elections in 1868, he became the eighteenth President of the United States of America, with a salary of \$25,000 (Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 168; Katcher 2003: 17; Crompton 2009: 79–83; Tulloch 2006: 121). His two terms of presidency were a huge struggle for him, for his entire administration was riddled with scandals, corruption and mismanagement of the United States' economy but he was never accused of anything untoward himself (Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 168; Korda 2004: 118–135; Tulloch 2006: 121; Crompton 2009: 83–89). In 1880, after his return from his world tour (May 1877 to Autumn 1879), Grant invested huge funds in a Wall Street brokerage firm but in 1884 his family was almost bankrupted because Ferdinand Ward, one of the partners in the firm, stole millions of dollars from the company (Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 168; Katcher 2003: 19; Korda 2004: 142–143; Crompton 2009: 98–99). In 1884, Grant was diagnosed with throat cancer (Hillstrom & Hillstrom 2000: 168; Katcher 2003: 19; Korda 2004: 147; Tulloch 2006: 121; Crompton 2009: 100). The last year of his life was spent writing his memoirs, which he hoped would provide his family with some financial stability after his death (Katcher 2003: 19; Crompton 2009: 100–104). His memoirs are often considered one of the best written autobiographies and were successfully published posthumously. He was buried in a mausoleum on Riverside Drive in New York City (Katcher 2003: 19).

[B] Around the world in two and a half years (May 1877–Autumn 1879)

In May 1877, two months after he left the presidential office, Grant started his celebrated 1877–1879 world tour. On 17 May, Grant in the company of his wife Julia, their son Jesse,⁹ and a couple of friends, travelled aboard the iron steamship SS *Indiana* to Liverpool (Young 1879a: 6–10), where they arrived in the evening of 27 May. They were accompanied by a journalist, John Russell Young, whom Grant invited to record and later publish his world tour. Young's two-volume book was published immediately after their return and is illustrated with 800 drawings (1879a–b). Young also wrote newspaper reports about Grant's tour for *The New York Herald*. Wherever they travelled they were always well received. Local officials organised delightful sightseeing opportunities of the cities and places they visited, and they were often invited to official parties by town majors, local politicians, kings and queens.

During their tour of England they visited Liverpool, Manchester, Leicester and London, where they met various officials, city majors, politicians, princes (the later Edward VII) and Queen Victoria in Windsor Castle (1879a: 13–44). On 5 July they left England and continued their journey to continental Europe, where Grant met its most important politicians and monarchs of the time, including Leopold I, Alexander II, Bismarck, Leo XIII, Georges Clemenceau, Count Andrassy, Francis Joseph, Wilhelm II, and Mutsuhito. During the summer months, they visited various places in Belgium, Germany, Switzerland and France (45–78) and then returned to England and Scotland (79–124). Later that year Grant visited Paris, Italy (Naples area and Sicily) and Malta (125–230). In 1878 they visited Egypt, the Holy Land, Constantinople, Athens, Rome, Florence, Venice and Milan, the Netherlands, Berlin, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Austria, France, Spain, Portugal and Ireland (231–584). At the end of January 1879, they left Europe (589) and continued their tour to the Orient with SS *Venetia* through the Suez Canal and the Red Sea to India (589–630). In 1879, they toured Asia, visiting India, Burma, Siam, Vietnam, China and Japan (1879b: 3–613). Homesick, at the end of August 1879, Grant decided to return to the United States without going to Australia and South America. They left Japan on 3 September and arrived at San Francisco on 20 September 1879 (627). In the United States they continued their tour through California, to Yosemite, on to Chicago and the Eastern Seaboard (627–631). According to Grant's letters, we can assume that his trip to Egypt was one of the highlights of the whole world tour (Grant 2005: 344). In a letter from Rome to General William T. Sherman, dated 21 March 1878, Grant wrote: 'I have very much enjoyed all my travels on this side of the

Commented [PG55]: Is he in the right place? He is not European.

