

**THE LATE OTTOMAN IMPERIALIST ENDEAVOR IN CENTRAL
AFRICA: THE PROVINCE OF EQUATORIA (HATT-I İSTİVA)**

by
REYYAN DEMİRAYAK

Submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Sabancı University
July 2023

**THE LATE OTTOMAN IMPERIALIST ENDEAVOR IN CENTRAL
AFRICA: THE PROVINCE OF EQUATORIA (HATT-I İSTİVA)**

Approved by:

Assoc. Prof. Selçuk Akşin SOMEL
(Thesis Supervisor)

Assoc. Prof. Ayşe OZIL

Assoc. Prof. Fatih BAYRAM

Date of Approval: July 24, 2023

REYYAN DEMİRAYAK 2023 ©

All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACT

THE LATE OTTOMAN IMPERIALIST ENDEAVOR IN CENTRAL AFRICA: THE PROVINCE OF EQUATORIA (HATT-I İSTİVA)

REYYAN DEMİRAYAK

HISTORY M.A. THESIS, JULY 2023

Thesis Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Selçuk Akşin SOMEL

Keywords: Equatorial Province, Egyptian Sudan, Ottoman Africa, Emin Pasha,
imperialism

This study discusses the Egyptian-Sudanese province of Equatoria in the time of Governor Emin Pasha with a focus on his biography. The late 19th-century African continent witnessed imperial competition among the European states, including Egypt as a North African province of the Ottoman Empire. Khedive Ismail Pasha's project of a united Nile empire resulted in expeditions to the then recently explored roots of the Nile and eventually led to the foundation of the province/directorate of Equatoria located in modern-day South Sudan and Uganda. It was the southernmost and remotest part of Egyptian Sudan, where the sovereign rights of the Ottomans were secured by their participation in the Berlin Conference (1885). For this reason, this thesis firstly aims to frame the Egyptian imperialism initiated by Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha at an intersection with Ottoman Africa studies by discussing the borders of the Ottoman Empire in the south up to Lake Albert. This thesis argues that the founding of this province was an exceptional case of imperialism executed by the Ottomans right before European colonization in the early 1870s. By also challenging the Euro-centric view of colonialism, it considers Ismail Pasha's actions resembling that of the European colonialist policies reflected in the Sudan. The earlier and later developments of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition proved the significance of Emin Pasha and the province by the wide and global recognition of them.

ÖZET

ORTA AFRİKA'DA GEÇ OSMANLI EMPERYALİST YAYILMACILIĞI: HATT-I İSTİVA (EKVATOR) EYALETİ

REYYAN DEMİRAYAK

TARİH YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ, TEMMUZ 2023

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Selçuk Akşin SOMEL

Anahtar Kelimeler:Hatt-ı İstiva Eyaleti, Mısır Sudanı, Osmanlı Afrikası, Emin Paşa, emperyalizm

Bu çalışma, vali/müdür Emin Paşa dönemindeki Mısır Sudanı eyaleti olan Ekvatorya'yı, Emin Paşa'nın biyografisine odaklanarak incelemektedir. 19. yüzyılın sonlarında Afrika kıtası, Avrupalı devletler arasında sömürgecilik yarışına sahne oldu. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun bir eyaleti olan Mısır da bu devletlerden biriydi. Hıdiv İsmail Paşa'nın Nil imparatorluğu projesi, yeni keşfedilen Yukarı Nil bölgesine yapılan seferler sonucunda günümüz Güney Sudan ve Uganda'sında bulunan Hatt-ı İstiva (Ekvatorya) eyaletinin/ müdürlüğünün kurulmasına yol açtı. Bu bölge, Osmanlı'nın Berlin Konferansı'na (1885) katılımıyla egemenlik haklarının güvence altına alındığı, Mısır Sudanı'nın en güney ve uzaktaki kısmıydı. Bu tez öncelikle Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa tarafından başlatılan Mısır emperyalizmini Osmanlı Afrikası çalışmalarıyla kesişim içinde değerlendirerek Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Albert Gölü'ne kadar olan güney sınırlarını tartışmayı amaçlar. Bu çalışma Hatt-ı İstiva'nın 1870'lerin başında resmen kuruluşunun, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun toprak kaybettiği bir dönemde, Orta Afrika'da Avrupa sömürgeciliği öncesi gerçekleştirilen istisnai bir yayılmacılık olduğunu savunmaktadır. Avrupa merkezli tarihçiliğin sömürgeciliği Avrupalılara mal eden görüşüne istisnai bir durum ekleyen bu çalışma, İsmail Paşa'nın Sudan'da Avrupalı devletlerin sömürgeci politikalarını takip etmeye çalıştığını savunur. Emin Paşa'yı Kurtarma Seferi'nin öncesi ve sonrasındaki gelişmeler Emin Paşa'nın ve Hatt-ı İstiva'nın geniş bir tanınırlığa ve öneme sahip olduğunu kanıtlar niteliktedir.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am most sincerely grateful to my advisor, Selçuk Akşin Somel, for his constant patience, encouragement, and interest in my work. Our conversations have always been fruitful and profound classes for me. This thesis could not be realized without his enduring guidance. I also would like to thank the jury members for their valuable and detailed comments that prevented me from making poor mistakes.

I owe matchless gratitude to Hatice Uğur. She initially pointed to Egypt for me to study as a fundamental component of Ottoman Africa. I had learned about *Hatt-ı İstiva* from her before starting the journey of this thesis. She read the first draft and commented on each chapter. Also, the meetings with Ömer Koçyiğit and Bilal Ali Kotil widened my understanding of the historical period and the occurrences. Their suggestions enriched the discussions of this thesis as much as Talha Çiçek's class on the global history of the Middle East.

My language professors, Aziz Nazmi Shakir, and Nathalie Reins, helped me with their patience and kindness when I amply needed it. İsa Uğurlu assisted me in the challenging job of making sense of the Ottoman Turkish words. Sarp has always been ready for assistance and encouragement throughout this process, and Şeyma eased the emotional burden by helping and her friendship.

I am thankful to TÜBİTAK (the Scientific and Technological Research Institution of Turkey) for its financial support. I want to thank Sabancı University Information Center and Bahadır Barut for providing me with every vital source I asked for. The staff of Istanbul University Rare Works Library have been kind and helpful as well.

Istanbul Şehir University, the institution that has made the deepest impact on me, was closed when I graduated in 2020. I had to recall the memories of Istanbul Şehir University that made this thesis possible in the first place. I am grateful to all of my professors for enabling the academic environment for critical thinking and preparing us for graduate research. Above all, being a close student of Engin Akarlı taught me more than anything.

I express my thanks to Afrika Vakfi for their Foundational Education Program, which introduced me to the world of African Studies by providing specific introductory courses in social sciences dealing with Africa.

Finally, I have to thank Oğuzhan for his endless love, support, and warmest companionship. Without the unending support, encouragement, and prays of my mother, Meliha, and father, Cevdet, this thesis would not have been completed.

To my family

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iv
OZET	v
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Literature Review	3
1.2. <i>Afrikâ-yi Osmânî</i> (Ottoman Africa): A Geographical and Historical Concept	8
1.3. Ottoman Diplomatic Involvement with “the Scramble for Africa”:Berlin Conference (1884-5)	11
1.4. Sources	13
1.5. Overview of the Chapters	15
2. EGYPT’S NILE EMPIRE	17
2.1. A Concise Look at the Autonomous Province (<i>Eyâlet-i Mümtâze</i>)	18
2.2. Khedivate as an Imperial Force or an Empire within an Empire	21
2.3. The African Dream of Ismail Pasha	23
2.3.1. The Egyptian Sudan	28
2.3.2. Ottoman Maps of Equatorial Province of the Egyptian Sudan	31
3. THE MAKING OF EQUATORIA	38
3.1. A Brief History and Geography of <i>Hatt-ı İstiva</i>	39
3.2. Mehmed Ali Pasha’s Attempt to Reach the Upper Nile	42
3.3. Commissioning Samuel Baker (1869-1873).....	43
3.4. Charles Gordon’s Governorship in Equatoria (1874-1876)	50
3.5. Equatorial Province Depicted in the Ottoman Sources	54
3.6. The Ottoman Perceptions of Uganda.....	57

4. THE PROVINCE OF HATT-I ISTIVA (EQUATORIA) DURING THE TIME OF EMIN PASHA (1876-1890)	61
4.1. From Eduard to Emin	62
4.2. Emin’s “Burden” in The Equatorial Province	70
4.2.1. First Missions in Central Africa (1876-1878)	71
4.2.2. The General Outlook of Administration	73
4.2.3. "Civilizing Mission" in Equatoria	79
5. THE BROKEN DREAMS IN EQUATORIA- EMIN PASHA RELIEF EXPEDITION	87
5.1. Challenges after the Mahdi Uprising	87
5.2. Background and Unfolding of the Expedition	91
5.2.1. Contribution of Egypt and Egyptians to the Expedition	98
5.3. Ottoman Media Following the Expedition	99
5.3.1. Debating Who “Civilized” Africa: Islam or Christianity	100
5.4. The Popularization of the Relief Expedition in the Ottoman press....	102
6. THE LEGACY OF EMIN PASHA AND EQUATORIA	105
6.1. The Trial on the Inheritance of Emin Pasha (1897)	106
6.2. Ottoman Diplomatic Struggle for the Equatorial Province (1893-1894)	110
7. CONCLUSION	114
BIBLIOGRAPHY	119

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1. Map of the Sudan	32
Figure 2.2. Map of the Annexed Territories of Egypt	33
Figure 2.3. Map of Congo Free State and Equatorial Province	34
Figure 2.4. Map of the Upper Nile	36
Figure 2.5. Map of the Province of Egypt.....	37
Figure 3.1. Map of the Northern Sudan and Gondokoro	38
Figure 3.2. Map of the Tribes of Southern Sudan	41
Figure 3.3. Official Annexation of Gondokoro and Saluting the Egyptian Flag.....	48
Figure 3.4. Suppressing the Slave Trade.....	50
Figure 4.1. Emin Pasha	69
Figure 4.2. Map of Equatorial Province	70
Figure 4.3. Emin Pasha's Divan.....	78
Figure 5.1. Meeting with Stanley.....	95

1. INTRODUCTION

In the early 1670s, the well-known Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi, while journeying along the "blessed Nile," prayed for God to enable him to see the source of the Nile in the "City of Moon". Although only 32 stations remained to the source, it was potentially a life-threatening journey for him. Eventually, for this reason, he gave up his desire.¹ He was not the only Ottoman that we know of who wondered about the source of the Nile. The Ottoman Sultan, who was the conqueror of Egypt in the 16th century, Selim I was among them. During his presence in Egypt, Selim was curious about the pyramids and the source of the Nile. He asked a wise philosopher about these. This wise man was unable to answer the former question as the answer was unknown, but the answer to the latter was the Mountains of the Moon, again.²

The sources of the Nile have always been a fascinating topic since Herodotus. Africa had long been a "dark continent" for the rest of the world.³ Especially the remotest source of the White Nile caused discussions. The Mountains of the Moon had represented a classical view for the remotest source of the White Nile. Around the mid-19th century, explorations surged due to the scientific and colonialist dynamism in Europe. The Nile Basin witnessed an imperial race involving numerous actors in

¹Robert Dankoff, Nuran Tezcan, Michael D. Sheridan, eds., *Ottoman Explorations of the Nile- Evliya Çelebi's 'Matchless Pearl These Reports of the Nile' Map and His Accounts of the Nile and the Horn of Africa in The Book of Travels* (London: Gingko Library, 2018), 9. This work also includes the map of the Nile made by Evliya Çelebi; Nuran Tezcan, "Nil Yolculuğu: Mısır, Sudan, Habeşistan," in *Doğumunun 400. Yılında Evliya Çelebi*, eds. Nuran Tezcan and Semih Tezcan, (Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2011), 247-258. "Cenâb-ı Bârî'den i'tikâd-ı tâm ile tâ Nil-i mübârekin başı olan memleketlerin seyâhatin ricâ eyledim. Zirâ Nil-i mübârekin ibtidâ tulû' etdüğü mahal Cennet-i Me'vâ'dır, derler, hakkında hadis-i sahih vardır. Anın için Nil başına varmağı ricâ eyledim, Hudâ müyesser ede." Quoted in Nuran Tezcan, "Seyahatname'de Gerçekle Kurmacanın İnce Çizgisi: Evliya'nın Nil'in Kaynağını Görme Tutkusu," in *Doğumunun 400. Yılında Evliya Çelebi Bildirileri*, ed. Yusuf Akçay (İstanbul Gelişim Üniversitesi, 2012), 369-370.

²Kayhan Atik, *Lütfi Paşa ve Tevarih-i Ali Osman* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2001), 238-239. Quoted in Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Hakan-ı Rum or Yavuz Sultan Selim - Throne of Joseph or Universal Islamic Caliphate? Some Observations on Changing Ottoman Perceptions of the Conquest of the Mamluk Lands from 1520 to 1920," 15.

³In the colonial tone of language, Europeans referred to Africa as "dark," which became a common phenomenon during the 19th century.

the late 19th century.⁴ The region could be explored as technological developments in navigation and medicine, and the accumulated geographical knowledge paved the way for imperialist actions.

The curiosity about the remotest roots of the White Nile, together with Khedive Ismail Pasha's policy of founding a "civilized" empire stretching from the Mediterranean to Lake Victoria, opened the vista for exploring the hitherto unknown sources of the White Nile. In 1869, he commissioned Samuel Baker to build stations, opening Southern Sudan to navigation, and to suppress the slave trade. From that point on until the completion of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition, the Egyptian government held the Equatorial province until 1890 through an appointed governor and a limited power. The Expedition executed to save Emin Pasha from the Sudanese Mahdi forces signified a historic moment for Emin Pasha and the province since European and Ottoman public opinion paid remarkable attention.

The Egyptian expansion beginning with the founder of the ruling dynasty Kavalali Mehmed Ali Pasha over the Red Sea and the Nile Valley signified an unusual expansion for the Ottoman Empire during a time when the Ottoman Empire was weak in terms of military power. The time of Abdülhamid II, by attaching certain importance to the Muslims all around the world, was eager to adopt the borders expanded by the Khedivate of Egypt. The terminology of imperialism needs to be discussed here. From the foundation period, expansion was a loaded term for the Ottoman Empire. The meaning of empire was bound to the history of the Ottoman State for the Ottomans.⁵ Egyptian imperialism defines the territorial expansion and the "modern" governance of the Khedivate over the extended territories of Sudan, Massawa, and Suakin. There is hardly any evidence of an Ottoman central encouragement for Egyptian imperialism while there had been official recognition of that policy. Ottoman Empire was an empire in European terms. From the experiences of many empires, Egyptian imperialism can be understood as one of them.⁶ The perpetrators of Egyptian imperialism were Ottomans who spoke Turkish and had Ottoman mentalities. When it came to Britain, Victorian imperialism dominated

⁴See John Udal, *The Nile in Darkness: Conquest and Exploration 1504-1862* (M. Russell, 1998) ; Alan Moorehead, *The White Nile* (Harper Perennial, 2000); Tim Jeal, *Explorers of the Nile: The Triumph and Tragedy of a Great Victorian Adventure* (Yale University Press, 2012). For the imperial race see Michael Barthorp, *War on the Nile- Britain, Egypt and the Sudan 1882-1898* (Blandford Press, 1984); White's account is less objective yet an exceptional book. Stanhope White, *Lost Empire on the Nile: H. M. Stanley, Emin Pasha and the Imperialists* (Hale, 1969); Trout Powell's comprehensive work is essential in terms of the colonization of Sudan by Egypt first and the loss of it to Britain. Trout Powell, *A Different Shade of Colonialism: Egypt, Great Britain, and the Mastery of the Sudan* (University of California Press Berkeley, 2003).

⁵Einar Wigen, "Ottoman Concepts of Empire," *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 8/ 1, (Summer 2013): 48.

⁶See Marc Aymes, "Many a Standard at a Time: The Ottomans' Leverage with Imperial Studies," *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 8/1, (Summer 2013).

the British perspective of Egypt from the 1880s onwards.⁷ Hence, there is not a single and straightforward imperialism but versions of it.

This thesis undertakes a balanced perspective toward the power and agency of European and non-European officers and states. It takes multiple actors as compelling personalities of history. Due to the broad range of the people included in the thesis, one can assume that it is also a European history since European interest in the continent, exemplified by the imperialist "Scramble for Africa," was the underlying cause of the region's importance.

The present thesis focuses on the period of governor Emin Pasha in the province of Equatoria (present-day South Sudan and northern Uganda) by providing a detailed explanation of the foundational period and thereafter the Emin Pasha's abandonment of the province as well as the biography of him. It is the first attempt at an in-depth analysis of Egyptian imperialism in the Upper Nile with a particular reference to Ottoman Africa. The region was called Hat el-Estiva, Hatt-ı İstiva or Hatt-ı Üstüva and described as a province, governorate, and directorate in various sources. The Arabic and Ottoman Turkish versions correspond to "Equatoria" in English. This province was composed of stations in tropical Africa. Equatoria was called a "paradise" and/or "the pearl of Africa."⁸

1.1 Literature Review

Even though Emin Pasha is an intriguing figure in the history of the colonization of Central Africa, his activities and ambitions in the Equatorial Province have not yet been paid the necessary scholarly attention. In this case, a master's thesis written by Umar Abdin Mustafa is worth mentioning.⁹ However, it represents Emin Pasha's administration as an ideal time and as a civilizer for the province. Prince Ömer Tosun produced another voluminous work called *the History of Egypt's Equatorial Directorate*.¹⁰ It was written in furtherance of the political legitimization of the rule

⁷For more information see Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher with Alice Denny, *Africa, and the Victorians, The Official Mind of Imperialism*, Second Edition, (London: Macmillan Education Ltd, 1981).

⁸The first governor of Equatoria, Samuel Baker, said, "When we arrived at Fatiko [a station of Equatoria] we found the Paradise of Africa." Quoted in Samuel Baker, "The Khedive of Egypt's Expedition to Central Africa," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 18/ 1 (December 1873): 56 ; In the first footnote, Evliya Çelebi also referred to the region as paradise.

⁹Mustafa Umar Abdin, "Emin Pasha in the Equatorial Province: A Study of Challenges and Achievements," (Master's Thesis, American University of Beirut, 1971).

¹⁰Omar Toussoun, *Tarih ü Müdiriyyeti'l Hattı'l-istivâi'l-Mısriyye: 1869-1889*, 3 vols. (Alexandria, 1937).

of Egypt in the Sudan. Apart from these, Major Stigand's work is remarkable, but it does not only deal with Emin Pasha's period.¹¹

As the Equatorial Province is mainly located in today's South Sudan, a few works about the republic and the history of the country deal with the province. The most important of them is Richard Gray's *A History of the Southern Sudan 1839–1889*.¹² This is a seminal source that uses archival materials, while the remaining later works provide only limited information about the history. Since the literature is limited to some extent, it is necessary to mention Alice Moore-Harrell, who published about Egyptian ambitions in equatorial Africa based on the materials from Cairo and Britain. However, she only covered the period previous to that of Emin Pasha and the later governor generalship of Charles Gordon in her books.¹³

The life of Emin Pasha is another subject of this thesis. It can be inferred that his life was one of the "global lives" that Miles Ogborn coined.¹⁴ Among his biographers, George Sweitzer provides us with the most detailed account his life. However, since it was written by someone who personally knew Emin Pasha, it may not be very objective.¹⁵ On the other hand, a recent biography by Christian Kirchen written in German is a document-based and reliable source that offers a German understanding of Emin.¹⁶ This thesis aims to contribute to Emin Pasha literature by presenting a perception of Emin Pasha in the Ottoman Empire and later in modern Turkey.

When we consider that the studies about Ottoman Africa are not well ahead of the remaining studies of the Empire's other geographies, it is only natural for a person like Emin Pasha –a governor in a very remote province– to be underrated in Turkish academia. The mainstream Ottoman histories refer neither to him nor to the earlier governors of Equatoria or even Egyptian Sudan. Nevertheless, we still come across some works mentioning him during the Ottoman Empire and afterward

¹¹Chauncy Hugh Stigand, *Equatoria: the Lado Enclave* (Routledge; 1st edition, 1990). It was originally published in 1923.

¹²Richard Gray, *A History of the Southern Sudan 1839–1889* (Reprint Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1978); Robert. O Collins, *The Southern Sudan in Historical Perspective* (Routledge, 2006); Oystein Rolandsen and M. W. Daly, *A History of South Sudan - From Slavery to Independence* (Cambridge University Press, 2016).

¹³Alice Moore-Harrell, *Egypt's African Empire- Samuel Baker, Charles Gordon and the Creation of Equatoria* (Liverpool University Press, 2010); Moore-Harrell, *Gordon and the Sudan: Prologue to the Mahdiyya 1877-1880* (Routledge, 2013).

¹⁴Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800* (Cambridge University Press, 2008).

¹⁵George Sweitzer, *Emin Pasha His Life and Work* (Westminster Archibald Constable and Co., 1898). It was originally written in German.

¹⁶Christian Kirchen, *Emin Pascha- Arzt – Abenteurer – Afrikaforscher* (Brill Schoningh, 2014). His another article about Emin Pasha was translated into Turkish and published, but I detected some errors in the translation. See, Christian Kirchen, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Bir Alman Doktor Emin Paşa (Eduard Schnitzer)," *Toplumsal Tarih* 213 (September 2011):50-54.

because Emin Pasha turned out to be a crucial and well-known figure during the Relief Expedition.

Emin Pasha i.e., Eduard Schnitzer, has not received much attention from the Turkish academia, while the first works on him appeared to be written by native Germans. The first entry about him seemed to be in the *Türk Ansiklopedisi* published by MEB (The Ministry of National Education). This was followed by a translated entry written by Arthur Schaade in MEB's *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. In addition to these, Emin Pasha found a place in TDV *İslam Ansiklopedisi* as well. The encyclopedia entries about Emin Pasha, whether translated or not, demonstrate a situation in which he was perceived as a "Turk and Muslim," recognizing his German descent.¹⁷

The author of the entry in the TDV *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Ahmed Schmiede, contributed to the understanding and information about Emin Pasha much further as a native German utilizing primary sources in the German language. His article published in *Türk Dünyası Dergisi* and the article written by Ahmet Kavas summarized the biography of Emin Pasha and introduced him to a general reader and academic audience in Turkish. Although Schmiede narrated the story of Emin Pasha somewhat subjectively by depicting him as a pious Muslim who devoted himself to the cause of Islam and civilization in Africa, Kavas balanced this view. Indeed, Kavas showed an objective attitude and brought together differing aspects of Emin Pasha.¹⁸ İlhan Zengin is another scholar of Ottoman Africa who touched briefly on Emin Pasha's period in Equatoria.¹⁹

When we look at the general writings about Emin Pasha and his province, the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition emerges as the first and foremost subject. This is reasonable due to the innumerable accounts and archival materials regarding the Expedition. Since literature has long concentrated on the Relief Expedition, as a contrast, I aim to concentrate on what happened before the Expedition in the province by highlighting Emin Pasha's actions and intentions by looking from different perspectives, i.e., Ottoman, Egyptian and European, and the conditions led to this Expedition organized in Europe. The understanding of the Expedition by the Ottomans will also be a part of the discussion. In addition, this project will discuss questions as

¹⁷ "Emin Paşa", *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 15 (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1968), 150-151 ; Arthur Schaade, "Emin Paşa," *Meb İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol.4 (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1978), 259- 261 ; H. Ahmed Schmiede, "Emin Paşa," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol.11, (1995), 117-119.

¹⁸ Ahmet Schmiede. "Alman Asıllı Bir Osmanlı Devlet Adamı ve Alimi: Hattüştüva Valisi Dr. Mehmed Emin Paşa," *Türk Dünyası Dergisi* 49 (1991): 16-20 and *Türk Dünyası Dergisi* 50, (1991): 30-34; Ahmet Kavas, "Osmanlı Mısırı'na Bağlı Ekvator Vilayeti'nin Prusya Asıllı Valisi: Mehmed Emin Paşa," in *Geçmişten Günümüze Afrika*, (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2017): 103- 118.

¹⁹ İlhan Zengin, "Köle Ticaretinin XIX. Yüzyılda Sudan'ın Sosyal, Siyasal ve İktisadi Yaşantısına Etkileri," (PhD Diss., Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi, 2018), 146-152.

to what way Emin Pasha managed to succeed in being appointed as the governor of Equatoria; how he formed relations with the local populations of South Sudan; whether he could manage to secure peace and development in the region; and finally, what the effect was of Emin Pasha's abandonment of Equatoria upon the future of Egyptian rule in the region.

The present thesis will also analyze the Ottoman perception of the Equatorial Province and situate/locate the province under the concept of "Ottoman Africa." The Ottoman diplomatic efforts to protect the sovereign rights over the Upper Nile region constitute the most apparent and essential evidence for this argument. In his exceptional article, Idris Bostan discussed the crisis in the region caused by the Belgian occupation in 1893. By relying on the rich Ottoman archival material, he demonstrated the efforts of Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha to protect the territory legally recognized as Egypt's, and hence the Ottomans.²⁰

This thesis contributes to the developing area of Ottoman Africa studies. The research literature on Ottoman relations with Africa has been growing since Cengiz Orhonlu's initiative and his classical monograph *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Güney Siyaseti- Habeş Eyaleti*.²¹ Ottoman relations with Africa have often been neglected in mainstream Ottoman studies due to the narrow view of Turkish nationalist historiography that ignores the far provinces of the Empire. Considering Ottoman Africa as a concept, firstly, Hatice Uğur discussed the term and widened it to East Africa and relations with the Zanzibar sultanate of East Africa via the uncovered sources²² while Muhammed Tandoğan only described the existing literature.²³

Another academician in African studies, Ahmet Kavas, filled the research gap in his capacity through his extensive publications, which involved Ottoman sources to a great extent.²⁴ As there is no abundant number of specific books on Ottoman

²⁰İdris Bostan. "Ottoman Empire and The Congo: The Crisis of 1893-1895," in *Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic History V*, ed. Sinan Kumeralp, (Istanbul: ISIS Press,1990), 103-119.

²¹Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Güney Siyaseti- Habeş Eyaleti* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1974).

²²Hatice Uğur, *Osmanlı Afrikası'nda Bir Sultanlık Zengibar* (Istanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2003).

²³Muhammed Tandoğan, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Unutulmuş Sınırları ve Tarihî Coğrafyası: Bir Mekân Tasavvuru Olarak Afrikâ-yi Osmânî," in *II. Türk İslam Siyasi Düşüncesi Kongresi Bildiriler Kitabı* (2018), 69-86.

²⁴Ahmet Kavas, *Osmanlı-Afrika İlişkileri* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2013); Ahmet Kavas, *Geçmişten Günümüze Afrika* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2017) ; Ahmet Kavas, *Osmanlı'nın Merkezi Afrika'ya Açılan Kapısı-Fizan Sancağı* (Istanbul: Alemlas Yayıncılık, 2018) ; Ahmet Kavas, Mustafa Birol Ülker and Muhammed Tandoğan, eds., *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Afrika Bibliyografyası; Africa Bibliographie de l'Afrique* (Taş Mektep Yayın Atölyesi, 2013). For another bibliography including works in several European languages, see Oliver Schulten, "The Ottoman Time in Africa- Habes Eyaleti and Turkiyya, 1500-1884: A Bibliography", Accessed 20 April 2023. https://www.academia.edu/33065903/The_Ottoman_Time_in_Africa_Habes_Eyaleti_and_Turkiyya_1500_1884_A_Bibliography

Africa, *Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic History, vol V* is still a valuable source for studying Ottoman Africa.²⁵ Apparently, the recent literature in Turkey is large and promising.²⁶

Ottoman relations with African people and places took many shapes and forms in various regions, allowing us to generate broader discussions. Numan Hazar's framework for Ottoman relations with Africa should be highlighted. He speaks of different Africas such as the Muslim, Christian, black, Arab, or white Africa. According to him, Ottoman Empire was mighty in Arab and black Africa but also had relations with the other parts of the continent.²⁷ Apart from North African regions, South Africa and Eastern Africa were also objects of inquiry by researchers. The central theme for Ottoman relations with South Africa is the Ottoman scholar Ebubekir Efendi who was sent to South Africa for a religious mission and published plenty of books and articles on his family history as well as on activities for the Islamic education of Cape Muslims.²⁸

²⁵Sinan Kunalalp, ed., *Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic History V: The Ottomans and Africa*, vol 5 (Istanbul: The ISIS Press, 1990).

²⁶Tarig Mohamed Nour Ali, *Osmanlı Sudanı - Sevakin'de Türk-İngiliz Rekabeti* (Istanbul: İskenderiye Kitap, 2021) ; Abdurrahman Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti (1858-1911)* (Ankara:Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1995) ; Abdullah Özdağ, *Nil'de Ayaklanma ve Savaş Sudan'da İngiliz Politikası 1881-1899* (Ankara:Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2022) ; Durmuş Akalın and Selim Parlaz, XIX. *Yüzyılda Doğu Afrika'da Osmanlılar ve İtalyanlar* (Istanbul: Kesit Yayınları, 2015); Muhammed Tandoğan, *Afrika'da Sömürgecilik ve Osmanlı Siyaseti (1800-1922)* (Ankara:Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2018) ; Şakir Batmaz, ed., *Afrika'da Osmanlı Asırları- Siyah İnci Beyaz Lale -A History of Ottoman Africa Black Pearl and White Tulips* (Istanbul, Kenz Yayınları, 2013). There are several recently published theses about Ottoman Africa and the political and cultural relations with the continent in Turkey. By focusing on the Turkish nature of the Empire, these works position Ottoman Empire as an influential and paternalistic figure. At the same time, the African states and peoples are described as needing a protector. It is an academic trend that displays the current situation of the country and the governmental policies regarding opening to Africa. For example, a popular figure who romanticizes Turkish presence in South Africa, Halim Gençoğlu, perceives Turks as giving life /enriching/ vitalizing the continent in his latest book as if the continent was empty or without life before the Turks. Halim Gençoğlu, *Bree Sokağı No 122, Afrika'ya Hayat Veren Türkler* (Istanbul: Grius, 2021).

²⁷Numan Hazar, "Sultan II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Osmanlı Afrika Devleti ve Afrika Siyaseti," in *Devr-i Hamid-Sultan II. Abdülhamid*, vol 4, ed. Şakir Batmaz, (Kayseri, Erciyes Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011), 187.

²⁸Halim Gençoğlu, *Ottoman Traces in Southern Africa – The Impact of Eminent Turkish Emissaries and Muslim Theologians* (Istanbul:Libra Yayınları, 2018); Serhat Orakçı, "A Historical Analysis of the Emerging Links Between the Ottoman Empire and South Africa Between 1861-1923," (Master's Thesis, University of Johannesburg, 2007) ; Merve Karakoç, "Güney Afrika'da Açılan Osmanlı Mektepleri," (Master's Thesis, Trakya Üniversitesi, 2019) ; Ahmet Kavas, "Ottoman Relations with Southern Africa," *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 48 (2007) : 11-20 ;; Ahmet Uçar, *140 Yıllık Miras: Güney Afrika'da Osmanlılar* (Istanbul: Tez Yayınları, 2000) ; Fredrick Walter Lorenz, "Agents, Ambassadors, and Imams: Ottoman-British Transimperialism in the Cape of Good Hope, 1862–1869," *Journal of World History* 34/ 2 (2023): 241-276.

1.2 *Afrikâ-yi Osmânî* (Ottoman Africa): A Geographical and Historical Concept

A brief look at the terminology “Ottoman Africa” is required for this part in order to see the inclusion of the Upper Nile region. We shall hear the term from educated Ottomans. The Ottoman linguist and intellectual Şemseddin Sami defined Ottoman Africa (*Afrikâ-yi Osmânî*) in his Dictionary of the Proper Names (*Kâmûs’ul-Â’lâm*) as follows:²⁹

It constitutes the territories of the Ottoman Sublime State located in Africa. It formerly included territories from the current Suez Canal to Morocco, approximately the entire northern coasts and the north of Sahara. At the time, Egypt was under direct Ottoman control. What is called Garp ocakları Tripoli, Tunis, and Algeria were governed by begs who depended on the Ottoman State. Later, Egypt gained privileges, while Tripoli, together with Bengasi and Fezzan, came under direct control of the Ottoman State. French invaded Algeria with some pretexts, while Tunis remained as it was. The French Republic haunted the region and also ruled over it. Nevertheless, Tunis was under Ottoman rule and a part of Ottoman Africa. The Sublime State did not give up its [sovereignty] rights for Algeria and did not legally acknowledge French domination over there. Despite the conditions of disturbance, with the endeavor of the Khedivate, the territories of Ottoman Egypt – being located in two continents– expanded along the Nile valley up until its roots and the center of Sudan, as well as along the Red Sea coasts to the south of Gulf of Aden. Due to an uprising in Sudan lately, those parts are nearly lost. Italians and French haunted some coasts of the Red Sea. Possibly, Ottoman Africa consisted of two parts, one directly under Ottoman rule and the other is subjected to privilege. The directly controlled part [of Ottoman Africa] consisted of the separate sanjak Benghazi comprised of Barka territory and Tripoli province, including the lands of Fezzan. Autonomous/privileged territories (*Memâlik-i mümtâze*) are Tunis and Egypt.

After explaining the geography and the current political situation, he concludes by touching upon the political and economic significance and commercial links with the Indian Ocean, Central Africa, and the Sudan. In addition, Şemseddin Sami argued that Ottoman Africa was a vast region, approximately one-sixth of the whole

²⁹Şemseddin Sami, *Kâmûs’ul-Â’lâm*, 1904, Accessed 17 April, 2023 <https://alam.cagdasozluk.com/osmanlica-ansiklopedi-madde-1633.html> All the translations including transcriptions from Ottoman Turkish to English are mine unless stated otherwise. The italics and square brackets are used for clarification and to stress certain words.

continent, inhabited by Arabs and Muslims. As a contrast, Ibrahim Hilmi suggested that Ottoman Africa comprised one-fourth of the continent.³⁰

On the other hand, Ali Cevad's short definition of the same term contributes to the definition of Ottoman Africa in his Historical and Geographic Dictionary of Ottoman State (*Memâlik-i Osmâniye'nin Târih ve Coğrafya Lügati*)³¹

Afrika-yi Osmâni is one of the three essential parts of the Ottoman State. It includes the northeastern parts of Africa, east of the Suez Canal, and parts stretching out from al-Arîş to Algeria; from the Mediterranean to Sahara, Sudan, and the sources of the Blessed Nile (*nil-i mübarek*). [It is] Surrounded by the Red Sea coasts and the Mediterranean, it is mainly divided into two sections, the Nile basin and Ottoman Berberistan. Nile basin is a fruitful grassland while the latter section is made up of desert with its grass and watery oases. . . . Politically, Ottoman Africa included the Khedivate of Egypt, the Emirate of Tunis, the Province of Tripoli, and Benghazi sanjak, which was administered on its own. The Khedivate is ruling over Nubia and the Egyptian Sudan with the autonomous status using a patrimonial succession, and Tunis is as a privileged emirate. The Province of Tripoli, together with Fezzan, is a regular province of the state. The sanjak of Benghazi is dependent on the center. Tripoli and Benghazi have a first-class company of soldiers. Fezzan and Gat were mainly desert lands and had civil service officers.

As evident in these two intellectuals' words, Ottoman Africa indicates the direct rule over the country; however, it further implies an indirect influence of the Ottoman Empire over Africa while comprising their relations with the continent in terms of politics, diplomacy, religion, education, and the like. Although the relations began in the 16th century, this thesis mainly focuses on the discussions of the 19th century regarding Ottoman Africa.³²

Starting from the second part of the 16th century, Egypt, Tunis, Algeria, Eritrea, and Libya became parts of the Ottoman Empire until they were colonized by the

³⁰Tüccarzade Ibrahim Hilmi, *Memâlik-i Osmaniye Ceyb Atlası* (Istanbul: Kitabhane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1323), 266.

³¹Ali Cevad, *Memâlik-i Osmaniye'nin Tarih ve Coğrafya Lügati* (Istanbul:Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1313). For other versions of Afrika-yi Osmani, see Üçler Bulduk, "Hülasa-i Ahvali'l-Buldan'a Göre 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Afrikası," in *Kerkük Çok Irak Değil Prof. Dr. Eşref Buharalı'ya Armağan Türk Tarihine Dair Yazılar* II, ed. Alparslan Demir, Tuba Kalkan and Eralp Erdoğan, (Ankara:Gece Kitaplığı, 2017) ; Ömer Suphi, *Memâlik-i Osman'ın Mufassal Coğrafyası- Afrika-yi Osmani- Mısır Hüdudiyeti*, first volume, Istanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi no:TY4123 ; Ali Saib , *Coğrafya-yı Mufassal Memâlik-i Devlet-i Osmaniye* (Istanbul: Ebuzziya Matbaası, 1304).

³²For the discussions on earlier centuries see Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Salih Özbaran, *Yemen'den Basra'ya Sınırdaki Osmanlı* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2019).

British, French and Italians, respectively; Ottoman Empire had diplomatic, social, and cultural relations with the Muslim states of Zanzibar and Bornu as well. The term *Afrika-yi Osmani* refers not only to these territories but also reflects the idea that the Ottoman Empire was an empire of Africa as much as Asia and Europe.³³

Although it seems like Ottoman Africa is a concept for political history, it can widen to include the cultural, social, and intellectual history because the sources of the late Ottoman period allow us to see the mentalities that shed light on the Ottoman perception of Africa and Africans in the minds of educated Ottomans.³⁴ There was a curiosity and a produced knowledge among the educated elite about the geography, people of Africa, and the European discoveries of the inner lands such as the Nile and Congo rivers. It resulted in the immense number of translations of travelogues and memoirs of these discoverers that, in return, affected the perception of Africa in prejudiced terms. Particularly the Hamidian era, as the Sultan was highly interested in and supported the works produced by explorers written on their experiences in the continent, and his concern for foreign affairs of Muslim states and peoples was reflected in the field of culture, printing, and translations.³⁵ This concern, together with pan-Islamist policies, also manifested in his successful effort to send envoys such as Sadık al-Muayyad to form anti-colonial bonds with the provincial elites of Tripoli in his capacity as a caliph. The interest of the Ottoman Empire during Abdülhamid II's time was "mutually interdependent and inseparable" with his policies of Islamism.³⁶

The Ottoman Empire was a critical actor in the continent's history when adopting an Afro-centric perspective. This perspective, in return, shatters the Euro-centric writing of African history. Ottoman sources are able to enrich African history and contribute to a non-western understanding. Some scholars already discussed the

³³See Hatice Uğur, "Afrikalı Bir Devlet Olarak Osmanlı," *Sabah Ülkesi Dergisi* 67 (April 2021): 48-51.

³⁴Hatice Uğur was the first historian to treat Ottoman Africa as a social and intellectual concept. See Uğur, "Understanding Afrika-yi Osmani in the late Ottoman Period: The case of Zanzibar," (Master's Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2003); Mustafa Serdar Palabıyık, "Ottoman Empire and Africa in the Age of Colonial Expansion on Appreciating the Loyalty of African Muslims, Debating Colonial Rupture," in *Turkey in Africa*, eds. Elem Eyrice Tepeciklioğlu and Ali Onur Tepeciklioğlu, 38-55, (Routledge, 2011).

³⁵See Ömer Koçyiğit, "Muhayyelden Musavvere: Matbuat Çağında Osmanlı'da Afrika Tasavvuru (Sudan Örneği)," *Marmara Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 9 (2022): 226-246. Translations of Ahmed Nermi can prove the mentioned curiosity. For his biography, see İsmet Sarıbal, "İkbalden Zevale: Sultan II. Abdülhamid'in Mâbeyn-i Hümâyûnundan Kazanlı Ahmed Nermi Bey," *Journal of History and Future*, 6/4 (December 2020): 1257 – 1269. While no publication analyzes these works, Uçar's thesis lists the names of the translated books. Gülistan Uçar, "II. Abdülhamid Han'ın Batı Dillerinden Türkçeye Çevirttiği Eserler," (Master's Thesis, Konya Necmettin Erbakan University, 2020). Nonetheless, it is essential to keep in mind that the early modern Ottoman geographers address to Africa in their works related to geography. Jean -Louis Bacqué-Grammont, "L'Afrique dans la cosmographie de Kâtib Çelebi," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, XL (2012): 121-170 ; İbrahim Yılmaz and Mustafa Yılmaz, "Piri Reis'in Eserlerinde Afrika," *Harita Teknolojileri Elektronik Dergisi* 7/ 3, (2015): 34-44.

³⁶Kemal Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (Oxford University Press, 2001), 258.

importance of Ottoman sources for the history of Africa. They demonstrated earlier that Ottoman sources reveal and will advance African history for the period that covered their presence in the continent.³⁷ According to J. Hunwick, “Turkish texts are one of the least known and least exploited sources for African history.”³⁸ Thus, new sources possibly can bring about novel problems to the historiography.

1.3 Ottoman Diplomatic Involvement with “the Scramble for Africa”:Berlin Conference (1884-5)

Berlin Conference was arranged for the “further division of the African cake,” in order to solve the problems and claims through diplomacy.³⁹ Being a European power, the Ottoman Empire managed to participate in the conference since territories under their possession in Africa existed.⁴⁰ The efforts of the London ambassador Musurus Pasha in order to participate the conference were remarkable because he insisted that Ottoman Empire was a European empire after the Paris Conference as a matter of fact. The Berlin ambassador, Said Pasha, represented Ottoman interests during the meetings. The reasons why Ottomans pushed to participate were security, protection of the rights of Muslims, prestige, territorial integrity, and protection of North African provinces.⁴¹

³⁷For example, Stanford J. Shaw, "The Ottoman Archives as a Source for Egyptian History," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83/ 4 (1963): 447–52; Yusuf Sarıay, *Ottoman Archives and Ethiopian Ottoman Relations* (Ankara:Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2001) ; B. G. Martin , “Turkish Archival Sources for West African History,” *African Studies Bulletin* 10/ 3 (December 1967): 59-65. Halim Gençoğlu, *Güney Afrika’da Osmanlı İzleri, Güney Afrikada Osmanlı Kültürel Mirası (Arşiv Kayıtları, Resimler ve Belgeler)* (Istanbul:Kronik Kitap, 2022) ; Halim Gençoğlu, “The Significance of Turkish Archives For South African Historiography,” *Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa* 73 /1, (June 2019): 6-14. For an upside-down view, see, Halim Gençoğlu “Güney Afrika Milli Arşivlerinin Osmanlı Tarih Yazıcılığı Açısından Önemi,” *Belleten* 83 /298 (Aralık 2019): 933-956. Last year, the Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association announced a special issue on "The Maghribi Turn in Ottoman History". This issue will try to reorient and show "how Maghribi history can reshape the historiography of the Ottoman Empire as a whole ."I believe that this issue will arouse more interest in these approaches. Accessed 26 April, 2023. <https://networks.h-net.org/node/11419/discussions/10515964/cfp-maghribi-turn-ottoman-history-special-issue-journal-ottoman>

³⁸John Hunwick, “Arabic Sources for African History,” in *Writing African History*, ed. J. Edward Philips, (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2005), 226. He takes Evliya Çelebi’s Travels’ 10th volume as a valuable source.