⁹ After the tour of Europe and Egypt, Jesse left their company and returned to America. Young 1879a: 586.

Atlantic, but nothing has equaled [sic] in interest the trip up the Nile and in the Levant' (358). His wife Julia also wrote: 'I told her how much we had enjoyed our journey to the Nile. ... I told the Princess¹⁰ of our glorious visit to Egypt, of our beautiful vessel with its silken curtains' (Grant 1975: 230).

[B]Grant in Egypt in 1878 and 1879

Grant's tour around Egypt is well documented in various historical sources that are relevant to this research. Sources include newspaper and magazine articles published in early 1878, Grant's personal letters (2005; 2008), the memoirs of his wife Julia (Grant 1975) and the book *Around the World with General Grant* by J.R. Young published at the end of 1879 (1879a–b). Their accounts include the following episodes.

On board SS *Vandalia* Grant, his son Jesse and wife Julia arrived at Alexandria harbour on Saturday, 5 January 1878, with the sound of 'the Egyptian bands playing American national airs ... and the smoke of the cannon now about to thunder Egypt's welcome to General Grant.' (Young 1879a: 229; Grant 1975: 220). In the port they were immediately greeted by American officers and generals who lived and worked in Egypt, Egyptian pashas and beys, the American Consul-General in Egypt, Mr Farman, the Vice-Consul, Mr Salvago, and many American missionaries who were living in Egypt (Young 1879a: 230–231; Grant 1975: 220).

Ismā'īl's officials offered Grant a pleasant palace in which to stay in Alexandria, and a special steamer, the SS *Zinet-el-Bohren*, for his voyage up the Nile (Young 1879a: 231, 242; Grant 1975: 220). During their three days' stay in Alexandria, the Americans had several receptions and sightseeing tours. On the first night at Salvago's residence, Grant met Henry Morton Stanley, the Welsh explorer of Central Africa, with whom he had 'a long conversation upon African matters' (Young 1879a: 231, 242; Grant 1975: 220). On Sunday 6 January, they walked around Alexandria,¹¹ which Young described as 'one of the most huddle-up and bewildering towns' (Young 1879a: 232). The next day, Monday 7 January, they left by special train to Cairo where they arrived after four hours' journey, around 3 p.m. (233). There they were greeted by Generals Loring and Stone, Grants' old friends from his military career.¹² Loring accompanied Stone, Grant and his wife Julia to the Palace of Kasr al-Noussa (Young 1879a: 234; Grant 1975: 221), which had been prepared by the Khedive for Grant and his family while they stayed in Cairo — though Young and others stayed in a

Commented [JS6]: JCS>PGS Elbert E. Farman (in list of Ambassadors

- Title: Agent/Consul General
- Appointed: March 27, 1876
- Presented credentials: July 17, 1876
- Terminated mission: Left post May 17, 1881

Commented [JS7]: Mr C.M. Salvago, vice-consul

Commented [PGS8]: OK?

¹⁰ The Khedive had at least fourteen wives during his lifetime and numerous female relatives. (Editor's note.)

¹¹ Young did not mention what they saw around Alexandria, but Julia Dent Grant remembers it in her memoirs. According to her writings, they saw Pompey's Pillar and the obelisk in Central Park (Grant 1975: 220).

¹² Loring and Grant know each other from the American-Mexican War, where they were friends, and Stone and Grant were friends from their training at West Point (Young 1879a: 234; Grant 1975: 221).

hotel (Young 1879a: 234). The next day, Tuesday 8 January, they attended a brief morning reception at Khedive Ismāʿīl's palace (Young 1879a: 235–236; Grant 1975: 221). In the evening, they attended a reception and grand dinner organized by Consul-General Elbert Farman in the New Hotel in the company of several American officers who were serving in Egypt (C.P. Stone, W.W. Loring, W.M. Dye and C.I. Graves) and other Americans who were living in Egypt in that time (Young 1879a: 236–237; Grant 1975: 222). The Grant entourage spent a week in Cairo sightseeing (Grant 2005: 335–336).