³⁹Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold’s Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 84 ; Congo Free State was recognized in the conference. Commerce was liberated there where proclaimed to be neutral; the signatories to the Treaty decided to notify each other in case of latest occupations. See “General Act of the Conference of Berlin Concerning the Congo,” *The American Journal of International Law* 37 1, *Supplement: Official Documents* (Jan., 1909): 7-25.

⁴⁰Gassim Ibrahim, “Afrika’nın Sömürgeleştirilmesi: Berlin Konferansı ve Osmanlı Devleti (1884-1885),” (PhD Diss., Fatih Sultan Mehmed University, 2022), 131.

⁴¹Ibrahim, “Afrika’nın Sömürgeleştirilmesi,” 137 ; Gürkan Kocamaz, “1884-1885 Berlin Konferansı ve Afrika’nın Avrupalı Devletler Tarafından Paylaşımı,” (Master’s Thesis, Manisa Celal Bayar University, 2015), 66.

Afterward, the significance of this conference appeared in the increasing quantity of Ottoman archival sources about African affairs. Due to the agreement, colonialist states had to inform other attending states about the borders they occupied to avoid a possible conflict of interest after the conference. Thus, the geographic locations gained importance, and Ottomans also wanted to know where their territories were located. Therefore, many maps appeared in the Ottoman archives after the conference per the principles discussed.⁴²

Selim Deringil, particularly, was the first historian to address the Ottoman ambitions by participating in the conference and had analyzed the motives behind the efforts to attend it earlier in the 1990s and led to more research.⁴³ He stated that in the eyes of Europeans, Ottomans were neither colonized nor colonizers on the European scale. Historians' adoption of the sick man perception underestimated the Ottoman interest in Africa.⁴⁴ Although the agenda of the conference was based on places of no interest to Ottomans, participation was essential for them. Their delegate even reported minor details on the meticulous drawing of this region's theoretical borders, which Europeans divided without even having seen.⁴⁵ Ottomans played an active role in the political games of the Middle East and Maghrib and did not merely accept their fate of political annihilation. Abdülhamid II's goals of being accepted in the concert of Europe and pan-Islamism were not contradictory; Tsar and Kaiser did the same.⁴⁶ According to him, Sultan's servants lacked not sophistication or legal arguments but material/actual power. The arguments of the Porte reveal a state completely outdated on the material level but still retaining its political skill.⁴⁷

Later theses and articles discussing the same topic either reached Deringil's earlier suggestions or excluded Ottomans from the imperialist race and purified their ambitions.⁴⁸ Other than Deringil, other scholars also demonstrated that the Ottoman

⁴²Hatice Uğur, "East Africa's Entangled Worlds in Ottoman Sources, 1879-1915," (PhD Diss, University of Leipzig, 2022), 24.

⁴³Selim Deringil, "Les Ottomans et le Partage de l'Afrique (1880-1990)," in *Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic History V: The Ottomans and Africa*, ed. Sinan Kunalalp, (Istanbul: The ISIS Press, 1990); Nicola Melis, "L'Impero ottomano alla Conferenza di Berlino (1884-85): imperialismo e anti imperialismo all'epoca di Abdülhamid II," *Afriche e Orientali* XXI/2, (2019): 32-50 ; Kuntay Gücü, "1884-1885 Berlin Konferansı ve Kongo örneği, Afrika'nın Sömürgeleştirilmesi Karşısında II. Abdülhamid Yönetimi," *Teori Dergisi* (2019):69- 82; Ahmet Doğan, "The Berlin West African Conference 1884-1885 and The Ottoman Empire," (Master's Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2021).

⁴⁴Deringil, "Les Ottomans et le partage de l'Afrique," 126.

⁴⁵Ibid., 127.

⁴⁶Ibid., 132.

⁴⁷Ibid., 133.

⁴⁸According to Ibrahim, Ottomans are "neither colonial nor imperialist" by this participation. Ibrahim, "Afrika'nın Sömürgeleştirilmesi," 202.

Empire was not a weak and passive participant or an observer of the so-called “Scramble for Africa.” In his book, Mostafa Minawi discusses this problem. Building on the Ottoman participation in the Berlin Conference of 1884-85, he suggests that the Ottoman Empire, far from being the Sick Man, was an active participant in African politics throughout the 19th century, making great diplomatic efforts to keep the sovereignty and integrity of its territories against the colonial powers in Africa.⁴⁹

In fact, participation in this conference was vital for the present thesis’s diplomatic relations that prove the Ottoman concern for protecting the sovereign rights of their African territories in terms of international law. In 1890, in the official correspondence, first *eyalet* (province) was written, then erased and replaced with *müstemlekat* (colonies). Istanbul adopted this changing vocabulary while competing with its contemporaries.⁵⁰ The book does not suggest an “Ottoman Scramble for Africa” but the Ottoman diplomatic struggle for its territories in Africa. Despite its provocative title, this book significantly contributes to the literature.

Finally, yet importantly, Ottoman historiography invented specific terminologies from post-colonial perspectives by coping European notions. “Ottoman orientalism” and “Ottoman colonialism” are closely related subjects with Ottoman participation in the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885.⁵¹ These debates have yet to approach the Egyptian Empire and its effects on the mainstream Ottoman understanding of colonialism. Equatorial Province and Sudan had yet to be paid attention to cases of Ottoman colonialism in the literature.

1.4 Sources

This research relies on various sources ranging from archival documents to visual representations. The manuscript and published Ottoman geography books are ref-

⁴⁹Mostafa Minawi, *Ottoman Scramble for Africa- Empire and Diplomacy in the Sahara and the Hijaz* (California: Stanford University Press, 2016).

⁵⁰Minawi, *Ottoman Scramble for Africa*, 106.

⁵¹For the debates see, Usama Makdisi, “Ottoman Orientalism,” *American Historical Review* 107/ 3 (June 2002): 768-796 ; Thomas Kühn , “Shaping and Reshaping Colonial Ottomanism: Contesting Boundaries of Difference and Integration in Ottoman Yemen, 1872-1919,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* (2007) 27 (2): 315–331 ; Selim Deringil, “They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery: the Late Ottoman Empire and the Post-Colonial Debate,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45/2 (April 2003): 311-342 ; For the critics see, Özgür Türesay, “The Ottoman Empire Seen Through The Lens of Postcolonial Studies: A Recent Historiographical Turn,” *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine* 60/2 (2013): 127-145 ; Edip Gölbaşı, “19. yüzyıl Osmanlı Emperyal Siyaseti ve Osmanlı Tarih Yazımında Kolonyal Perspektifler,” *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 13 (Fall 2011): 199-222.

erenced.⁵² These sources provide little information about the province or its administration. Instead, they offer hints about the Ottoman understanding of the province, such as its location, inhabitants, borders, and some names of the directorates (*müdiriyet*) that were official sections of Egyptian Sudan. The archival documents are only abundant for a time after Emin Pasha's period, but this rich material only addresses the later occupational efforts of Belgians in 1890s. There could be found silence for the Sudanese affairs from the Ottoman side while some documentation on diverse subjects remained separately.

Maps are critical in contributing to the claim that Ottoman Africa included the province of Equatoria in the minds of the Ottomans. Travelogues and memoirs of Ottomans and Europeans are crucial sources for this project since the Ottoman archives do not have a set of documents on a particular topic but indeed offer individual documents about various subjects on Emin Pasha and Equatorial province for the issue of its occupation by Belgium from Congo and the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition. Muhammed Mihri's *Sudan Seyahatnamesi* is the only Ottoman travel account about the region, published in 1910.⁵³

Ottoman official chronicles and history works do not discuss Egyptian Sudan or the Equatorial Province. There is silence when it comes to the Egyptian Sudanese government in terms of archival materials from the Ottoman side. Thus, the period of Emin Pasha could only be written by the reports of Emin Pasha, letters, articles, and travelogues of European travelers.

Mısır Salnamesi –annales of Egypt– and *Mısır Meselesi* are significant Ottoman sources which speak of various topics about the governance of Khedivate. Ottoman journals such as *Maarif* and *Nevsal-i Marifet* and even children's journal *Çocuklara Rehber* contain some articles related to the Emin Pasha and the Relief Expedition. Newspapers such as *Basiret*, *Mürüvvet*, *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* and *Sabah* provided the news about the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition to the Ottoman audience.⁵⁴

The records of European explorers, missionaries, or officers in the forms of memoirs, letters, or articles as eyewitnesses either during the Relief Expedition or beforehand are also vital. These sources will help me to portray Emin Pasha's period and his ideas about developing his province. Emin Pasha's letters and diaries were published

⁵²See, Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: İslam Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi, 2000).

⁵³Muhammed Mihri, *Sudan Seyahatnamesi*, ed. Ahmet Kavas, (Istanbul:Kitabevi, 2016).

⁵⁴*Mısır Salnamesi*, Mısır fi Sene 1288, (Paris / Fransa: Paris Victor Goupy Matbaası) ; Ragıp Raif and Rauf Ahmed, *Mısır Meselesi*, Bab-ı Ali Hariciye Nezareti İstanbul Matbaa-i Amire, 1334, ed. Mustafa Öztürk, Sevdâ Özkaya Özer, (Fırat Üniversitesi Basımevi, Elazığ, 2011).

just like another governor of Equatoria Charles Gordons'. Unlike these two, the first expeditioner of the Upper Nile, Selim Qapudan and the founder of the province, Samuel Baker had the chance to write about their experiences in the Upper Nile.⁵⁵

1.5 Overview of the Chapters

The chapters of this thesis do not follow a chronological order in each part but instead offer a combination of chronology and thematic narrative. The first chapter will cover the foundation of Khedivial Egypt by Mehmed Ali Pasha and the imperialist policies initiated by him. As an essential figure of the thesis, Ismail Pasha and his dream of an African empire will be discussed in order to see the pioneering ideas behind this policy. This part will provide background information about the expansion in the Sudan in general. The central points here are the ideas, expectations, and purposes before encountering the realities. Maps of Egypt, Sudan or Congo will be presented which contained Equatorial Province as well to discuss the Ottoman knowledge and interest.

The second chapter provides a combination of local histories that underlined the local factors, various expeditions, and the establishment of Equatorial Province by Samuel Baker and Charles Gordon. It also includes the very first engagement with the explorations of the source of White Nile by Selim Qapudan. The chapter will show the difficulties to reach and establish a government in the region and the irresolute attempts to set up law and order. This chapter will briefly analyze Ottoman perceptions of Equatoria and Uganda.

The third chapter constitutes the main body of this study in terms of the biography of Emin Pasha and the years of the provincial governance. In this part, topics like "progress" and "civilizing mission" are discussed in addition to the multi-layered life story of Emin Pasha. However, his administration in Equatoria coincided with the economic crisis in Egypt and Sudan, which triggered the Urabi Revolt and followed by the occupation of Egypt by Britain. At around the same time, a religious figure claiming to be the Mahdi gained military power in the Sudan and rose against the "Turkish" rule. These moment ended unavoidable the governance of Emin Pasha in the province since he was left on his own for years, effectively cut off from Egypt. Finally, he was evacuated from the region through the well-known Emin Pasha Relief

⁵⁵Sir Samuel Baker, *Ismailia- A Narrative of the Expedition to Central Africa for the Suppression of the Slave Trade Organized by Khedive Ismail Pasha*, 2nd edition, (London: Macmillan And Co., 1879); Salim Qapudan, *Premier voyage a la recherche des sources du Bahr-el-Abiad ou Nil-Blanc*, extract of the Bulletin of French Geographical Society, (Paris, Imprimerie De Bourgogne Et Martinet, 1842).

Expedition. From then on, Equatoria became a stage for colonial ambitions.

The fourth chapter is an attempt to write the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition by relying on Ottoman sources and introducing their perspective which was highly influenced by the Europeans. However, the Ottoman press could speak by itself and express its own matters about the Expedition and the issues discussed interrelating the Expedition. The events narrated in this part, provided the conditions for Emin Pasha and the province of Equatoria to be in the public eye globally.

The final chapter is significant for understanding of Equatoria by the Ottoman Empire. It includes a chronological continuation of the colonialist ambitions toward the Equatorial Province by Belgians in Congo and the reaction of the Ottoman Empire through its representative Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha in Egypt. Aside from the political area, this chapter introduced new sources regarding the case of Emin Pasha's inheritance, filling a research gap.

Last of all, this project aims to have an alternative look at Ottoman Africa as part of African Studies with a particular reference to the province founded in the Upper Nile, Central Africa. Offering the infamous story of Emin Pasha and Equatorial Province will shake our understanding of the so-called "sick man" Ottoman Empire in the 19th century and put trans-local relations of the many important names into the larger picture of the post-colonial histories.

The present thesis attempts to combine an imperial history of the Ottoman Empire and the Khedivate of Egypt with a local history of the South Sudan and Uganda by discussing global issues such as exploration, imperialism, colonialism, and civilization. It is closely related to the colonizing activities of European powers when Egypt finally faced economic collapse. This thesis will present an imperial policy of an Ottoman province in North Africa to annex southern regions. Although it is impossible to find concrete evidence indicating an Ottoman central policy concerning expansion in Central Africa, the Ottoman center acknowledged the region and the Sudan as part of Egypt and thus of their own territory. The primary purpose is mostly to bring the Ottoman perspectives and show their involvement or the silence to fill a gap in the literature about the Ottoman part of the story. By selecting this micro place as a central spot, this thesis will have a look at the Ottoman perceptions of Central Africa, and Egypt; the Ottoman politics about Africa and Egypt together with its relations with these places.

2. EGYPT'S NILE EMPIRE

*Fatih-i Mısır u Sudan Sultan Selim i dad-ger/ Kahraman-ı şir-dil dara-ya
İskender-siyer/ Hep cihan-giran-ı devran Mihriya şayandır/ İtse tasvir-i
hümayun ile tenvir-i basar*¹

The expeditions of Selim I against the Mamluks led to Ottoman expansion into North Africa and the Hijaz in 1517. From that time until the fall of the empire, Egypt remained a part of the Ottoman entity, although it was far from the center and could be called a periphery. Later centuries witnessed changes, transformations, emerging of factions and households.² Before the Egyptian crisis caused by Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha, the French occupation of Egypt between 1798 and 1801 represented a crucial historical moment. From then on, Egypt began to play an essential role in international politics and thus became a critical case in world history.³

This chapter states the conditions that prepared the Egyptian expansion and, finally, the foundation of the Equatorial Province. For this reason, the changing dynamics of the Ottoman center's relations with Egypt must also be considered. In order to understand the expansionist policies of Egypt's governors to reach Lake Victoria and unite the Nile Basin from the remotest roots to the Mediterranean initiated by Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha, I will first take a look at how Egypt was shaped as a state that was no longer a standard province of the Ottoman Empire that underwent Tanzimat reforms and centralization policies. On the contrary, the Egyptian crisis and Tanzimat reforms are often treated in a cause-and-effect relationship.⁴ The

¹Muhammed Mihri, *Sudan Seyahatnamesi*, ed. Ahmet Kavas, (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2016), 55.

²See Jane Hathaway, *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt- The Rise of the Qazdaglis* (Ohio State University, 2002).

³It was noted as one of the key events in the history of North Africa. See Toyin Falola, *Key Events in African History- A Reference Guide* (Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 2002), 159.

⁴Hilal Görgün, "Mısır Vilayetinde Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet Dönemi," *Divan Disiplinlerarası Çalışmalar*

shifting position of Egypt enabled the later ruler Ismail Pasha to establish Equatorial Province. As the project of building an empire began with Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha, we must first take a retrospective perspective in this chapter before discussing the policies and activities in Central Africa.

The following pages address whether one can speak of an Egyptian imperial mind. What were its characteristics? What means governors utilized to modernize the country and expand the state's borders, while the central Ottoman government did not pursue or order such a policy? The last section this thesis deals exclusively with the period and personality of Khedive Ismail, in which the above-highlighted policy was realized indeed and intention. Due to the scope of this work, which is about Equatoria, the coasts of the Red Sea, which have a special significance, are not discussed, whereas Egyptian Sudan will be treated separately in terms of visual representations, too.

2.1 A Concise Look at the Autonomous Province (*Eyâlet-i Mümtâze*)

The story of 19th-century Egypt is closely connected with the biography of Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha (d.1840). He was the founder of the dynasty that ruled over Egypt until 1952.⁵ He arrived in Egypt as a Janissary commander during the struggle against the French occupation, rose to power by his abilities to eliminate his rivals and accumulate power, and was officially appointed as governor of Egypt in 1805. Mehmed Ali Pasha believed that he had a particular mission in Egypt: "to lead it into the light of civilization."⁶ He evidently implies an Orientalist view towards Egypt that Ismail Pasha will inherit. This mission, in return, caused his policies and actions of empire-building. He was one of the "provincial power magnates" of the late 18th and 19th centuries but differed from the others in his power to challenge the sultan.⁷

He struggled against the center to realize his ambitions, such as taking control of

Dergisi 13, 24 (2008/1), 163. Khaled Fahmy, *Mehmed Ali From Ottoman Governor to Ruler of Egypt* (Oneworld Publications, 2009), 79. In another instance, Fahmy stated that Mehmed Ali Pasha's elimination of Mamluks inspired Mahmud II for the Auspicious event. Fahmy, *Mehmed Ali*, 73.

⁵The following governors of Egypt were Abbas I Hilmi Pasha (1848-1854), Said Pasha (1854-1863), Ismail Pasha (1863-1879), Tevfik Pasha (1879-1892), II. Abbas Hilmi Pasha (1892-1914), Hüseyin Kamil Pasha (1914-1917). For further information, see F. R. Hunter, *Egypt under the Khedives, 1805-1875* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1999).

⁶Fahmy, *Mehmed Ali*, 104.

⁷Engin Deniz Akarlı, "Provincial Power Magnates in Ottoman Bilad al-Sham and Egypt, 1740-1840," in *La vie sociale dans les provinces arabes à l'époque ottomane* (Zanghouan, 1988), 52-53.

Syria from 1831 to 1840.⁸ An international effort solved the Egyptian crisis of 1840, and finally, Kavalalı's dynasty had the right to govern Egypt by succession.⁹ Another edict announced that the governor of Egypt was equal in position to the grand vizier and would eventually use the title “*sadaret-i uzma*” consequently in 1840. The edicts shifted the provincial position of Egypt from *salyaneli eyalet* to *eyalet-i mümtaze*.¹⁰ The privileges continued throughout the century. In the edict of 1873, Egypt was defined as a state for the first time.¹¹ It shows the shifting positions of Egypt throughout the 19th century and how it came to act semi-independently on its own.

From the Ottoman point of view in Abdülhamid II's era, Mehmed Ali Pasha established a de facto – but not legally or promised – independent state through military power, developing the economy with commerce and industrialization via the flourishing of cotton cultivation and the establishment of factories. He increased the revenue up to 400.000 *akçe*. His state was dependent on the army that he formed with this money.¹²

The question of what still makes Egyptian culture a component of the Ottoman identity is vital because it makes the Sudan and Equatoria Ottoman as well. It may be answered by the London Convention signed on July 15, 1840, in which it was decided that every province of the Ottoman Empire would be subject to all future agreements and laws executed by the Ottoman Empire. This condition consolidated the legal bonds of Egypt with the empire at an international level.¹³ Aside from the diplomatic part of the discussion, a recent article on citizenship noted that the Egyptians considered themselves Ottoman citizens at late as the first decade of the 20th century. The “nominal subalterns” of the sultan exercised direct control over Egypt while his authority remained spiritual and symbolic in the minds of Egyptians.¹⁴

⁸For further information, see Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid, *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali* (Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁹Muhammed Hanefi Kutluoğlu, "Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*.

¹⁰Özge Özkoç, *Mısır'ın Uzun 19. Yüzyılı Modernleşme, Merkezileşme ve Özerklik* (Istanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2015), 107.

¹¹J.F.Ade Ajayi, ed. *General History of Africa*, vol VI, Africa in the Nineteenth Century until the 1880s, UNESCO International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa (University of California Press, 1989), 333.

¹²Ragıp Raif and Rauf Ahmed, *Mısır Meselesi*, Bab-ı Ali Hariciye Nezareti İstanbul Matbaa-i Amire, 1334, ed. Mustafa Öztürk, Sevda Özkaya Özer, (Fırat Üniversitesi Basımevi, Elazığ, 2011), 29.

¹³Raif and Ahmed, *Mısır Meselesi*, 22.

¹⁴Will Hanley, “When Did Egyptians Stop Being Ottomans? An Imperial Citizenship Case Study,” in *Multilevel Citizenship*, ed. Willem Maas (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 93.

After Selim I, no Ottoman sultan set foot in Egypt except for Sultan Abdülaziz during his visit in 1863. This visit was significant since the underlying purpose was to convey that the then governor of the time, Ismail Pasha, was no more than a *vali* of the Sublime Porte.¹⁵ It implies that the real power and leader is the sultan, who is above anyone else.¹⁶ Nevertheless, Egypt continued to be a part of the Ottoman Empire. It is important to take into consideration that Istanbul and Egypt were still connected and affected each other. Developments in Egypt were interrelated with the center. Görgün noted how usual this was when considering that Egypt was an Ottoman province through and through.¹⁷

The grandson of Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha, Khedive Ismail Pasha strived for a more modernized state and more privileges. What he did for these was to send gifts to the center and to bribe the officials to extend the limits of his *imtiyazat*.¹⁸ Ismail Pasha's reign experienced an economic crisis, which finally resulted in his dismissal and the European intervention in the administration. Britain occupied Alexandria to protect the Suez Canal – as their road to India – and the British investments in Egypt and to suppress the anti-imperialist Urabi movement led by nationalist Egyptian members of the military class.¹⁹ Although Britain continued to recognize Ottoman sovereignty in legal terms, Lord Cromer referred to Egypt as a covert protectorate.²⁰ Muhammed Mihri, An Ottoman who did not repeat the official view, blamed the mismanagement of the era of Abdülhamid for causing the British intervention.²¹ It shows a different but biased understanding of the Hamidian period from the Second Constitutional Era. The Khedivate and its imperialist activities turned out to be an unsuccessful venture that affected the fate of *Hatt-ı İstiva* to a great extent.

¹⁵François Georgeon, *Sultan Abdülhamid* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2020), 39.

¹⁶Hayrettin Pınar, *Tanzimat Döneminde İktidarın Sınırları, Babiali ve Hıdiv İsmail* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2012) 18-19.

¹⁷Görgün, “Mısır Vilayetinde Tanzimat,” 159.

¹⁸Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol 7 (Ankara: TTK, 2011), 40-41.

¹⁹Kevin Shillington, *History of Africa*, 4th edition (Red Globe Press, 2018), 317. For more information on the Ottoman response to the occupation of Egypt, Süleyman Kızıltoprak, *Mısır'da İngiliz İşgali: Osmanlı'nın Diploması Savaşı, (1882-1887)* (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010).

²⁰Süleyman Kızıltoprak, *Mısır'da Osmanlı'nın Son Yüzyılı Mehmet Ali Paşa'dan II. Abbas Hilmi Paşa'ya* (TBBD Yayınları, 2010), vii.

²¹Muhammed Mihri, *Sudan Seyahatnamesi*, 265.

2.2 Khedivate as an Imperial Force or an Empire within an Empire

Expansion and resistance were the central tenets of the Ottoman-Egyptian dialectic throughout the 19th century.²² Mehmed Ali Pasha's rise to power reached the extent of imperialism to secure his position as the governor of Egypt against internal and external rivals.²³ In fact, without his initiative, neither the expeditions nor the foundation of the *müdiriyet* in tropical Africa could be realized. The questions of why and how the expansion occurred are indicative of the transformation Egypt was undergoing. Egyptian modernization was tied to the military, as the Ottoman Empire's initial modernization project. Military, medical, and engineering schools and factories followed the *nizam-ı cedid* army of Mehmed Ali Pasha. He invested in agriculture and industry to profit from expanding his military power.²⁴ This military self-sufficiency turned Egypt into a regional power and decreased the influence from outside.²⁵ However, the technology was imported from Europe in addition to the advisors. Hence, this was not an Egyptian Renaissance by its own as the early Egyptian historians tended to believe.²⁶

The expansionist policy lied in the background of Mehmed Ali Pasha's political, economic, and administrative rise. A modern army served as the engine for the implementation of this policy.²⁷ It was also claimed that the power conflicts between the social forces of Egypt led to military expansion.²⁸ Kavalalı's Syrian campaign was the result of the need to secure his position of power in Egypt and exploit possible human and natural sources of the territory.²⁹ On the other hand, he ordered to collect slaves for his army and gold in the Sudan expedition of 1820, but it ended

²²Pınar, *Tanzimat Döneminde İktidarın Sınırları*, 8.

²³John E Flind, ed., *Cambridge History of Africa*, vol 5 from c. 1790 to c. 1870 (Cambridge University Press, 1976), 22.

²⁴Cotton production was a key for the time in economic advancement. For more information, see Roger Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian economy, 1820-1914: A study in trade and development* (Clarendon Press, 1969).

²⁵John P. Dunn, *Khedive Ismail's Army* (Routledge, 2005), 3.

²⁶For example, A. Abdel-Malek named the chapter in "The Renaissance of Egypt, 1805-81," in ed. Ajayi, *General History of Africa*, vol VI, 325- 355.

²⁷Kutluoğlu, "Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. For further information, see Muhammed H. Kutluoğlu, *the Egyptian Question (1831-1841)- The Expansionist Policy of Mehmed Ali Paşa in Syria and Asia Minor and the Reaction of the Sublime Porte* (Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1998).

²⁸Fred Haley Lawson, *Social Origins of Egyptian Expansionism during the Muhammad 'Ali Period* (Columbia University Press, 1992).

²⁹Fahmy, *Mehmed Ali*, 83.

up in a disaster.³⁰ The Ottoman immediate reaction to the expansion in Sudan is not known whether the sultan ordered it or not. One can claim a reciprocal relationship between expansionism and power at the time of Mehmed Ali, but later, Ismail Pasha's expansionism brought about an economic crisis. Altundağ emphasized that the prestige and influence of Mehmed Ali Pasha were more significant than even the Ottoman sultan's since he managed to control the most critical places in the Islamic world – Egypt, Syria, and the Hijaz.³¹ He not only minded the prestige of the Islamic world but also the Western media. As I will discuss in the next chapter, Mehmed Ali Pasha strived to find the roots of the White Nile to gain prestige in the Western world aside from the material benefits of possible exploration.

What was the Egyptian imperial mind's nature and colonial reality on the ground? Did they have a '*mission civilisatrice*'? The late Ottoman Empire did not pursue such a policy of expansion, but strikingly, a far province of it did so, majorly in the times of Mehmed Ali and Ismail. Thus, G. H. Talhami called it a "paradoxical situation" that Egypt was trying to get rid of the control of an empire while it was building an empire itself. For this reason, the ideology of Egyptian expansion has an entirely different meaning.³² Egypt's imperialist aspirations were understood as a "reconstruction of the Egyptian empire" by M. Sabry in 1930. Accordingly, the expansion was thoroughly linked to 'the idea of building a powerful independent state' in African territories in order to achieve glory and freedom and to have a sense of nation.³³ He overemphasizes nationalism and excludes Ottoman relations with its privileged province, treating Egypt as a body utterly detached from the Ottoman state.

Another critical question to examine is whether the Ottoman Empire was a passive observer of the Egyptian empire-building process. The order of 1841 granted Sudanese provinces of Nubia, Darfur, Kordofan and Sennar to the Khedive Mehmed Ali Pasha.³⁴ Without official recognition as such, Egypt could not claim sovereignty over Sudan. However, one can still wonder what made Sudan and Equatoria Ot-

³⁰“The value of slaves who prove to be suitable for our services is more precious than jewels ... Hence I am ordering you to collect 6000 of these slaves” Quoted in *Ibid.*, 54.

³¹Şinasi Altundağ, “Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa Hakkında Kısa Bir Etüd”, *A.O.D.T.C.Fakültesi Dergisi* 1/2 (1943), 3.

³²Quoted in Alessandro Triulzi, book review of Ghada H. Talhami, *Suakin and Massawa under Egyptian Rule 1865-1885* (University Press of America, 1979), *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 14/ 4 (1981), 766. The reviewer assumed that imitation of the colonial civilizing mind of Europe in the case of Ismail Pasha is evident, and thus, this idea is not wholly correct. Nevertheless, as I already discussed in the previous chapter on Ottoman colonialism, the mentalities/thoughts and intentions do not always meet with the realities as in the case of Ismail Pasha.

³³Quoted in Ajayi, *General History of Africa vol vi*, vi.

³⁴Süleyman Kızıltoprak, ed., *15 Numaralı Mühimme-i Mısır Defteri* (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 2015), 127-128.

toman if the Ottoman State did not aim to rule there. In this sense, the concept of empire could help us understand the intermingling of power relations in legitimacy, diplomacy, and reality. "Political flexibility" is a supportive element for long-lasting empires as the Ottoman Empire within the "repertoires of power." For this reason, sovereignty can be "shared out, layered, overlapping."³⁵ Given this explanation, Ottoman Empire most likely exerted its power by allowing the imperial actions of the Khedivate of Egypt. The Khedive ruled the privileged province in terms of internal affairs. As there was no official power against the Egyptian expansion, Ottomans may not feel any danger for this expansion.

Other than that, when we think of the identity of Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha, he was clearly an Ottoman who behaved with the mentality of Ottomans. Akarlı described that "As a corollary to this Ottoman identity, he also saw himself as a custodian of the interests of the *din* (faith, Islam), and the *dawla* (state) on behalf of the Ottoman sultan."³⁶ Thus, the conquest could be welcomed in the Ottoman side.

2.3 The African Dream of Ismail Pasha

Ismail Pasha was a remarkable ruler of North and East Africa. At the same time, he presented himself as a European who had many ambitious dreams, including building an African empire. This dream was strongly criticized in the literature by a centralist, Ottomanist language not only by the Ottomans, as we will see, but also by historians. In what way and by what means was he Ottoman, European or African, an idealistic modernizer, an imperialist, or a colonizer? His statements and works prove that his policy was aimed at establishing a European or Mediterranean empire in North Africa through expansion through the Nile and the Red Sea.

The goal of Ismail Pasha, resembling his grandfather, was to exploit his country's material and human sources and colonize it from within.³⁷ Colonization is linked to some factors, such as the economic motivation of European new imperialism, a policy of difference in colonial settings in terms of law, and a sense of the fatherland and its far-reaching colonies in terms of mentalities. In this case, Ismail represents

³⁵Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power And The Politics Of Difference* (Princeton University Press, 2010), 16-17.

³⁶Engin Deniz Akarlı, "Provincial Power Magnates in Ottoman Bilad al-Sham and Egypt,1740-1840," 53.

³⁷For an analysis, see Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (University of California Press, 1988)

an example of a non-European and atypical internal colonization and imperialism by imitating European powers to establish a modern state. His case is unique in Ottoman colonialism and must be treated distinctively because he was a provincial elite and administrator who was not appointed from the center but inherited the governorship.

Ismail Pasha wanted to be part of Europe and felt like a European, which can be analyzed and classified as self-Orientalism. His education in France and his belief in European superiority possibly affected this condition. J. Dunn quotes Samuel Lockett Bey as saying, "There is a grand program made out for Egyptian progress. The Khedive believes he must do for Africa what the United States has done for America. He thought that it was a manifest destiny for him and his dynasty."³⁸ We can suggest that he had a self-proclaimed mission. Unless he had this mission, Equatorial Province may not have existed.

He desired to be a part of the Concert of Europe as a semi-independent ruler. Ismail Pasha claimed, "My country does not belong to Africa but Europe."³⁹ Thus, he imitated colonial European activities to become a powerful ruler. In fact, at the end he was the one who opened the Sudan and Equatoria to European colonization. When the Khedivate lost its power in the Sudan, it left a power vacuum in the conquered regions.

Moreover, Hourani stated that Ismail benefited from the opening of the Suez Canal for the purpose of showing that his country does not belong to Africa but to civilized Europe.⁴⁰ Remarkably, the opening of the Suez Canal was also closely related to his idea of reviving and regaining the glory of the ancient Egypt. In other words, the growing interest in Egypt's ancient past had to do with the desire to become the center of the world once again and independent.⁴¹ Although he was keen on utilizing civilizing forces, it is unclear whether his civilizing mission targeted only Egypt or did not substantially extend to the Sudan and/or Central Africa. It seems that Ismail Pasha's efforts in suppressing the slave trade in Sudan were the only display of his civilizing mission there.

The founding of The Egyptian Geographical Society in 1875 should be highlighted for the imperial policies of Ismail Pasha. He pursued European activities by founding this Society. The purpose for establishing The Egyptian Geographical Society

³⁸Dunn, *Khedive Ismail's Army*, 81

³⁹Pınar, *Babı Ali ve Hıdiv İsmail*,151.

⁴⁰Albert Hourani, *Arap Halkları Tarihi* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2020), 334.

⁴¹Pınar, *Babı Ali ve Hıdiv İsmail*, 24-25.

was “Considering the usefulness for Geographic Science and the industrial and commercial interests of Egypt, to promote the exploration of the countries of Africa and adjacent lands. . . to study all branches of Geography, and to shed light on the still unexplored or little-known countries.”⁴²

According to the Ottomans, during the time of Ismail Pasha, the administration underwent some crucial changes that damaged the bond between the Ottoman state and Egypt. His mistakes and misconduct (*su-i istimalat*) regarding the internal government and economy gradually led to foreign intervention and eventually the British occupation.⁴³ This means he was criticized for his ideals because he caused foreign intervention and economic collapse. "Ismail Pasha, who did not completely abandon his grandfather's intention to establish an Arab state including Syria and Iraq, but first tried to establish *a large African empire*, also spent a lot of money to expand conquests in the Sudan.”⁴⁴ It is not clear whether he was criticized for the deeds to build an empire via expansion and/or for his extravagance and misconduct in governing the economy.

Nevertheless, Dunn mentions the role of European advisors in the decisions of Ismail Pasha. The British and American explorers or military men convinced him to create a stable empire so that they could benefit from it. Ismail employed names such as Munzinger Pasha, Gordon Pasha, Samuel Baker, and Charles Pomeroy Stone, who influenced him for expansion in return.⁴⁵ We should be cautious about his policies in Central Africa because his personality influenced the policies to a great extent, including showing off himself as a brave and ambitious innovator.

As already mentioned, Ismail Pasha aimed to acquire a European empire. Another criticism leveled against him by the Ottomans was his efforts to resemble a European state by employing hundreds of European officials whose only job was nothing but receiving a salary from their perspective. Furthermore, they stated that when the Khedive set foot in Europe, he was welcomed and treated as an independent ruler.⁴⁶ The critics include following matters in which Ismail Pasha was busy building up new kinds of organizations and employing thousands of “unnecessary” foreign officials in the government using millions he had obtained through incalculable debts and was trying to build up a large army and commanding it arbitrarily, setting up

⁴²Donald Malcolm Reid, “The Egyptian Geographical Society: From Foreign Laymen’s Society to Indigenous Professional Association,” *Poetics Today* 14/3 (Autumn, 1993), 540.

⁴³Raif and Ahmed, *Mısır Meselesi*, 35.

⁴⁴Ibid., 47.

⁴⁵Dunn, *Khedive Ismail’s Army*, 82.

⁴⁶Raif and Ahmed, *Mısır Meselesi*, 39.

grand sugarcane factories and agriculture. He tried to create a so-called European administration in Egypt, *superficially imitating Europeans* when constructing the breakwaters, ports, lighthouses in Alexandria and Suez, theaters, and schools, and extending the railroad line.⁴⁷

We should also look at some criticism from the essential names of the government. The petition (*arzuhâl*) of Abdülhalim Pasha, the youngest son of Mehmed Ali Pasha from 1885, is important because he witnessed Ismail Pasha's rule as a minister. He accuses Ismail Pasha of fighting the battles in Darfur and Habesistan to increase his fame and importance. According to him, it was distinctively the titles of the ruler of Ethiopia and Darfur that he wanted to obtain apart from the title of Khedive. He argued that Ismail Pasha's reign apparently was a time of frustration.⁴⁸ According to him, collecting money or estate and the desire to make a name for himself are two innate characteristics of Ismail Pasha.⁴⁹ Here, the criticism tells us that there are many subjective motives for Ismail Pasha's expansion policies southwards since he may gain fame via controlling the Nile Basin. In another instance, Âli Pasha warned Ismail Pasha in his letter, saying that he exceeded in his efforts to build a modern and strong army, which in return made the foreign powers think that Ismail was seeking independence.⁵⁰

The criticism of his arrogant personality proved being accurate when Ismail Pasha sent forces for the suppression of Crete and, in return, obtained the title of Khedive to the viceroy (*valî*) of Egypt. Sometime later, the center was informed about the secret plans of Ismail in order to annex Crete.⁵¹ The earlier comments of Halim Pasha prove to be correct since Ismail uses military power to obtain this title. He was also known as insolvent (*müflis*) and magnificent (*muhteşem*).⁵²

The Ottoman denunciations against Ismail Pasha resulted from the disastrous consequences that Ismail's era had experienced and from his activities as a semi-independent ruler imitating a European statesman. His activities were criticized

⁴⁷Ibid., 47.

⁴⁸Müçelya Akgül, "Layihalara Göre II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Mısır'ın Siyasi Durumu," (Master's Thesis, Niğde Ömer Halisdemir Üniversitesi, 2019), 24. For more information about the expansion, see Durmuş Akalın, "19. Yüzyılda Mısır'ın Doğu Afrika'da Yayılma Siyaseti", accessed 24 April 2023 [https://www.academia.edu/36040042/19Y;E.R.Turton,1KirkandtheEgyptianInvasionofEastAfricain1875:AReassessment,1TheJournalofAfricanHistory11/03\(July197\):355~370](https://www.academia.edu/36040042/19Y;E.R.Turton,1KirkandtheEgyptianInvasionofEastAfricain1875:AReassessment,1TheJournalofAfricanHistory11/03(July197):355~370).

⁴⁹Akgül, "Mısır'ın Siyasi Durumu," 23.

⁵⁰Pınar, *Babı Ali ve Hıdiv İsmail*, 4.

⁵¹Raif and Ahmed, *Mısır Meselesi*, 36. On the following page, Ismail Pasha wanted to receive the title "*Âziz-i mısır*, which was initially attributed to prophet Josef. : In Ibid., 37.

⁵²Pınar, *Babı Ali ve Hıdiv İsmail*, 17.

for his failures and debts and since they ran counter to the centralist policies of Abdülhamid II in *Mısır Meselesi*. As Ottomans were also on the same path of modernization, their rejection and disregard of theatres, modern schools, or a modern army cannot be counted unless one takes into account that it was not, they who modernized, but a provincial ruler who depended on them. The comparison between *Mısır Meselesi* and *Mısır Salnamesi* is revealing. The overall portrait of the Egyptian administration is generally positive in the latter, while the other takes a critical tone. The annals mention Mehmed Ali Pasha as a grand person who developed the country.⁵³ Egypt was pictured as the most rewarded Islamic country concerning industry in the exhibition of 1284 in Paris.⁵⁴

Furthermore, introduction part had demonstrated that the educative books in Ottoman Turkish, such as Şemseddin Sami's *Kamus'ül-Alâm*, had no problem with the expansion of Egypt or their African empire in the Sudan and the Red Sea. When we think of the Ottoman center, they essentially benefited from the expansion because the taxes could have increased, and they were able to dominate more territories. The expansion also served Abdülhamid II's policy of pan-Islamism as more Muslim territories were integrated into the empire and could be saved from European imperialism.

In 1879, Ismail Pasha was dismissed from his position and exiled from Egypt due to his mismanagement. During the exile, he sent defensive and apologetic letters to Abdülhamid II.⁵⁵ It is worthy of quoting one of these because it reveals how Ismail Pasha uses the reforms and his imperialist actions as an improvement that can excuse him, but it does not seem enough for him to be forgiven. Ismail Pasha marked that he managed to organize the means for the reconstruction and prosperity of Egypt; promoted education, industry, and agriculture; built roads, bridges, and water canals; conquered and annexed Sudan, where inhabited by over ten million Muslims, into the Ottoman domain; annexed territories from the Indian Ocean to the Cape Guardafui (modern-day *Ra's Asîr* in Somalia), where lied from the interior of Sudan to Equatoria.

It is noteworthy that Ismail Pasha was not the only Ottoman who dreamed of an African empire. Besides him, a Young Ottoman also seemed to have the same

⁵³ *Mısır Salnamesi*, Mısır fi Sene 1288, (Paris / Fransa : Paris Victor Goupy Matbaası), 9, 12.

⁵⁴ *Mısır Salnamesi*, 24.

⁵⁵ BOA, Y.EE.84/21, 1 (3 Muharrem 1298/ 6 December 1880). This letter was also quoted in Sevda Özkaya Özer, "Osmanlı Devleti İdaresinde Mısır (1839-1882)" (PhD Diss., Fırat University, 2007), 230. However, she did not cite the source and misread the name of the place, "Cape Guardafui."

idea in one of his private letters.⁵⁶ Ali Suavi's letter to Riyaz Pasha manifests his private/secret dream of an independent African state under Egyptian rule. He speaks of a group based in Istanbul that secretly seeks establishing an African state consisting of Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt.⁵⁷ The article's author suggested that the offer to establish a North African Islamic state independent of the Ottoman Empire is not an act of an ordinary person who dares and is reasonable. He thinks Ali Suavi wrote this letter to benefit from the group. Ahmet Kavas also mentioned the aim of an independent African state of the Khedivate. He argued without any citation that the Khedivate aimed to capture Tunisia, Tripoli, and the Sudan.⁵⁸

2.3.1 The Egyptian Sudan

It is necessary to briefly examine the *Sudan-ı Mısırî* since Equatorial Province was a part of the Egyptian-Sudanese government. The roots of modern Sudan and South Sudan lay in Mehmed Ali Pasha's expeditions and administration in 1820. Speaking of the history of Sudan cannot be unpolitical for that reason. Sudan is a term meaning different from the Egyptian Sudan. It was the land of blacks and was an ambiguous term. Ever since the occupation or conquest of Nubia, Kordofan, Darfur, and Sennar following the dissolution of the Funj sultanate, Egypt has engaged in the administration of its new territory. The Founding of Khartoum as a center was a step forward. Sudan was divided into provincial parts (*müdiriyet*).⁵⁹ According to Egypt's annals in Ottoman Turkish, Sudan was composed of Dongola and Berber, Take, Khartoum, Sennar, Kordofan and Bahrül-ebyad (White Nile).⁶⁰

An edict in 1820 enabled Mehmed Ali Pasha legally and legitimately to control and rule the territories of "Sennar, Kordofan, Darfur and their dependencies" under the name of the Ottoman caliph. The action and the thought came first from Mehmed Ali, not from Istanbul, and thus, the central authority of Ottomans needed to be visible there.⁶¹ We can speak of indirect and vague control of Ottoman centers

⁵⁶ Abdülkadir Karahan, "Bilinmeyen Bir Mektubuna Göre Ali Suavi'nin Kişiliği ve Mısır Yönetiminde Bir Afrika Devleti Kurma Hayali," Paper presented at the VII. Conference of Turkish History, Ankara 1970, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1973.

⁵⁷ Karahan, "Bilinmeyen Bir Mektubuna Göre Ali Suavi'nin Kişiliği," 588.