On 16 January they began their cruise down the river Nile in the company of Egyptologist Emile Brugsch, the brother of Heinrich Brugsch, Director of the Egyptian Museum in Bulaq, the Chief Surgeon George H. Cooke, Lieutenant W.A. Hadden and Ensign F.A. Wilner from the crew of *SS Vandalia* (Young 1879a: 239). In one of the letters written by Grant to Adam Badeau, dated 4 February 1878, Grant wrote: 'The Khedive gave me a special boat, and sent with me one of his household, Sami Bey, an educated Egyptian who speaks English well ... and a German Egyptolog[ist] who has been a long time a student here, and who reads all the inscript[i]ons in the Temples & Tomb with facility. His presence added much to the value of the journey' (Grant 2005: 346).

During the whole cruise Grant was an 'early or late riser, according as we have engagement for the day. If there are ruins to be seen in the morning he is generally first on the deck with his Indian helmet swathed in silk, and as he never waits we are off on military time. If there are no sights to be seen the morning hours drift away' (Young 1879a: 246). Arabs did all the cooking, and they dined on the deck. Late evenings were often spent in conversation with Grant recounting tales from the Civil War, or Emile Brugsch recounting stories about Ancient Egyptian history and archaeology (246). During their voyage they met several American tourists, including a Mr Drexler and Mr and Mrs Howland, who were sailing on the Nile in their *dahabiyyas* (247). During their cruise they stopped at Asyut, where they visited local bazaars and ruins (Young 1879a: 255–257; Grant 1975: 222); in Abydos, 'the oldest city in Egypt', they had a whole day sightseeing at temples and other ruins (Young 1879a: 264–269; Grant 1975: 223–224); in Kenh (Qinā) they saw the results of a terrible famine that affected Egypt in early 1878 (Young 1879a: 274–278; Grant 1975: 227); and in Dendera they visited local ruins and temples (Young 1879a: 295). They spent more time in Luxor, where they visited the Luxor and Karnak temples on the East Bank and the Memnon colossi, the Ramesseum and Medinat Habu temple on the West (Young 1879a: 283–302; Grant 1975: 227–228).

They left Thebes on 25 January and continued their voyage to Aswan (Grant 1975: 228; Grant 2005: 343). On their way there they visited Edfu's Horus temple. When they arrived in Aswan, they visited the local bazaar to buy the ostrich feather for Mrs Grant (Young 1879a: 305–309; Grant 1975: 229). The end of their journey south was the island of Philae, where they visited the beautiful temple of Isis (Young 1879a: 309–314; Grant 1975: 229). On the way back north, they stopped at Thebes to visit the Valley of the Kings but without Mrs Grant (Young 1879a: 315; Grant 1975: 229). They arrived in Memphis on 3 February where they visited its ancient ruins. The last place on the trip they visited was the Serapeum that Mariette discovered in Saqqara (Young 1879a: 315; Grant 1975: 229). The next day, 4 February, they arrived back to Cairo where they again stayed in the Khedive's palace (Young 1879a: 315; Grant 1975: 230). During the last days of their stay in Cairo they made several pleasant excursions, including to the pyramids and Heliopolis (Grant 1975: 230–231) and they had a reception with Khedive Ismā'īl (Young 1879a: 319; Grant 1975: 231). Mrs Grant was very sorry not to see the Princess at the banquet, but the Princess replied: 'Oh, it is not the custom of our country'. Julia replied: 'that was a very hard and unjust custom' (Grant 1975: 231–232). On 8 February they left Cairo by special train to Port Said, arriving there the next day, and there boarded the SS *Vandalia*. They then continued their tour through the Holy Land (Young 1879a: 319–320; Grant 1975: 232).