⁵⁸ Ahmet Kavas, "Osmanlı Mısır'ına Bağlı Ekvator Vilayeti'nin Prusya Asıllı Valisi: Mehmed Emin Paşa," in *Geçmişten Günümüze Afrika*, 104.

⁵⁹ For further information, Richard Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan 1820-1881* (Oxford University Press, 1959).

⁶⁰ *Mısır Salnamesi*, 8. Equatoria was not included because it was founded a few years later than the annales published.

⁶¹ Hassan Ahmed Ibrahim, "The Strategy, Responses and Legacy of the First Imperialist Era in the Sudan

through provincial agents.

It is widely acknowledged that the Egyptian administration imposed high taxes as they could neither exploit the anticipated gold mines nor the human forces of Sudan as slaves for the army; heavy taxation was the solution that was executed aggressively.⁶² Thus, the Egyptian Sudan was presented as an "oppressive, corrupt and incompetent" control and primarily a failure for exploitation, seizing the interior parts of Central Africa and ending the slave trade.⁶³ The religious and political rebel Mahdi and his followers regarded the Turkish-speaking officials as enemies who corrupted Islam.⁶⁴

The discussion of whether Sudan was a colony or a natural part of Egypt is highly political. Early 20th-century Egyptian historians Abdülazim Ramazan, Muhammad Sabri, and Muhammad Fuad Shukri disagreed with the claim of Egyptian imperialism. They defended the unity of the Nile and the developments led by Egypt.⁶⁵ Shukri affirmed that Mehmed Ali Pasha claimed "all the territories south of Isle of Say" as a no man's land after the dissolution of Funj in 1839.⁶⁶ The Egyptian sovereignty was based on war and military power. These historians were challenged by Sudanese historians such as H.A. Ibrahim and B.K Humaydah, who asserted that Mehmed Ali's "grand design of independence and regional hegemony" was the reason behind the expansion.⁶⁷ Modern nationalist Turkish understanding of the Sudanese history also perceives a modernization of Sudan, not the exploitation of there. According to this perspective, Egypt established Ottoman bureaucracy, state, and administrative structure for the first time in Sudanese history. Urbanization –building Khartoum–centralization, establishing administrative units, developing trade routes with Lower Egypt, and establishing schools contributed to the Sudan.⁶⁸

1820-1885," *The Muslim World* 91 , (Spring 2001): 209-210. Richard Hill claimed that there was no proof of permission that the sultan had given Mehmed Ali. in Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan*, 8.

⁶²Falola, *Key Events*, 164.

⁶³Hasan Ahmed Ibrahim, "The Egyptian Empire, 1805-1885," in *Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol.2, ed. Martin W Daly, (Cambridge University Press, 2008) , 214.

⁶⁴Gabriel Warburg, "Some Social and Economic Aspects of Turco – Egyptian Rule in the Sudan," *Bellesten* 53, (1989): 769.

⁶⁵Warburg, "Egyptian and Sudanese Historical Writings on the Turco-Egyptian Sudan," Paper presented Marmara Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Istanbul 21-25 Ağustos 1989, (Ankara, TTK – 1990), 267; Ibrahim, "The Egyptian Empire," 204-205.

⁶⁶Muhammad Shukry, *Equatoria under Egyptian Rule- Unpublished Correspondence of Col. (afterwards Major-Gen.) C.G. Gordon with Ismail Khedive of Egypt and the Sudan During the Years 1874- 1876* (Cairo: Cairo University Press, 1953), 9.

⁶⁷Ibrahim, "The Strategy," 211, 224.

⁶⁸İlhan Zengin, "Modern Sudan'ın Şekillenmesinde Mısır Hıdivliği'nin Katkıları," in *Afrika'da Türkler Sempozyumu 2014 Cibuti- Bildiriler*, 191-210, ed. Ayşenur Şenel and Şükrü Çavuş, (Ankara: TTK, 2020).

The annexation of Sudan by Khedivial Egypt was justified by the belief in the superiority of Egyptian civilization, a sort of "civilizing mission" since their modern army and technology could integrate Sudan into the Upper Egypt region.⁶⁹ As shown, the issue is multi-dimensional.

Sudanese historiography names the period between 1821 to 1881 Turkiyya and a "Turco-Egyptian colonialism."⁷⁰ However, it is fundamentally problematic because it equates Ottomans with Turks and causes problematic understanding in modern Turkey. The renowned historian of the region, Richard Hill, also criticizes this usage. He interpreted that "by incorrectly using the word "Turk" when they should have used the word "Ottoman," both British and Sudanese have misunderstood the character of the Ottoman influence in Sudan."⁷¹ Indeed, the Turkish-speaking Ottomans were the ruling elite in the Ottoman regime so that the usage is historically accurate but from today's perspective, it may complicate our understanding of the time.

Powell's suggestions may highlight the relationship between Egypt and Sudan better. She offered a "more fluid relationship in which the colonizer came from more than one continent, and the colonized could aspire to be a colonizer not only by adopting the tools of the British, or the traditions of the Ottomans but also by making Sudan a part of what defined Egypt as truly Egyptian."⁷² She perceived Egypt as an object and subject of colonization simultaneously.⁷³

To conclude, Egyptian Sudan has never been approached from the perspective of Ottoman colonialism debate as far as I searched. As Hill put it, Sudan was "an integral, if a distant and unimportant part" of the Ottoman Empire in a larger view.⁷⁴ We should question if Egyptian imperialism or colonialism could be involved in or distinguish itself from Ottoman colonialism debates. In any case, Egypt was a province of the Ottoman Empire, so imperial activities had to be at least allowed, even though we cannot say the Ottoman Sultan authorized the Khedive. Ultimately, the Ottoman center acknowledged Sudan as its own territory, connected to Egypt.

⁶⁹Warburg, "Turko – Egyptian Rule," 782.

⁷⁰Gabriel R. Warburg, "Egyptian and Sudanese Historical Writings," 272; The other period was Mahdiyya until 1898, beginning with the local revolt against the Turkish ruling elite led by Muhammed Ahmed. Following the Mahdist state, a second Turkiyya called Anglo-Egyptian condominium from 1899 until the independence in 1955.

⁷¹Richard Hill, "The Period of Egyptian Occupation 1820-1881," *Sudan Notes and Records* 40 (1959) :102.

⁷²Trout Powell, *A Different Shade of Colonialism: Egypt, Great Britain, and the Mastery of the Sudan*, 7-8.

⁷³Powell, *A Different Shade*, 12.

⁷⁴Hill, "The Period of Egyptian Occupation," 105.

2.3.2 Ottoman Maps of Equatorial Province of the Egyptian Sudan

This part of the chapter presents the maps of Egyptian Sudan and *Hatt-ı İstiva* taken from the Ottoman State Archive or geographical books written by the Ottomans. These maps, all in all, reflect the mentality of the Ottomans as they perceive the borders of their privileged province of Egypt up until Lake Albert. However, generally, the reasons for the depiction of the archival maps are not self-evident. We can only make suggestions in these cases. As expressed before, maps and geography gained an extreme importance in the late 19th century. Due to the colonial conflict of interests, powers including the Ottoman Empire had to know the exact border of their states.

Importantly, Dados argued that Ottoman reforms in cartography and adaptation of European techniques were political and based on power. “Statistics and geography were central to the numerous reforms of the nineteenth century aimed at centralization, rationalization, and bureaucratization.”⁷⁵ Hence, the maps were utilized in terms of politics and power.

Other than archival or politically used maps, the maps from geography books that were drawn for educational purposes are used to create an "imperial unity" and a source of legitimacy for the sultan's power.⁷⁶ For this reason, Abdülhamid II's era adopted the Egyptian expansion in the maps of the realm of Ottoman Empire and/or Ottoman Africa.

The first (Figure 2.1) map is called “the map of the Sudan region” and is located in the Ottoman archive. In the catalog, it was dated as 29 Zilhicce 1301 /20 October 1884. *Erkan-ı Harbiye-i Umumiyye Dairesi* published this map. The below map includes Bahr al-Ghazal and Lado, the central station of *Hatt-ı İstiva*. Even though the directorates of Dongola, Berber, Darfur, Kasale, Kordofan, Faşoda, Bahr al-Ghazal are inscribed distinctively bigger, *Hatt-ı İstiva* is not written here. Only Lado was noted as a station of the province. No reason was given for this map but it was drew short before Berlin Conference. The Ottomans might have needed to depict the borders of Egypt in order to protect its sovereign rights in the conference later.

⁷⁵Nour Nicole Dados, “Mapping Empire: Knowledge Production and Government in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire,” in *Media and Mapping Practices in the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Alena Strohmaier and Angela Krewani, (Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 28-29.

⁷⁶Özkan Akpınar, “Geographical Imagination in School Geography During the Late Ottoman Period, 1876-1908,” (Master's Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2010), 32.

Figure 2.1 Map of the Sudan



Source: BOA, HRT.661 (29 Zilhicce 1301/ 20 October 1884).

The second map (Figure 2.2) below from the Ottoman Archives presented the map of Egypt and its regional sections which had been annexed to Egypt before. It was dated 25 Rebiülevvel 1335/ 19 January 1917. The date of the map listed in the catalogue seems a little late for an Ottoman diplomatic effort to claim Egypt but the official reasons to draw are not referred in this map. The red lines demonstrate the borders of Egypt, including *Hatt-ı İstiva Müdiriyeti* up to Uganda and Lake Victoria. Gondokoro, Dufle, Vadi-i Ulya can be recognized as the stations of Equatoria displayed on the map. The writing on the right informs us that the red parts are display the largest border of Egypt arrived in time of Ismail Pasha. The lines show the changing borders with the occupation of Britain and the Anglo-Egyptian condominium in the Sudan.

Figure 2.2 Map of the Annexed Territories of Egypt



Source: BOA, HRT.h. 656 (25 Rebülevvel 1335/ 19 January 1917).

The third (Figure 2.3) map from the Ottoman Archives is an especially important one. It was produced by the Ottoman officers in order to show the leased territory between Britain and Belgium's Congo Free State. The attached documents stated that, "Since Lake Albert, which is the source of the Nile, is one of the areas divided between the states [of Belgium and Britain], this operation is of paramount importance politically and for the future of Egypt."⁷⁷

⁷⁷Y.PRK. HR. 19/26 (12 Zilhicce 1311/ 16 June 1894), 1. "Nilin menbaı esası bulunan Albert gölü devleteyn arasında taksim edilen mahaller cümlésinden olduğuna nazaran bu muamelenin siyaseten ve Mısır'ın istikbalince pek ziyade ha'iz ehemmiyet bulunduğunu maruzdur."

Figure 2.3 Map of Congo Free State and Equatorial Province



Y.PRK.HR.00019.00026.002

Source: BOA, Y.PRK.HR.19/26. 2 (6 Zilhicce 1311/ 10 June 1894).

This map showed the places marked with red under the British domain, including the coasts of Nile, Khartoum, and even Egypt, according to the agreement between Britain and Belgium. The document also contained the commentaries of the French minister of foreign affairs in which he stated that *Hatt-ı İstiva* belonged to Egypt and the Ottoman Empire. In addition, he said that this agreement was a transgression against the law. 34th matter of the Berlin Conference decided that "in order to recognize a territory as the possession of a state, this territory must be occupied by

or on behalf of that state .”⁷⁸

The information or explanation provided with the documents attached to this map clearly hold the imperial Ottoman claim over Equatoria. The French minister’s point on "the conquest on behalf of an empire" is noteworthy because, as we already discussed in earlier pages, the Sudan was conquered by the khedives of Egypt on behalf of the Ottoman Empire. Hence, the region was proclaimed under the Ottoman Africa domain.

Nevertheless, according to the supplementary document, Equatorial Province was regarded as "res nullius– unoccupied territory” by Britain and Belgium. Thus, the reporter made an irony with the friendly connection with Britain, saying, “What a friendship!”⁷⁹ This case that I will also discuss in the last chapter is the primary manifestation of the Ottoman imperial claims from the center over the Upper Nile in order to protect there from European colonization.

The following map (Figure 2.4) is taken from a geography book in manuscript form written by Ömer Suphi bin Emin Edhem Pasha. He was a binbaşı of *Erkan-ı Harbiye*. This book is a part of the series about Ottoman geography focusing on Ottoman Africa and the Khedivate of Egypt. However, I was not able to find if the other parts existed. The book contained fourteen maps while the one presented here called as the map that contained the Nile River from Dufile to Lado town. This map is not a political one per se. The stations of Equatorial province appeared in this map such as Gondokoro, Lado, Rejaf, Bedden, Labore and the tribes of Bari and Madi. For this detailed expression, this map is an exceptional work.

The last map (Figure 2.5) presenting Equatorial Province inside the borders of Egypt is called the map of the province of Egypt. This map is taken from an atlas of the Ottoman Empire published in 1905/6. It contained many maps of several provinces including the province of Egypt. In this map, stations of Gondokoro, Dufile, Lado and Wadelai were pointed as a repetition with the other ones. Possibly, this map was used more in the public and educational purposes than the archival ones. That is why, it could be more popular.

The late 19th or early 20th century maps of Ottoman Empire recognized the Egyptian expansion as part of the larger understanding of the Ottoman entity of Ottoman Africa. It is important to note that Abdülhamid II’s educational policies began to depict the Ottoman domains in a single and larger frame in order to educate children geographically and to reinforce “the notion of Ottoman territoriality in a fixed

⁷⁸Ibid., 2-3.

⁷⁹Ibid., 4.

Figure 2.4 Map of the Upper Nile



Source: Ömer Suphi, *Memalik-i Osman'ın Mufassal Coğrafyası*, Birinci Kitap, Afrika-yi Osmani, 32a.

geographical space”.⁸⁰ We can read the maps as visual representations of Egyptian empire along with the central educative policies of the Ottoman Empire as well.

In short, this chapter provided a background information for the foundation of Khedivate by touching on the period of Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha and his expan-

⁸⁰ Benjamin Fortna, “Change in the School Maps of the Late Ottoman Empire,” *Imago Mundi* 57/ 1 (2005), 30.

Figure 2.5 Map of the Province of Egypt



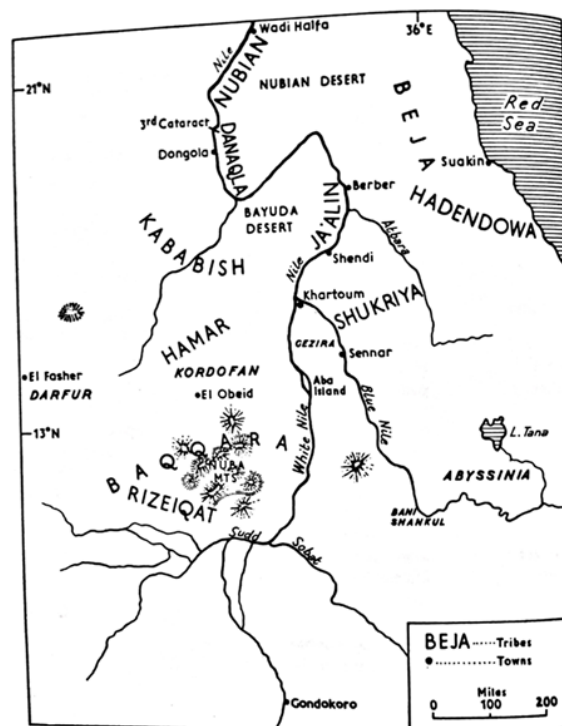
Source: Ibrahim Hilmi, *Memalik-i Osmaniye Ceyb Atlası* (Istanbul: Kitabhane-i Islam ve Askeri, 1323), map no. 24

sionist policies that generated the Egyptian empire. Khedive Ismail Pasha's policies of expansion and modernization were also argued interconnected with his dreams to found a European empire in Africa. Lastly, the Ottoman maps of Egypt and Sudan demonstrated the Ottoman central imperial mindset that includes Central Africa and Egypt a part of Ottoman vast being in visual form for legitimacy and demonstration of power.

3. THE MAKING OF EQUATORIA

“The peoples of the regions where the Nile has its sources must, from now on, be friends and allies of His Highness the Khedive” (Khedive Ismail)¹

Figure 3.1 Map of the Northern Sudan and Gondokoro



Map 1. THE NORTHERN SUDAN 1839

Source: Richard Gray, *A History of the Southern Sudan* (Reprint Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1978), 1.

The privileged Ottoman province of Egypt was able to expand along the Nile to the Sudan through the policies of Khedives. Nevertheless, what motivated them

¹Ajayi, *General History of Africa*, vol 6, 334.

to extend their territories to the land of Baris – Gondokoro, the south the Sudd—? What were the purposes and reasons in their mind to control the Upper Nile? Was it more than an imperial kind of action, or did the region mean more than that? What was the region’s importance for Ismail Pasha’s project of the Nile Empire? These questions form a basis for this work and this chapter because it introduces the region in terms of geography, demography, linguistics, and the like. This chapter takes a chronological perspective on the history of Equatorial Province from the very first attempts until the end of Gordon’s governorship there. It concludes with the Ottoman description and perception of *Hatt-ı İstiva* and Uganda.

3.1 A Brief History and Geography of *Hatt-ı İstiva*

The Province of Ekuatoria or *Hatt-ı İstiva Müdiriyeti*, the southernmost region of Egyptian Sudan and, indirectly, the Ottoman Empire, lies in modern-day South Sudan and northern Uganda, as the Ottoman maps had demonstrated. Its main source of communication and transportation is the Nile River. The remotest source of the Nile were known as the Mountain of the Moon (*cebel-i Kamer*) by Muslim geographers and Ptolemy. The sources of the Blue Nile were first journeyed by a Portuguese named Pedro Paez in 1613, while John H. Speke arrived at the source of the White Nile - Lake Victoria - in 1858. The classically recognized watercourse of the Nile -the Mountain of the Moon- was explored by him, also known as the Mountain of Rwenzori. The first European to arrive there and name Lake Albert was Samuel Baker in 1864, whereas Lake Edward was named by Henry M. Stanley in 1877.² The farthest source of the Nile was recognized as Lake Victoria when Europeans first discovered it, but it is indeed Mount Ruwenzori. On the other hand, the source of the Blue Nile is Lake Tana in Ethiopia. The settlement of Khartoum was founded during the time of Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Pasha, where the White and Blue Niles meet, as the maps I put also demonstrate.

This province was a northeastern neighbor of the Congo Basin, where the heart of Africa is located, in the so-called "heart of Africa." Although Ekuatoria was also unknown to the Eurasians for centuries, Congo was more renowned within European cultural understanding. In Central Africa, rivers were the only possible transportation and communication routes,³ probably until the construction of railways by Leopold II. The Congo Free State was the personal possession of Leopold II until

²Eymen Fuad Seyyid, "Nil," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*.

³Sybil P. Parker, *World Geographical Encyclopedia*, vol 1, Africa (McGraw-Hill Inc., 1995), 207.

1908. Later, it was transferred to the Government.⁴ The central station of Equatoria turned to direct the whole region, "Lado Enclave." Toward the north of Equatoria lies Kordofan, while the eastern neighbor is the Province of Bahr al-Ghazal (present-day South Sudan).

The Nile is the longest river in the world, already known since Herodotus, bringing life to Egypt. As stated above, the Nile's sources are located in sub-Saharan Africa, which commonly has savanna lands suitable for human settlement.⁵ There are dry and wet seasons in the Equatorial region. The flora previously used to consist of rainforests but became a wooded savanna.⁶ Before the 20th century, local populations' livelihood consisted of hunting, gathering, and fishing in the Congo basin. The natural clearings of the forests enabled pre-colonial state formation and development. The east of Congo Basin's –Upper Nile and the surroundings of Lake Victoria– is characterized by a higher plateau, which indeed restricted the growth of rainforest but enabled agriculture and pastoral lifestyle.⁷

An Ottoman traveler who visited Sudan in the early 20th century, Muhammed Mihri, was fascinated by the unusual conditions provided by the tropical climate for him. According to him, "A man who crosses the bare, burnt, and sandy deserts of the Great Sahara and enters Sudan suddenly thinks that he has fallen into a completely different realm, like a land of paradise."⁸ He described there as paradise due to abundant water sources and various trees and crops. His described a general phenomenon experienced by outsiders of the region regardless of their religion, ethnicity, or identity. In other words, Africa's radically diverse geography and climate make such an impression on the newcomers.

The South Sudanese people display significant diversity in language and religion. They belong to one branch of Nilo-Saharan languages. Cattle herder Nilotic tribes such as Dinka, Nuer, and Shilluk inhabit east of the Southern Sudan. Apart from them, the Bari, Latuka, Luo, Mandari, and Toposa also lived there. In addition, Azande – the most populous tribe speaking a non-Sudanese language – lived in the southwest.⁹ The map below shows how south the Equatorial province is from the

⁴For more information, see Adam Hochschild *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (Houghton Mifflin, 1999)

⁵Erik Gilbert and Jonathan Reynolds, *Dünya Tarihinde Afrika* (Istanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2019), 50.

⁶Parker, *Encyclopedia*, 238.

⁷Shillington, *History of Africa*, 4th edition, 5.

⁸Muhammed Mihri, *Sudan Seyahatnamesi*, 139.

⁹Oystein H. Rolandsen and M. W. Daly, *A History of South Sudan from Slavery to Independence* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), 2-4.

Sudd and the Baqqara Arabs. Gondokoro constitutes the northern Egyptian garrison of the Equatorial province (see Figure 3.1), and the swampy *Sudd* separates South Sudan from the northern parts.

I must highlight that the region was unsuitable for a regular and direct administration from Ottoman Egypt, and thus the administration depended hugely on the capabilities of the individual governor. The governors had to rely on themselves, and as more expeditions and efforts were made, the demands of the central Egyptian government and the Khedive did decrease.¹⁰ Thus, the political history of the Egyptian administration of Equatoria can only be better depicted with a solid reference to the governors and their personal experiences with the locals. The loose structure and precarity of the administration remained constant until Emin Pasha's relatively long and stable rule, but the Mahdi rebels ended that period.

Figure 3.2 Map of the Tribes of Southern Sudan



Map 2. TRIBES OF THE SOUTHERN SUDAN AND ITS HINTERLAND

Source: Gray, *A History of the Southern Sudan*, 9.

¹⁰Richard Hill stated that all the governor generals of Sudan who served in the South, Ismail Eyüp, Gordon, and Muhammad Rauf, did not interfere much with the region's affairs and did not demand illogical improvements: Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan*, 139.

3.2 Mehmed Ali Pasha's Attempt to Reach the Upper Nile

Significantly, involvement of Egypt with the Upper Nile region began with Kavalali Mehmed Ali Pasha when he assigned Salim Qapudan in 1839. Neither primary nor secondary Ottoman sources about Egypt discuss his identity and the expedition as far as I have searched. We reach the information mainly from European authors. Mehmed Ali had a personal reason to gain more power and prestige, drove to find the source of the White Nile at a time when a European interest had surfaced that would glorify the patron and the explorers of the long-desired discovery.¹¹ The close relations with Europe and modernization through European means might have led Mehmed Ali Pasha to such an ambition other than the possible exploitation of valuable goods and mines. One can speculate that he wanted to justify his actions by enhancing his prestige and reputation in the eyes of Europeans through such an enthusiasm of finding the farthest roots of the Nile.

Mehmed Ali Pasha commissioned Selim Qapudan (captain in Turkish) to explore the sources of the White Nile and inform him about it there in 1839. He was a Turkish-speaking naval officer with the rank of major (*binbaşı*).¹² It was a geographical mission almost twenty years after the conquest. He was supposed to bring information on whether Sudan had desirable gold and slaves while introducing civilization to the 'uncivilized' tribes. It was a mission that put the needs of the Egyptian government forth concerning Sudan and its people.¹³ Selim Qapudan went beyond the *Sudd* and reached Gondokoro, the closest place to the *Sudd* in Tropical Africa. This discovery opened the Southern Sudan and enabled the colonization of tropical Africa in the long run.¹⁴

Salim Qapudan's reports were published in French, called *Premier voyage a la recherche des sources du Bahr-el-Abiad ou Nil-Blanc* by the Bulletin of French Geographical Society as an extrait. (The First Voyage to Explore the Source of the White Nile) in 1842. This book could only be translated to Arabic in 1922, *Al-rihla al-ūla lil-bahth 'an yanābī al-bahr al-abyad*.¹⁵ Trout Powell does not mention the original Ottoman Turkish version. It is most likely located in the Egyptian archives

¹¹Moore-Harrell, *Egypt's African Empire*, 4.

¹²Powell, *A Different Shade*, 28; Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan*, 33. There was confusion about his rank as *binbaşı*. Some sources refer to him as *beybaşı*, but it is most likely because both of these words are written in the same characters in Ottoman Turkish.

¹³Powell, *A Different Shade*, 29, 41–47.

¹⁴Gray, *A History of the Southern Sudan*, 1.

¹⁵Powell, *A Different Shade*, 46.

in Cairo.

This expedition manifested the curiosity concerning the sources of the Nile for scientific and geographical knowledge as well as the potential of commercial and exploitive relations that would emerge from the encounters with the local tribes. It was the first initiative that would be followed by British men during Ismail Pasha's reign, who pursued his grandfather's, Mehmed Ali's, dreams and his expansionist path for the cause of enlightenment and civilization. However, while the earlier expeditions were looking for slaves to recruit for the army, the latter was mainly for the suppression of the slave trade.¹⁶ It may demonstrate a paradox with the first Sudan expedition of 1820 and the later expeditions towards Equatoria in order to suppress the slave trade in 1869.

Traditionally slavery played a significant role in Ottoman society, including that of Egypt. When the Atlantic slave trade became less profitable and thus abolished, the Red Sea and Mediterranean slave trade rose.¹⁷ The suppression of slave trade in Egypt and the Sudan has shattered their economy and gradually led to foreign intervention.

3.3 Commissioning Samuel Baker (1869-1873)

As I already discussed the Egyptian expansion over the Red Sea and The Nile, Ismail Pasha was a visionary ruler who considered Egypt as part of Europe. The 19th-century European intellectual climate emphasized geographic discoveries and curiosity of the untouched or unseen places that were "dark" for them. Considering these, Ismail Pasha's efforts to explore the White Nile was tied to pursuing his wish to be a part of Europe while earning fame in Europe should, as Halim Pasha assumed about his personality.

We can see an increasing reliance on the European men from the side of Egypt and Ismail Pasha. When we look at Selim Qapudan's previous expedition, he was a Turkish military man in charge of a great mission. At the same time, the Egyptian government began relying on foreign men. Although Powell related these employ-

¹⁶Mekki Shibeika, "The Expansionist Movement of Khedive Ismail to the Lakes," in *Sudan in Africa*, ed. Yusuf Fadl Hasan (Khartoum University Press, 1971), 142.

¹⁷Ehud R. Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), 8.

ments to Ismail's need for credibility for the Europeans,¹⁸ he might have more reasons in his mind. He even "had gone better than any of the Great Powers" in respect of reaching Central Africa.¹⁹

The arrival of John Speke and J. Grant in Cairo in 1863 encouraged Khedive Ismail to expand the empire over the sources of the Nile –since Lake Victoria was already explored– to reach to the route for commercial relations with the Bantu kingdoms. In order to secure and extend the authority, Ismail Pasha employed Samuel Baker, later a major-general of the Ottoman Empire, in 1869.²⁰ Hill suggested that Samuel Baker was "to create a new province of Sudan... out of nothing."²¹ Ismail Pasha's preference for a European for this task is a continuation of his reliance on European experts in every corner of the government.

Sir Samuel Baker (1821-1893) was a British administrator, explorer, and colonel general (*ferik*) of the Ottoman Egyptian army. Though the British Foreign Office did not support him, he was the first British man with a higher position in Egyptian administration. He was the explorer who named Lake Albert. Baker was appointed as the governor of Equatorial Province with the title of pasha and a *ferik*. He was commissioned to suppress the slave trade, subordinate the regions south of Gondokoro under the government of the Khedivate, and enable navigation around the Great Lakes region.²² Although we know so little about binbaşı Selim, Samuel Baker is a gentleman well-known in his lifetime and later. He was granted the decorations of the imperial order *Hamidiye* and *Osmaniye* for his services in Egypt in March 1874; these medals of honor arrived in Egypt in April.²³ He was entitled with the title of pasha and *général de brigade*.²⁴

Samuel Baker's obituary was printed after his death in *Maarif* (Journal of Education) on 9 Şaban 1311 (15 February 1894).²⁵ The journal was published from 1891 to 96. The main interests of the journal were Western exhibitions, explorations,

¹⁸Powell, *A Different Shade*, 66.

¹⁹Thomas Pakenham, *The Scramble for Africa: White Man's Conquest of the Dark Continent from 1876 to 1912* (London: Abacus, 1991), 127. I do not have the original e-book; that's why I used the pages of the PDF.

²⁰Flint, *Cambridge History of Africa*, vol 5, 42.

²¹Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan*, 135.

²²Hill, *Biographical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 68-69.

²³BOA, HR.SFR.3. 208/35 (2 April 1874); HR.SFR.3. 207/ 30 (7 March 1874).

²⁴BOA, HR.SFR.3. 154/76, 4 (3 June 1869).

²⁵"Sir Samuel Baker," *Maarif*, year 3, vol. 6, no. 133 (Istanbul: Kasbar Matbaası), 3 Şubat 1309 (15 February 1894), 38.

inventions, and scientific developments.²⁶ Thus, as an explorer, Samuel Baker was a personality most likely to draw the editorial board's attention to introduce and commemorate him. In this short piece, he was described as one of the most famous British travelers, especially for his discoveries in Africa. The passage is as follows,

Sir Samuel Baker was one of the most famous travelers in Europe. He was born on the eighth of June 1821 in London, and from his early childhood, he was keen on traveling; his enthusiasm for traveling was one of the main purposes of his life and continued until the end of his life. His first journey was with his brother, and he left London in 1847 to start traveling.

His first journey started in India and continued until Ceylon, where he resided for many years. In 1855 he returned to London and stayed in London for several years without traveling. After a while, he traveled again to study the Nile's geography and reached Lake Victoria via the routes of Zanzibar and Tanganyika. During this journey, he was accompanied in some places by the delegation of Speke and Borton, who also traveled from London.

To summarize, it can be said that there is almost no place in Africa where Sir Samuel Baker has not set foot. He also produced many works about his travels. His travels have been highly beneficial in terms of geography and history.

Interestingly, Baker's employment by Ismail Pasha and the government of Egypt is omitted or ignored in this short obituary. He was described only as a traveler, not a suppressor of the slave trade or a governor. His activities and records about Gondokoro are also ignored. His somehow unaccomplished expedition might be the cause of this neglect. In any case, Baker was the one who hoisted the Ottoman flag in Gondokoro and changed the name of there to Ismailia. We can speak of a sort of Islamization and conquest made by a Christian as Baker. Thus, his historical importance is undeniable from today's perspective. What were the possible reasons that Maarif overlooked Baker's activities in Gondokoro, then? An analysis of the obituaries that appeared in the journal could shed light on questions as such. This obituary was too brief that the occupation of Baker was not yet explained. Its conciseness or lack of the necessary information could be the reasons why the editors omitted his services for Egypt and, indirectly the Ottoman Empire.

Ismail Pasha launched his policy at the same time when the Suez Canal was opened

²⁶M. Orhan Okay. "Maarif," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*.

in 1869. Samuel Baker was a guest for the celebrations. Ismail Pasha and his prime minister Nubar Pasha thought Baker could be a suitable candidate for a project because of his earlier experience in Central Africa and the sources of the Nile.²⁷ He was commissioned to establish stations vital for conquering Southern Sudan.²⁸

As a moral reason to legitimize the conquest of the south of Gondokoro, suppression of slave trade was used as a propaganda. Due to the oppression of slave trafficking that the Bari people had long suffered, annexation and suppression of the slave trade had to be executed simultaneously.²⁹ Ismail Pasha's order to Samuel Baker has an extreme importance for this thesis. The order is below:

We, Ismail, Khedive of Egypt, considering the savage condition of the tribes which inhabit the Nile Basin, Considering that neither government, nor laws, nor security exist in those countries; " Considering that humanity enforces the suppression of the slave-hunters who occupy those countries in great numbers; " Considering that the establishment of legitimate commerce throughout those countries will be a great stride towards future civilization, and will result in the opening to steam navigation of the great equatorial lakes of Central Africa, and in the establishing a permanent government We have decreed and now decree as follows:

An expedition is organized to subdue to our authority the countries situated to the south of Gondokoro; " To suppress the slave trade; to introduce a system of regular commerce; " To open to navigation the great lakes of the equator; " And to establish a chain of military stations and commercial depots, distant at intervals of three days' march, throughout Central Africa, accepting Gondokoro as the base of operations. " The supreme command of this expedition is confided to Sir Samuel White Baker, for four years, commencing from 1st April 1869; to whom also we confer the most absolute and supreme power, even that of death, over all those who may compose the expedition. " We confer upon him the same absolute and supreme authority over all those countries belonging to the Nile Basin south of Gondokoro.³⁰

The instructions given to Baker by Ismail Pasha reveal the reasons for the expedition, the region's importance, Ismail Pasha's ambitions for the region, the time limit

²⁷Shibeika, "The Expansionist Movement," 143.

²⁸Dunn, *Khedive Ismail's Army*, 85.

²⁹Samuel Baker also issued the same reasons for annexation. Samuel Baker, "The Khedive of Egypt's Expedition to Central Africa," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 1873 - 1874, Vol. 18/ 1 (December 1873), pp. (50-69), 52.

³⁰Sir Samuel Baker, *Ismailia- A Narrative of the Expedition to Central Africa for the Suppression of the Slave Trade Organized by Khedive Ismail Pasha*, 2nd edition, (London: Macmillan And Co., 1879), 3-4.

of Baker, and the tasks submitted to him. Apparently, Ismail Pasha's Nile empire aimed to reach the Great Lakes region. For this reason, the southern parts that were no man's land, inhabited by people in a state of savagery, were to be controlled by a British Christian explorer of the sources of the White Nile. The promising commerce with the lakes and the Nile could be the primary reason for the conquest of the province. As there was no government in the region, Egypt wanted to bring *civilization* by suppressing slave trade as much as opening up the region to legitimate commerce. Ismail Pasha's policies and discourse on Equatoria no doubt imply European capitalism and colonialism. When we think of the later developments, the overconfidence of Ismail Pasha and his man Baker should be highlighted together with his and maybe the whole of European lacking accurate information about the conditions and peoples of the region.

The order of Ismail Pasha also pointed out that his dream was not only controlling Equatorial Province but also the central and powerful kingdom of Buganda in today's southern Uganda. He wanted to eliminate powerful states of Central and Eastern Africa through military power. In another word, he regarded Africa as a scene of empire by using a discursive legitimacy that refers to the main themes of the European 19th-century mindset, including "bringing civilization to savages", fighting against the slave trade, legitimate commerce, and maybe exploration. As I do not hold this order's original or Ottoman Turkish or Arabic version, a comparison with the English version is yet to be possible. We should consider possible differences and additions with the above one. A version in Ottoman Turkish should most likely contain some references to Islam, the Ottoman Empire, and the caliphate of Istanbul. The English version might not include Islamic discourse of conquering a non-Muslim territory. Here, if we only look at his orders, he seems like an independent ruler who does not have a superior, but it is not the case in reality. As quoted before, Ismail Pasha's legitimacy of the empire was in the name of the the Ottoman caliphate.

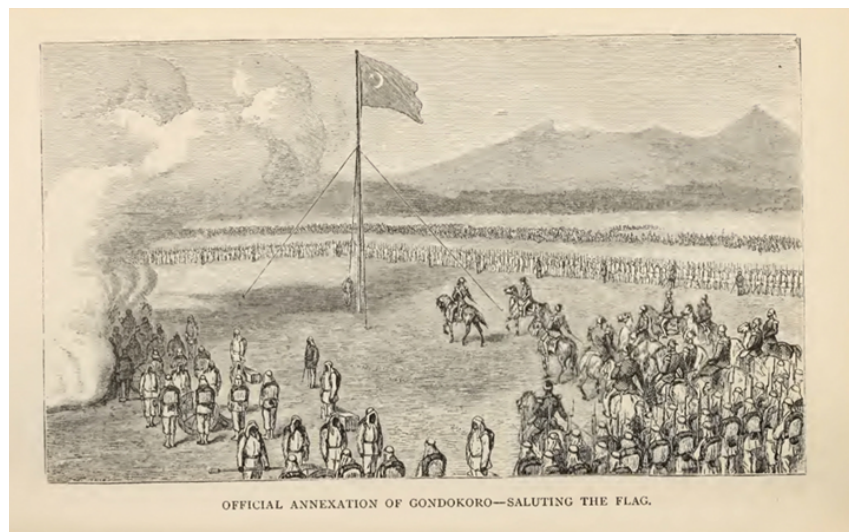
Nevertheless, Samuel Baker was the founder of the province of Equatoria. Although he left Cairo in 1869, Baker could arrive at Gondokoro in 1871 and stay there until 1873. May 1871 might be considered the birthday of the Equatorial province since he raised the Ottoman flag, as he referred to in the figure called the official annexation of Gondokoro.³¹ By saluting the flag and naming the country, "Equatoria," Baker effectively declared himself the founder of the southernmost province of Egyptian Sudan. He changed Gondokoro's name to Ismailia. However, he could not claim

³¹Baker, *Ismailia*, 2nd edition, 121.

complete authority over the Bari people and therefore had to go farther south.³² He succeeded in building only two temporary garrisons, Farragenia and Faloro, in addition to Gondokoro, Fatiko, Foweera, and Fabbo.³³

Naming a place is a sign of power that signifies an imperial claim of sovereignty. Here, Baker named Gondokoro with the name of Ismail Pasha. Later, another center of the Province, Lado's name, also referred to as Ibrahimiyye. However, these names are not used commonly, the original names were preferred. The decreasing power of the Khedivate might play a role in discontinuing these usages. Due to the "explorations" of the unknown parts of Africa, the explorers could name where they explored with their names or their sponsor/patron's names. For example, Stanley Falls was named by Henry Stanley. Speke named Lake Victoria, and Samuel Baker named Lake Albert. These are the colonial legacies of Africa. Ismailia and Ibrahimiyye should be viewed from a similar sequence of first exploration, then naming, controlling, and colonizing.

Figure 3.3 Official Annexation of Gondokoro and Saluting the Egyptian Flag



Source: Sir Samuel Baker, *Ismailia- A Narrative of the Expedition to Central Africa for the Suppression of the Slave Trade Organized by Khedive Ismail Pasha*, 2nd ed., (London: Macmillan and Co., 1879), 121.

According to the account of another British commissioned officer Charles Gordon, Bari people remembered Baker's aggressive and violent activities with hatred and anger.³⁴ Baker later arrived at Fatiko, where the Acholi lived. He was lucky that

³²Tim Jeal, *Explorers of the Nile- The Triumph and Tragedy of a Great Victorian Adventure* (New Haven London: Yale University Press, 2011), 337, 395.

³³Baker, *Ismailia*, xvi.

³⁴Gray, *A History of the Southern Sudan*, 98.

they stood for him against Arab slave traders. In April 1872, he reached the capital of Bunyoro, Masindi.³⁵ He officially seized Unyoro, but it was not an actual conquest.³⁶ He could not achieve what he had hoped to bring civilization and commerce to Equatoria due to the lack of equipment that Egypt could not provide while spending significant sums of money to celebrate the opening of the Suez Canal.³⁷ Apart from these problems, the troops could not adjust to the climate and conditions of tropical Africa; thus, they got exhausted. Also, they were not eager to suppress the slave trade yet. They were not obedient, motivated, or well-trained and ran away.³⁸ As the first expedition of this type, Baker's commission could not meet its anticipated and underlined causes and goals.

Samuel Baker and his wife Florence, who was with him during the expedition, exaggerated their accomplishments. In fact, Baker's book *Ismailia* was a defense against allegations of his unsuccessful missions.³⁹ They claimed to have seized the enemies, taken over the whole Equatoria in the name of Egypt, and accomplished all the goals.⁴⁰

Baker assumed to have purged the slave hunters.⁴¹ However, in the end, Ismail Pasha criticized him for his usage of violence and sought for another man to be the governor of Equatoria.⁴² The violent memories of Baker were remembered later in the region. Emin Pasha, as opposed to Baker, adopted a non-violent attitude towards the natives and successfully maintained security.

After all, the expedition by Baker sponsored by Ismail Pasha was an "expensive failure" in which Baker could not fulfill the commands of Ismail; in fact, he focused highly on the suppression of the slave trade to the disadvantage of the other demands of Ismail as the figure below showed.⁴³ It is, in fact, consistent with Baker's own words since the first task was to crush the slave trade. Providing a secure place for Egypt, establishing a strong government over the tribes, and opening the Lakes

³⁵Jeal, *Explorers of the Nile*, 338.

³⁶Ibid., 339.

³⁷Gray, *A History of the Southern Sudan*, 90.

³⁸Alice Moore-Harell, *Egypt's African Empire: Samuel Baker, Charles Gordon the Creation of Equatoria* (Liverpool University Press, 2014), 38- 39.

³⁹Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan*, 177.

⁴⁰Gray, *A History of the Southern Sudan*, 103.

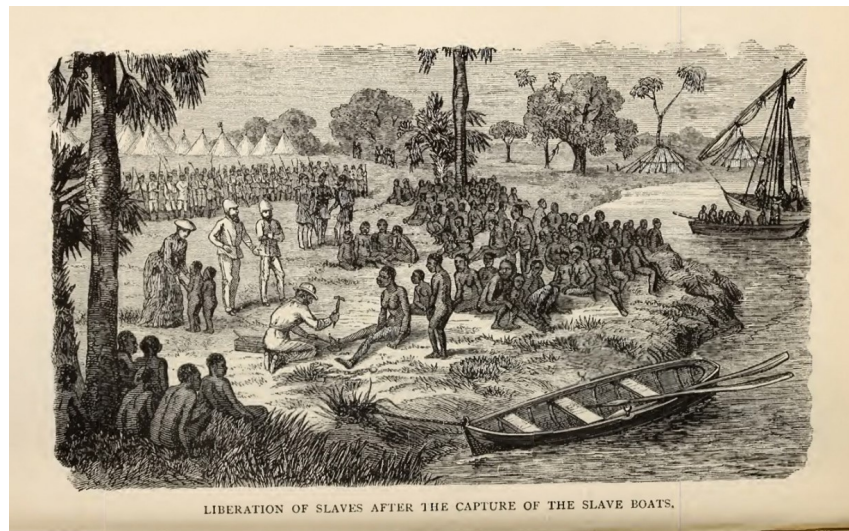
⁴¹Baker, *Ismailia*, xii.

⁴²Shibeika, "The Expansionist Movement," 143-144.

⁴³Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan*, 136.

to navigation and agriculture was what was to follow the suppression of the slave trade.⁴⁴ In the case of being unable to oppress the slave trade, which was the priority, all the rest of Ismail's wishes could not be finalized.

Figure 3.4 Suppressing the Slave Trade



Source: Sir Samuel Baker, *Ismailia*, 63.

Ismail Pasha, the ambitious ruler of a privileged province of the Ottoman Empire, apparently had imagined what would soon lead to the Scramble for Africa. Whether he highly depended on the European advisors or listened to the public opinion in Europe, his experimentation of opening central Africa to colonization is still noteworthy, which one should not ignore or underestimate.