While they were travelling around Egypt, General Grant and his family showed great interest in Egyptian history and culture. Grant wanted to see everything, and was always climbing every mound and rock. They visited Egypt again on 29 January 1879 on their way to India, and arrived at Alexandria, where Grant once more met his old friend General Stone and American Consul-General Mr Borie (Young 1879a: 589). After the short stay, they travelled by train to Suez, from where they continued their world tour to India on the SS *Venetia* (590–593).

During his world tour, Ulysses S. Grant often wrote letters to his friends and family back in the States, providing more detail than Young provided in his tour book. In these letters he informed them about their voyage and sometimes relayed interesting impressions of their journey. In a letter to his son, Ulysses S. Grant Jr., written probably early in the morning just before they left Alexandria on 7 January 1878, he wrote: 'All the romance given to Oriental splendour in novels and guidebooks is dissipated by witnessing the real thing. Innate ugliness, slovenlyness, filth and indolence witnessed here is only equalled, in my experience, by seeing the lowest class of Digger Indians found on the Pacific Coast. There is nothing wild or threatening in the appearance of the people' (Grant 2005: 334). In the letter to his friend Abel

Commented [J59]: Adolph E. Borie was Secretary to the US Navy but had retired by 1879 and died in 1880. see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adolph_E._Borie

R. Corbin, written in Cairo on 13 January, Grant (2005: 335–336) wrote about sightseeing around Cairo: ‘We have seen the city very thoroughly; visited the pyramids; the Virgin Mary’s tree where she took shelter some twenty centuries ago; the spring which became sweet from being saline ...; Heliopolis, the great seat of learning in the days of Moses. ...Altogether we have had a most pleasant visit.’

In another letter to his eldest son, Frederick Dent Grant, dated 25 January, we found out Grant’s own feelings about their stay in Thebes:

[start of indented quotation]

We have just left ancient Thebes where we spent two days in viewing the ruins of many ages. One day more is necessary to see all of them, but as we are all fatigued we concluded to ascend the river and spend a day here (at Thebes) on our return. I have seen more in Egypt to interest me than in all my other travels. Some day I may write it up, but at present I shall say but little. One thing however is certain: the ancient Egyptian was a cultivated man, but governed – soul and body – by a ruler. Without a thorough command of all the strength, muscle and mind of the inhabitants such structures could never have been built. Without talent, learning and training the inscriptions could not have been made; and without mechanical teaching the large blocks of granite and sandstone could never have been taken from the quarrier to their present resting place, nor dressed as they are. (Grant 2005: 343).

[end of indented quotation]

Grant also made an amusing comment about his wife, Julia:

[start of indented quotation]

your Ma balances on a donkey very well when she has an Arab on each side to hold her, and one to lead the donkey. Yesterday however she got a little out of balance twice, but claims that the saddle turned. Of course it did. How could it have done otherwise with 185 lbs in a stirrup on on[e] side and the donkey only weighed 125 pounds. But she rides a donkey very well on the whole. (343–344)

[end of indented quotation]

In 1880 Loring remembered Grant’s visit to Egypt in an interview for *The New York Herald*. In it he wrote about meeting Grant after a break of thirty-one years. He thought that it was a

little bit odd as Grant immediately called him by name, singling him out from the crowds of people who were at Consul-General Farman's reception. He also recalled their trip to Heliopolis and the pyramids ('Loring Remembers Grant's Visit to Egypt in January, 1878').

[A]Conclusion

In this chapter I have tried to illuminate the presence of three great American generals in Egypt during 1870s. [They all knew each other from their military service in United States army. Loring spent almost ten years in Egypt in the company of other American soldiers. When McClellan and Grant visited Egypt, he met them on various occasions, and they all had nice words for each other. Their descriptions of Egypt in 1870s are a valuable source for the study of international and domestic politics of Egypt during this period. This comparative analysis shows that all three of them shared similar views about Egypt and they all liked the Khedive very much.

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Commented [JS10]: I suggest that reference to this useful and intriguing article is added.

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