Baker had the chance to write the expedition from his own perspective, unlike the other governors of Equatoria. He was the founder of the Province who hoisted the Egyptian flag in Gondokoro, thus initiated the indirect and obscure Ottoman rule in Central Africa.

3.4 Charles Gordon's Governorship in Equatoria (1874-1876)

Samuel Baker's influential but abortive expedition did not stop the endeavor of Khedive Ismail. Muhammad Rauf Pasha continued the mission as a representative of the central government. He was not allowed to leave the post and had to stay in

⁴⁴Gray, *A History of the Southern Sudan*, 88

Gondokoro with a limited number of troops.⁴⁵ Rauf Pasha was a *liva* in the army who was previously in the service of Baker and an administrator in Gondokoro. He became the governor in 1873 until the appointment of Gordon in 1874. He also became the governor-general of Sudan after Gordon left the position in 1880.⁴⁶ According to the news of ranks of Egypt in December 1874, he was granted the title of *liva* and a 3rd-degree order of *Osmânî* due to his diligent works and the stability in his civil service in *Hatt-ı İstiva* along with his qualification and competence, which was already known.⁴⁷

Ismail Pasha sought other possible agents to strengthen the officially recognized rule over Equatoria. This part of the chapter is dedicated to Charles Gordon (1833-85), a remarkably known legendary figure who has been studied as a character in the context of many different developments in Africa, Europe, and China. Due to the limited scope of this thesis, his whole governor-generalship of Sudan is not covered, but only his presence as the governor of Equatoria. The next chapter on Emin Pasha's governorship also covered Gordon's – as the governor-general of Sudan- relations with Emin Pasha. His assassination by the Mahdi forces during the siege of Khartoum unquestionably influenced African politics and perceptions of European powers. Though as an influential man of the Scramble for Africa, his administration of Equatoria constitutes a rather short phase in his career.

Samuel Baker and Gordon Pashas were British men and pious Christians; while the former was an explorer of Central Africa, Gordon was not. He did not have any experience in Africa beforehand, which in turn caused his desperation. Ismail Pasha abandoned his idea to employ an experienced explorer in the region as this approach proved inefficient. On the contrary, he sought a professional and experienced British administrator. Ismail Pasha trusted Gordon so much that he did not put in a time-limited contract, different from the four-year contract of Baker.⁴⁸ We can assume that Ismail Pasha attributed the limited success of Samuel Baker to his inexperience with administration. However, Gordon's lack of familiarity with Africa also caused troubles that he beforehand underestimated.

Gordon's biography is fascinating. He was a major general in the British army who fought in the Crimean War and the Chinese War of 1860. During his visit to Istanbul

⁴⁵Moore-Harrell, *Egypt's African Empire*, 112. Harrell suggested that the expansion toward the South was not motivated and encouraged or desired by the officers of Cairo and Khartoum. This can explain the recruitment of motivated European administrators in the region. Furthermore, these Egyptians probably did not want to suppress the slave trade as it could crush the economy.

⁴⁶Hill, *Biographical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 270.

⁴⁷"Tevcihat-ı Misriyye," *Basiret*, no. 1389, (Istanbul, 24 Şevval 1291/ 24 December 1874), 1.

⁴⁸Moore-Harrell, *Egypt's African Empire*, 16, 41.

in 1872, he met Nubar Pasha, who asked him to offer an engineer to replace Baker's mission in Equatoria. Nubar Pasha also sounded Gordon for the position. Gordon was ready for the mission. When Baker's 4-year contract ended, Khedive Ismail Pasha asked Gordon to accept the position.⁴⁹ The telegram of Consul Vivian to Gordon is essential. It shows the desire of Ismail Pasha and his trust for Gordon. The message is as follows:

The Viceroy begs me to telegraph you that he wishes to offer command of troops and the Government of the territory annexed by Baker to Colonel Gordon, formerly in the Chinese service, who will be armed with the fullest powers. He hopes Her Majesty's Government will see in this proof of his determination to organize the Government of that country thoroughly and to suppress the slave trade and that they will give their consent and assist in securing Gordon's services.⁵⁰

Gordon arrived in Gondokoro by passing through the Red Sea Port Suakin and the Nile town of Berber in April 1874. He transferred the headquarters to Lado.⁵¹ Gordon was said to be more successful than Baker.⁵² However, they both granted the same decorations. In 1876, "It has been requested by His Highness the khedive of Egypt to grant Gordon Pasha, the officer in charge of Equatoria (*hatt-ı istiva memuru Gordon Paşa*), with the first rank of the Order of Mecidi."⁵³

He could find posts far south as the Dufile and spread Egyptian influence over Unyoro and Kioga (all these places located within present-day Uganda). Once he left his administrative position in 1876, he returned to England to be replaced by Ibrahim Fawzi. Later, he accepted Sudan's governor-generalship position to suppress the slave trade and develop the communicative routes. He left the position in 1880. In 1882, he gained the title of major-general. Then, the British government asked him in 1884 to regain the stations that the insurrectionist Mahdists occupied, and he was again appointed as governor-general of Sudan. However, the Mahdist invasion of Khartoum led to his execution.⁵⁴

⁴⁹George Birkbeck, ed., *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa 1874-1879*, 4th ed. (London, 1885), xxx-xxxii.

⁵⁰Muhammad Shukry, "Introduction," in *Equatoria under Egyptian Rule- Unpublished Correspondence of Col. (afterwards Major-Gen.) C.G. Gordon with Ismail Khedive of Egypt and the Sudan During the Years 1874- 1876*, (Cairo: Cairo University Press, 1953), 8.

⁵¹Hill, *Biographical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 138.

⁵²Shibeika, "The Expansionist Movement," 142.

⁵³BOA, İ.DH. 733/ 60077, (6 Şevval 1293/ 25 October 1876).

⁵⁴Hill, *Biographical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 139.

As already mentioned, Gordon became the governor of Hatt-ı İstiva in 1874 until his resignation in 1876. His missions were essentially the same as Baker, i.e., suppressing the slave trade and opening navigation routes along the Great Lakes. Gordon was also expected to cease intertribal fights that caused more enslavement and mediate between the enemy tribes. Gordon was independent and free of the direct supervision of the governor of the Sudan.⁵⁵ When he arrived in Gondokoro, he found Muhammad Rauf and his 300 troops in good order but still requested additional forces. However, he was disappointed with the absence of a government and secure environment for further penetration.⁵⁶ He left the position due to the difficulty of life conditions, climate, and the discouraging relations with the general governor of Sudan at the time, Ismail Eyüp Pasha, about the flourishing of the slave trade despite his efforts.⁵⁷

When Gordon became the governor-general of Sudan, he was also in charge of Equatoria from 1877 to 1879. His governorship included not only Equatoria but also Bahr al-Ghazal, Darfur, and the Red Sea provinces as well.⁵⁸ His plans were more on the ground and based on realities. He split the stations into forts along the Nile. Implementing law and order was his priority. The province was ruled by 1,885 regular and irregular troops, eleven significant stations, and a small river fleet. Gordon's primary concern and plan included pacifying the local tribal forces and occupying neighboring Buganda (present-day south-central Uganda). The shores of the regional lakes and local mountains would be put under military control.⁵⁹

More concretely, Gordon tried to build stations south of Lake Kyoga. However, the Kabaka (king) of Buganda, Mutesa (Muteesa I, 1837-1884) and the chiefs of Bunyoro succeeded in detaining his forces. In short, the annexation attempt of Gordon was unsuccessful due to the military strength of Buganda.⁶⁰ The people of the White Nile were remarkably resilient to the attempts of annexation. Gordon did not want to hurt these people at some point and wanted to end "the business." Gordon apparently sympathized with the local peoples in his diaries and cited them, saying, "We do not want your cloth and beads; you go your way, and we will go ours; we do not want to see your chief." However, he persisted in the mission and added,

⁵⁵Moore-Harrell, *Egypt's African Empire*, 16-17.

⁵⁶Gray, *A History of the Southern Sudan*, 106.

⁵⁷Alice Moore-Harrell, *Gordon and Sudan- Prologue to the Mahdiyya 1877-1880* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 22-23.

⁵⁸Moore-Harrell, *Gordon, and Sudan*, 53, 62.

⁵⁹Dunn, *Khedive Ismail's Army*, 90.

⁶⁰Flint, *Cambridge History of Africa*, vol 5, 543 ; Pakenham, *the Scramble for Africa*, 133.

"it is indispensable that they shall be subjected."⁶¹ In the end, they could not. He considered Labore and Kirri's main stations but could not remain in peaceful relations with the locals. Gordon acknowledged the mistake of making an impossible effort to establish a European style of government.⁶² A centralized government could not be achieved in Central Africa.

He preferred a softer and gentler behavior toward the Bari people, considering the earlier hostile relations of Baker with them. He slowly extended his authority to the Great Lakes. However, the challenging conditions of the region destroyed his men. He was unsure if his extended territory would safely remain within Equatoria. According to Gordon, it was an exhausting effort that could not be considered a fully accomplished mission. The province could not reach a level of self-sufficiency.⁶³

Henry Prout replaced Gordon in 1876 for a year.⁶⁴ Though Ibrahim Fawzi replaced him in 1877, Gordon dismissed him due to the economic problems of the Province and Fawzi's involvement with the slave trade in 1878.⁶⁵ Powell states that the Muslim governors or officials of Sudan and its provinces were stigmatized for their involvement in the slave trade; Fawzi was one of these figures. These men can be viewed as underestimated compared to the over-emphasis on the European's services. According to her, even Fawzi reported an extreme agency to Europeans due to the fact that the Egyptians learned about the Sudan from European explorers.⁶⁶

3.5 Equatorial Province Depicted in the Ottoman Sources

It is recognizable that the roots of the Nile had taken attention and curiosity beginning from the Ottoman conquest by the conqueror Selim I in the 16th century. The late Ottoman encyclopedia entries about Ottoman Africa and Egypt recognized the Upper Nile i.e., Equatorial province, as a part of their entity. Other than earlier discussed Selim Qapudan, no Turkish speaker Ottoman officer left us written and compiled material. Furthermore, the last chapter of the thesis will show that the

⁶¹Hill, ed., *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa*, 114.

⁶²Gray, *A History of the Southern Sudan*, 112.

⁶³Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan*, 139.

⁶⁴For a short biography, Moore-Harrell, *Gordon, and Sudan*, 263.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 55.

⁶⁶Powell, *A Different Shade*, 139.

province could be claimed by the Ottoman center in the 1890s only.

Before the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition and the efforts of occupation of the region, the archival sources are silent about the province. The geography books contain limited information about Equatorial province. The maps I provided are among the most important sources that reveal the imperial vision. Equatorial province receives their legitimacy from this vision, while, in reality, the imperial power is weak and precarious.

In general, *Hatt-ı İstiva Müdiriyeti* was listed when the authors recorded the parts of Egyptian Sudan in the eastern section of Sudan. In these brief explanation, the following information was given. The province was also called Upper Nile / *Nil-i Ulyâ* or *Bâlâ-yı Nil*. The central administrative capital was Lado, also referred to as *Ibrahimiyye*. It was reported as one of the most important cities of Eastern Sudan. Fatiko was another station that geographers refer to.⁶⁷ It is not mentioned in these sources about which Ibrahim, the name referred to. However, we suggest that *Ibrahimiyye* might be called after Ibrahim Pasha, the father of Ismail Pasha. It is only a suggestion because there is no reference to who changed the name of Lado according to whose wish or so. Lado is the military station close to Gondokoro. The southernmost station is Wadelai, neighboring Uganda. The Egyptian internal trade was also explained as very important since the Nile extends to Central Africa. Boats can go as far as Lado; even in the delta, the canals, which are among the most accessible means of transport, serve the internal trade to a vast scope.⁶⁸ In an encyclopedia entry about the Nile, Şemseddin Sami referred to *Ismailiyye* alias Gondokoro as the center of the southern part of Egyptian Sudan and Lado during the time of Ismail Pasha. In these places, the ships could navigate.⁶⁹

In some cases, Equatoria was not treated separately but under the district of Bahr al-Ghazal.⁷⁰ The earlier transfer by Gordon from Gondokoro to Lado was also explained. According to Ömer Suphi Bey, “Gondokoro, alias called Ismailia, changed

⁶⁷ Bandırmalızade Mehmed Muhsin Bey, *Afrika Delili* (Cairo: el-Fellah Ceridesi Matbaası, 1312/ 1895), 98 ; Ali Saib, *Coğrafya-yı Mufassal Memalik-i Devlet-i Osmaniye* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Ebuzziya, 1304), 610-612; Ömer Kamil Paşa , *Sudan-ı Mısri*, (1888), İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi no:TY4243, 25 ; Mehmed Rüşdi and Mehmed Eşref, *Mükemmel ve Mufassal Atlas* (Istanbul: Şirket-i Mürettibiye Matbaası, 1325), 125 ; Ali Cevad, *Memâlik-i Osmaniye'nin Tarih ve Coğrafya Lügatı* , 760; Hüseyin Hüsnü, *Coğrafya-yı Umumi*, (n.d.), İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi no: TY 04191, 99b ; Mehmed İzzet, *Yeni Afrika* (Istanbul: İstipan Matbaası, 1308), 71.

⁶⁸ İbnü'n-Nüzhet Cevad, *Musavver Memalik-i Osmaniye Coğrafyası* (Istanbul: Mürettibin-i Osmani Matbaası, 1328) 183-184.

⁶⁹ Şemseddin Sami, *Kâmûs'ul-Â'lâm*, 1904, 640. Accessed in 18/07/2023 <https://alam.cagdasozluk.com/osmanlica-ansiklopedi-madde-24884.html>

⁷⁰ Mihri, *Sudan Seyahatnamesi* , 280 ; Ömer Suphi Bey ibn Ethem Paşa, *Memalik-i Osman'ın Mufassal Coğrafyası- Afrika-yı Osmani*, birinci cild, (1328?) In İstanbul Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi no:TY4123. It was natural since in some cases, Equatoria and Bahr al-Ghazal were called as “Equatorial Provinces.”

the course of the Nile and brought many swamps around it. For this reason, it was later abandoned and settled in Lado."⁷¹ He speaks of the local tribes as well. The suppression of the slave trade by Baker and Gordon is also mentioned together with Emin Pasha's diplomatic delegation to Mutesa.⁷² The information about Equatoria is limited but provided some details about the stations.

Another Ottoman who mentioned the province was Mehmet Şakir Pasha. In his report about Uganda from December 1892, he described the border and surroundings of Uganda where *Hatt-ı İstiva* is located in the north. Here, I would like to pinpoint a mistake in that he refers to the province as "the province of Emin Pasha from German colonies" (*Almanya müstemlekâtından Emin paşa vilâyeti*).⁷³ It is common to call Equatoria the Province of Emin Pasha; however, defining there as an East African colony of the German Empire is a misimpression that resulted most likely from the passport of Emin Pasha since he was German.

It is crucial to note that the province was perceived as the Province of Emin Pasha. The region was referred to as "the territories occupied by Emin Pasha."⁷⁴ It proves the impression that Emin Pasha and Equatorial Province need to be analyzed together and not separated from each other. Again, we should see how the earlier governors were omitted when referring to Equatorial Province. The only document about another governor of Equatoria may be the specific one I quoted when talking about the biography of Charles Gordon in the earlier parts of this chapter referring to him as an officer of *Hatt-ı İstiva*.

The attempts to occupy Equatoria will be discussed later; however, it tells much about the Ottoman view of the Sudan and Equatorial Province. The Congo Free State belonging to Belgian king Leopold II wanted to annex Equatoria after Emin Pasha left in 1890 and he sent expeditions which led to an international crisis. During the solution seeking for the Ottoman part, we see that Ottomans have taken the realm of Sudan, including the southern parts i.e., Equatorial Province, as their own, that is to say, not a no man's land. They did not allow attacks to come from Congo by means of diplomacy. According to the Ottoman view, the region of Sudan was not without a guardian or protector and was occupied during the time of Sultan Abdülaziz with the help of the Khedivate, and the law was set there.⁷⁵ For this

⁷¹Ömer Suphi Bey, *Afrika-yi Osmani*, 92b.

⁷²Ömer Kamil Paşa, *Sudan-ı Mısri*, 20.

⁷³BOA, Y.MTV. 73/ 11 (2 Cemaziyelahir 1310/ 22 December 1892)

⁷⁴BOA, HR.SYS. 911/ 2 (10 May 1894); Y.A.HUS. 298/56 (25 Zilkade 1311/ 30 May 1894).

⁷⁵BOA, İ.MTZ. (05) 29/1584 (10 Ramazan 1311/ 17 March 1894).

reason, they called for attention to protect the boundaries of Egypt in 1894.

3.6 The Ottoman Perceptions of Uganda

Last section of this chapter will discuss the Ottoman views toward Uganda. The earlier parts of this chapter elaborated on the Egyptian employment for the expansion towards the White Nile and the personal achievements of individuals like Selim Qapudan, Samuel Baker, and Charles Gordon, while the Ottoman center and the Sultan had paid hardly any attention. It was the privileges of Ismail Pasha which allowed him to behave quasi-independently. At that time, the Sublime Porte was busy with major problems such as the financial crisis of 1875, the Balkan revolts of 1875-76, regime change toward constitutionalism in 1876-77, Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-78, followed by the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Only from the 1880s onwards did the Sublime Porte begin to direct its interest towards Africa. The Ottoman participation in the Berlin Conference of 1885 clearly indicated this new trend.

After the participation in the Berlin Conference of 1884 and the beginning of the Scramble for Africa, the Ottoman center paid a conscious attention to African affairs in order to secure and protect its position as an African state and the legal rights over its provinces. Ottoman Empire was not only interested in its own territories but also other neighboring places and wanted to gain intelligence to follow up on the current information on African affairs as the case of Uganda revealed.

When it comes to Central Africa in the 1880s, the only independent African state was Buganda. Ottoman archival sources can shed light on their perception of the events taking place in Central Africa. It is crucial to note that Buganda was the strongest powerful, and centralized state of Central Africa. It had confidence, a centralized governing system, and a historical consciousness.⁷⁶

Ottoman State Archives keep two note-worthy sets of documents about the Uganda Protectorate of Britain and the Buganda kingdom. They not only provide us with an in-depth understanding of the Ottoman interests in the affairs of these territories but reveal how the Ottoman State depended on the Europeans as both an intermediary resource, a cultural filter, and a channel for information related to Central Africa. The first one of these documents, dated 16 Cemâziyelevvel 1306 (18 January 1889), is a translation of a letter containing a copy of an article from the Times published

⁷⁶ Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 155.

in 18 Kânûnisânî 1889. The head of the translators signed it without any specific name. The translation consists of a total of six folios.⁷⁷

The other document dated 10 Kanunievvel 1308 (22 December 1892) is written by *ferik* of *Erkan-ı Harbiye* Mehmed Şakir Pasha (d.1913). He was also an author of a handful of historical works, some of which are the five volumes of Ottoman history called *Yeni Osmanlı Tarihi* and *Mısır Tarihi* in manuscript form.⁷⁸ According to Şakir Pasha, the news brought by The Grand Vizier [Ahmed Cevad Pasha] informed that the British parliament had decided to permanently occupy Uganda, located in Africa and within the influence of England, on behalf of the British government.⁷⁹ In addition to this article that has been issued to explain how this area was brought under England's influence and a map of the country was presented. I could not reach this specific map in the catalog, in any case.

Both of these documents inform the Ottomans with the existing information about Uganda. The first one is about the slave trade and missionary activities in Uganda, but it also includes the geographical and historical situation of the country as well as the cultural structures, administration, and education. This article contained a lot of solid and encyclopedic information about Uganda –like the report of Mehmed Şakir Pasha– and its people including the physical appearance and the intelligence of the population. It gives detailed information about the government of Mutesa, their well-organized army of five or six hundred thousand men, the capital city, and the palace of the ruler and the like.

Culture, geography and history of Uganda were the central subjects of the documents. Şakir Pasha talks about the fertile and productive lands of Uganda, dense forests and several swamps around there along with the most common animals, and fruits as well as demographic statistics. He mentioned that Uganda, two years ago, in the year 90, was under the British protectorate. The country is divided into several provinces, and the king carries out their dismissals and appointments. Mehmed Şakir Pasha notes that the map presented shows the country's location, that it is located between the German provinces/colonies in East Africa and the German province of Emin Pasha, and that it is a place coveted by the Germans to unite these provinces. I already mentioned that he mistakenly confuses Equatoria with the German colonies.

First document touched on more subjects such as the role of Arabs from Zanzibar for

⁷⁷BOA, Y.PRK.TKM.14/32 (16 Cemaziyelevvel 1306/ 18 January 1889).

⁷⁸Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, ed. Yekta Saraç (Ankara: TÜBA, 2016), 1020.

⁷⁹BOA, Y.MTV.73/ 11 (2 Cemaziyelahir 1310/ 22 December 1892).

trade in Uganda and the fact that, Uganda has never been under Egyptian rule. The documents explained that the latest event added to the difficulties already existing in the eastern part of Central Africa and the developments of the time of Mutesa. He was depicted as a king who changed allegiances a couple of times who supported the Protestants and Catholics, and to the detriment of both, he fashioned himself to be a Mohammedan. Mutesa sent an embassy delegation to England. This might be but a change-of-heart he has come to life. An envoy was sent to him by the Khedive, and he was treated as equal to the ruler of Zanzibar. "Mutesa was rich and powerful among the savage inhabitants and formed a highly civilized government."⁸⁰

According to the first material, it will be seen in the future that the real nature of this so-called Arab rule is defined by its degree of expansion. It should be remembered that many of those who are called Arabs but were Swahili and other lower-class coastal inhabitants. It is obvious that the Ugandan chieftains, who were of a higher class, will not easily submit to the domination of such tribes. And as a telegram reported, these chiefs have the power to keep these Arabs in check, govern the country themselves, or bring one of the sons of Mutesa, who is not close to the Europeans, to the government. It was desired by the author that Emin Pasha should be able to hold his position in the north and west and the slave traders in the south as a bulwark against the Mahdi's claims. As these words from the cited source implied, the power relations in the late 1880s and early 1890s were not clear-cut or defined properly. The local power holders and later comers, in other words missionaries were struggling for hegemony.

Despite the local forces, imperial and colonialist powers are also involved in the politics of Central Africa. When the British East African Company took possession of the land between the coast and Lake Victoria, it was hoped that they would soon extend their influence and law and order over Uganda and all the land to the south. They are sure that the Arab slave traders do not look favorably on the penetration of British influence because these Arabs consider there their own country and thus will try to make the Company unsustainable. Through this information that were included in the passage, Abdülhamid II can learn not only the country but also the European and Muslim relations with Uganda. The religious component of the document is crucial and highly related with the pan-Islamic policies of Abdülhamid II. The first document included parts about religion that can be related to pan-Islamism.

This chapter discussed the formation period of Equatorial Province by offering a background information for Upper Nile, the historical sequence of events that led

⁸⁰BOA, Y.MTV.73/ 11 (2 Cemaziyelahir 1310/ 22 December 1892).

to Egyptian imperialist actions in the Upper Nile. Ismail Pasha's letter revealed his policies about Central Africa. Furthermore, Ottoman sources about Equatoria and Uganda were utilized in order to see the Ottoman point of views. Archival and printed sources gave insights about the Ottoman perspective.

4. THE PROVINCE OF HATT-I ISTIVA (EQUATORIA) DURING THE TIME OF EMIN PASHA (1876-1890)

His [Emin's] name belongs to the history of our times, and his work is, please God, not nearly finished. Emin Pasha forms at the present time the central point around which all the interest in Central Africa revolves.¹

This chapter is about the biography of Emin Pasha, particularly his activities in Central East Africa. His personality is a case for this work which has been well researched in languages such as German and English, along with his religious and ethnic identities, but not as an Ottoman. Here I will describe how he was portrayed in the Ottoman Empire and the Ottoman part of his identity.

The historical record makes a strong case that Emin and his province are inseparable. Emin rose to prominence when Equatoria was in the news and the public eye. That is why how Ottoman he was can reflect how Ottoman Equatoria was during his administration. This case of Eduard Schnitzer (1840-1892) fits to the term "career converts."² These men were non-Muslims who converted to Islam to enable their employment in the Ottoman Empire. For uniformity, this work will refer to him as Emin Pasha after summarizing his earlier life when he was known as Eduard Schnitzer.

This chapter provides an account of the Emin Pasha's rule in Equatoria as a stable but challenging time by addressing issues such as development, trade, "civilizing mission," relations between the governor and the local tribes, and most importantly,

¹R. W. Felkin, "Introduction," in *Emin Pasha in Central Africa- Being a Collection Of His Letters And Journals*, ed. Prof. G. Schweinfurth; Prof. F. Ratzel; Dr. R. W. Felkin; and Dr. G. Hartlaub (London, 1888), x.

²Selim Deringil, *Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), chapter 4.

Ottoman and/or Egyptian representation in Equatoria. The province of Hatt-ı İstiva was isolated after the Mahdist expansion in Sudan beginning in 1881. The efforts of the explorer and traveler Dr. William Junker raised the need to relieve Emin Pasha and his men in Europe. A committee of Relief Expedition was founded by the Scottish Geographical Society. Henry Stanley, the famous explorer, author, journalist, and colonial agent in Central Africa, was the leader of The Emin Pasha Relief Expedition (1887-1889). This expedition served to spread the news about Emin Pasha and his province so that the province and Emin Pasha gained worldwide importance and fame at the same time. After the Expedition, Emin began to serve German colonial ambitions in Central and East Africa, which are outside the scope of the topic of this thesis.

4.1 From Eduard to Emin

Eduard Carl Oscar Theodor Schnitzer was born in 1840 at Oppeln (present-day southwestern Poland) in Silesia, Prussia. Many of the aspects of his life fit into the “global lives.”³ Consequently, it enabled us to see the global issues, developments, and instances through his biography. He was born Jewish, later was baptized as a Protestant, however attended a Catholic school and supposedly converted to Islam later in his life.⁴ In spite of his appearance as a Muslim Turk, his conversion is a major controversy for his biography. Henry Stanley pointed out that he could not find out whether Emin was either a Muslim or a Jew, or a Christian. But what he was certain about was that Emin “was nothing more than a materialist.”⁵ Emin was also an opportunist who could disguise himself easily according to different circumstances.

Sources refer to him as a physician who worked for the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, Istanbul, and Trabzon before his arrival to Egypt and holding important positions in Central Africa. However, this general view was shaken first by Stigand. More importantly, Kirchen found out that there is no official document proving Schnitzer’s dokortitel that allowed him to work as a doctor in Prussia. Schnitzer attended lectures in Breslau and Berlin but never managed to pass the exams and

³He highlighted the role of people and their agency in imperial and global histories: Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800* (Cambridge University Press, 2008),9.

⁴Jeffrey Meyers, “Henry Morton Stanley and Emin Pasha: New Historical Sources for Heart of Darkness,” *Conradiana* 48/ 1, (Spring 2016): 80.

⁵Henry Stanley, *In Darkest Africa or The Quest Rescue and Retreat of Emin Governor of Equatoria*, vol 2. (London: Sampson Low, Mauston, Searle and Livingston, 1890), 147.

graduate as a medical doctor. His desire to start a new life in the Ottoman Empire explains why he adopted a new name and presented himself differently from his original name and identity.⁶ This reminds us how one should survey Emin Pasha's life story critically, as it is neither simple nor clear. He lived a more adventurous and unpredictable life than his contemporaries, and later biographers mentioned.

After coming to the Ottoman Empire, he worked as a doctor in Albania in 1864. He joined the *kapı* (household) of Ismail Hakkı Pasha – the governor-general of Albania – and travelled with him during his occupations in Istanbul and Trabzon. Emin was a talented linguist who learned Arabic, Turkish, Albanian, Greek, Italian, and Serbian and studied local African languages. He came to Egypt in 1875, identifying himself as a Turkish or Albanian Muslim who had received his education in Germany. The inhabitants of Equatoria also recognized him as an Ottoman Muslim.⁷ He was granted the title pasha after he served to the Egyptian government in December 1886.⁸ After the Relief Expedition, he began to work on behalf of the German colonial ambitions in Central and East Africa in 1890. According to Ahmet Kavas, "Emin was occupied with waving the German flag where he had previously waved the Turkish flag."⁹ Finally, Emin was murdered by Arab slave traders in Congo in 23 October 1892.¹⁰

Emin Pasha was a "German-born and Turkish-titled" officer whose material and ideological legacy inspired Josef Conrad to write *Heart of Darkness*.¹¹ This novel is recognized as one of the best works of British literature, although post-colonial thinkers like Achebe have criticized it as racist and prejudiced.¹² The main character's stock of ivory resembles that of Emin's.¹³ In addition, the isolation and loosing

⁶Christian Kirchen, *Emin Pasha- Artz-Abendeur- Afrikaforscher* (Brill Schoningh, 2014), 34-38. Kirchen also clarified Schnitzer's emigration to the Ottoman Empire in order to start from scratch to Emin's feelings of shame and failure with an adventurous spirit; Chauncy Hugh Stigand, *Equatoria: the Lado Enclave* (Routledge; 1st edition (January 1, 1990), 163.

⁷Hill, *Biographical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 333; H. Ahmed Schmiede , "Emin Paşa," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* ; "Emin Paşa," *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 15 (Milli Eğitim Basımevi,1968), 151; Arthur Schaade, "Emin Paşa," *Meb İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (1978), 259-260.

⁸John Gray, ed., "The Diaries of Emin Pasha- Extracts VII," *The Uganda Journal* 28/1 (March 1964): 94.

⁹Ahmet Kavas, "Osmanlı Mısırı'na Bağlı Ekvator Vilayeti'nin Prusya Asıllı Valisi: Mehmed Emin Paşa," in *Geçmişten Günümüze Afrika* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2017), 115.

¹⁰H. Ahmed Schmiede, "Emin Paşa," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*.

¹¹Meyers, "Henry Morton Stanley and Emin Pasha," 77, 80 ; Mark Leopold, "Crossing the Line: 100 Years of the North-West Uganda/South Sudan Border," *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 3 /3 (November 2009): 465.

¹²Chinua Achebe, "An Image of Africa: Racism in Conrad's 'Heart of Darkness,'" *Massachusetts Review* 57/1, (Spring 2016): 14-27.

¹³As an eyewitness and a reliable source, Jephson mentioned the storehouses full of tusks: John Gray, ed., "The Diaries of Emin Pasha- Extracts XI," *The Uganda Journal* 30/ 2 (1966), 198.

the contact with the world was similar to the story of the novel. For this reason, his personality should be treated distinctively.

Without the work of men like Emin, successful colonization of Central Africa would not have been possible. However, his personality did not have the quality of an aggressive or hostile soldier, but rather a kind, articulate, informed, and well-mannered governor.¹⁴ Regardless of the differences between the governors of Equatoria, Emin Pasha was more comparable to General Charles Gordon and was indeed depicted as "Gordon's heir".¹⁵ Even the death of Emin Pasha resembled Gordon. They were both assassinated by local Arab power holders.

Emin Pasha's death was no more controversial than his life. His death news, similar to the obituary of Sir Samuel Baker, was also published in *Maarif* (the Journal of Education).¹⁶ However, the story here is more complicated. On 21 Muharrem 1309 / 4 August 1893, a brief passage reported the death of Emin Pasha. The passage reads as follows:

The obituary of the traveler Emin Pasha,

Although the death of Eduard Schnitzer, also known as Emin Pasha, has been written in the newspapers many times and later refuted, the newspapers have recently written a biography after his death.

Eduard Schnitzer- Emin Pasha was born in 1840 in Oppeln at Silzba [should be Silesia]. He was 53 years old at the time of his death. In 1874, he was appointed as a physician in the service of former Khedive Ismail Pasha, and in 1878, Gordon Pasha appointed him the governor of *Hat-ı istiva* province in Africa. After staying there for about ten years, he was later transferred from there with Stanley, a well-known traveler. In 1890, Emin Pasha entered the service of Germany and, after some time, traveled to [the Lake] Albert Edward to the source of Mukandi (which remains a mystery to this day). Although he was sent with a special delegation, he died recently together with his companions (from an illness).

Here, unlike what we have learned from the obituary of Samuel Baker, the authority to hire Emin Pasha was attributed to the khedive. Yet, this short article was

¹⁴Stigand, *Equatoria*, 167.

¹⁵Felkin, "Introduction," in *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, xxviii. Soon after the Relief Expedition, Henry Stanley admitted that they were misinformed about the real face of Emin Pasha, which had nothing to do with Gordon in the first place. See Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, vol 2, 210.

¹⁶"Seyyah Emin Paşa'nın Vefatı," *Maarif*, vol V, no. 106 (21 Muharrem 1311 / 4 August 1893), 31-32.

a mere translation from the aforementioned source. Thus, this did not actually reflect the Ottoman perspective, as we shall see; instead, the editors repeated the misinformation of the sources from which they reported. In any case, the interest in a colonial agent in Africa should be highlighted.

Maarif published another short article about Emin Pasha in the next week's issue.¹⁷ The article reads as follows:

The Renowned Traveler Emin Pasha

In last week's issue, we reported that Emin Pasha, the famous traveler who was originally called Eduard Schnitzer, had recently passed away in Africa, as reported by a French newspaper. An issue of [Le] Figaro, a French daily newspaper, was received three days later. It reported that Emin Pasha had not died, as some of his companions wrote, but he had gone blind due to an accident.

Nonetheless, as we have already noted in the previous issue within the biography of Emin Pasha that [the news and information about] his life and death had been confirmed, corrected and/or refuted by European newspapers. [This news coming from Le Figaro] proved our earlier idea.

Even though Emin Pasha died in 1892, the news of his death would not be confirmed even the next year, as reflected in *Maarif*. The accident and his blindness proved right, but it occurred during the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition in 1889. What is more, Emin Pasha appeared not only in *Maarif* but also in a children's magazine called *Çocuklara Rehber* next chapter, which will be discussed under the subject of the Relief Expedition.

In a British obituary written after the accurate news of his decease, the author listed the achievements of Emin in *Hatt-ı İstiva*. He also quoted Emin's own words about his true identity, which he covered under the disguise of being a Muslim and Turk. The author paid special attention to the scientific and geographical achievements of Emin. The obituary presented Emin Pasha as someone who was dedicated to the cause of African civilization.¹⁸ The very positive image of Europeans working in Africa was a common phenomenon that considered European explorers and officials not as colonizers but as devotees/promoters of civilization. Without a post-colonial critique, the perception about these colonial officers cannot be revised academically.

¹⁷"Seyyah-ı Şehir Emin Paşa," *Maarif*, vol. V, no. 107, (28 Muharrem 1311/11 August 1893), 47-48.

¹⁸E. G. R., "Obituary: Emin Pasha (Dr. E. Schnitzer)," *The Geographical Journal* 2/ 5 (Nov., 1893): 468-470.

Emin's religious and national identity should also be highlighted here. I mentioned earlier that he had experienced multiple religious identities. This contributed to his global/transnational identity, in which Emin found a place almost everywhere in later decades until recently as a Jew, German, Protestant, Muslim, and Turk. His passport was a German one so that we can call his national identity German, but that would be a superficial view considering the fluidity of his born and adopted identities. He changed his name several times, converted to Islam, and showed himself to be Middle Eastern in dress, language, and manners. He performed this way because he thought the only way to attain high ranks in the Ottoman Empire or Egypt was to become a Muslim opportunistically. In his letters to his family, he repeated that he had only adapted his clothes and name but had not become a Turk. It was due to the reason for finding an occupation in Ottoman Empire.¹⁹ However, we know that non-Turks could also find work in Ottoman lands, unlike the claims of Emin. His repetition of not becoming a Turk may have reflected a nationalism in his family that he felt required to make an excuse. The identities of Turkish and Muslims could mean almost the same thing at a time when there were no nation-states. However, those who were with him could testify that he attended Friday prayers every week for fifteen years in Sudan.²⁰

We must draw attention to a noteworthy source that previous researchers have not considered in a detailed manner. An article published in the Ottoman periodical *Neusal-i Marifet* is crucial because it denies Emin's shown 'overly positive' identity and accuses him as a liar, redundant, and charlatan.²¹ It presents Emin as a completely different person in comparison to the previous articles. This article is also essential for the next chapter's discussion in regard to the inheritance of Emin Pasha. Although this is a critical source, the author is unknown. There is no signature at the end of the article, and it is not clear whether Ebuzziya Tevfik wrote it or not, yet I prefer to call the author.

In this article called "Dr. Schnitzer alias Emin Pasha," after a short introduction about the discoveries in Sudan, the author mentions the boundaries of *Hatt-ı İstiva*. It includes the same description as already seen in the third chapter. Aside from these similar details, he adds that *Hatt-ı İstiva* has around the same size as Prussia. According to the author, Schnitzer – Emin Bey– was appointed by Gordon as *müdîr* of *Hatt-ı İstiva* in 1878. The author expresses frustration since the European news-

¹⁹Kirchen, *Emin Pascha*, 53, 223.

²⁰Charles Shee, "Dr. Eduard Schnitzer alias Emin Pasha," *The Central African Journal of Medicine* 12/3 (March, 1966): 52.

²¹"Doktor Şiniçer Nam-ı Diğer Emin Paşa," *Neusal-i Marifet*, (Konstantiniye: Ebuzziya Matbaası, 1306/1889), 208-214.

papers did not mention what he knew about Emin. He then extracts the biography of Emin from a German newspaper called *Gartenlaube* which repeats Emin's rejection of his sincere conversion to Islam along with some solid information about his life. The author corrects some misinformation while examining Emin's biography critically. One of them is the assumption that Emin visited Syria and the Arab lands together with Ismail Hakkı Pasha; in fact, Hakkı Pasha was never appointed to these places. The author wanted to emphasize that Emin owed a great deal to Ismail Hakkı Pasha because he was an *aventurier* and "tramp" (*serseri*) who needed the protection of a man with a position. "Without a head and foot (*bî ser-ü-pâ*), such miserable and destitute people emigrate due to the deprivation of their livelihood. If, as *Gartenlaube* claims, it should be with the desire to explore a foreign land, the doctor could have applied for the necessary support in his own country." The author does not take poverty as a reason to judge Emin, but he considers and assumes that Emin Pasha's other actions must have led to his condemnation and murder (*mel'aneti ve küşteniyane hareketi*). He gives the information that Schnitzer converted to Islam after the death of Ismail Hakkı Pasha and changed his name after the name of Hakkı Pasha's widow Emine Leyla. Emin Bey began to take care of the fatherless children of Emine Leyla but abandoned them, seizing her inherited property from her deceased husband. After Emin used up the money, he went to Africa and presented himself as a servant of civilization, similar to the well-known explorer Schweinfurt. In addition to these, the author could not understand how a 'treacherous' (*kallaş*) man as such could be equated with explorers like Baker or Livingstone. He also questioned the oddity created by the European efforts to save a man like Emin Stanley. This article is a critical and distinctive source that has not been given the attention it deserves.

Nonetheless, as a counterargument to concentrating extensively on Emin Pasha's German identity, The Levant Herald article in the Ottoman archives considers him as merely a Muslim who is "neither German nor British". According to this article, Germans attributed love and patriotism to Emin Pasha due to his nationality, but this assumption was only a dream.²²

In this respect, one should take Ahmet Schmiede into consideration, who later joined to this view. Schmiede was a German convert to Islam who wrote extensive works on Turkish literature and undertook translations.²³ As mentioned in the introduction, Schmiede may have been the first to make Emin Pasha known in modern

²²BOA, Y.PRK.TKM. 24/1 (3 Cemaziyelahir 1309/ 4 January 1892); Schmiede also thought that the contemporaries of Emin recognized him as an Ottoman, not a German, but it seems a wrong inference. Schmiede, "Hattıüstüva Valisi Dr. Mehmed Emin Paşa," *Türk Dünyası Tarih Dergisi* 50 (1991), 31.

Turkey. In his article, he depicted Emin as someone who dedicated his life to Islam and Turkishness.²⁴ Schmiede does not question Emin's sincerity about his faith in Islam. He relates Emin's conversion to the change of his name since there can be apparently no official document to prove his faith. Schmiede also mentions that Emin '*Ottomanized*' and civilized Equatoria in the name of the Ottoman Sultan. The author elaborates on the Turkishness of Emin and the Ottoman Empire by using a dramatic and emotional language.²⁵ He depicts Emin Bey as a great man who was always successful and ready for governmental tasks and kept his province peaceful and achieved security in a time of crisis caused by the Mahdi uprising.

According to Schmiede, Gordon Pasha was annoyed by the presence of Emin because Emin was a Muslim who spoke and dressed like a Turk. This annoyance of Gordon was repeated in another article that discusses the letters of Gordon in which Gordon, as a pious Christian, disfavored Emin, who was a European who seemingly converted to Islam.²⁶ I believe that the prejudices of European or Britons against Muslims and Turks can be a common problem in the late 19th-century Egyptian context. For example, Samuel Baker, in his speech, was afraid of the possibility that his position would be replaced by a Turk and all the things he achieved will be ruined.²⁷

Nonetheless, Schmiede describes the scene when Stanley and Emin meet. Accordingly, Emin –under the Turkish flag, with his clean and white Turkish uniform– welcomed Stanley, who was in a miserable state.²⁸ Schmiede took all of the information from the original primary sources but interpreted them in an ideological and biased manner which is nevertheless still significant for the perception of Emin Pasha in modern Turkey.²⁹ Taking the views of these multiple sources into account, one might conclude that it is equally biased and nationalistic to see Emin only as a German who served German interests as it is to see him as a Turk who served only the interests of the Ottoman Sultan profoundly.

A final point of discussion is the extent to which Emin was "going native."³⁰ It

²⁴Abdullah Güllüoğlu, "Schmiede, Hanspeter Achmed," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*.

²⁵Ahmet Schmiede, "Alman Asıllı Bir Osmanlı Devlet Adamı Ve Alimi: Hattüüstüva Valisi Dr. Mehmed Emin Paşa," *Türk Dünyası Dergisi* 49 (1991), 16.

²⁶John Gray, ed., "The Diaries of Emin Pasha- Extracts I," *The Uganda Journal* 25/1 (March 1961): 3

²⁷Baker, "The Khedive of Egypt's Expedition to Central Africa," 67.

²⁸Schmiede, "Dr. Mehmed Emin Paşa," no. 50 (1991) : 34.

²⁹For an earlier bibliography, Donald Simpson, "A Bibliography of Emin Pasha," *The Uganda Journal* 24/2, (1960).

³⁰Colley's article mentions this condition while it discusses the 17th and 18th century's experiences of captives through their narratives. Linda Colley, "Going native Telling Tales: Captivity, Collaborations, And Empire," *Past And Present* 168.

questions how far he might have become an African in the light of his relatively long-lasting residence in Equatoria without ever leaving from 1875 to his death in 1892. Any other historian or biographer does not dispute the African part of his identity. However, there are some indications that Emin was also an African in terms of his lifestyle and culture. Dr. Felkin claimed that as a result of the remoteness from the outside “civilized” world, Emin Bey made Equatoria his home.³¹ Emin Pasha married an Abyssinian woman named Seferan and had a daughter from her named Farida in 1883.³² She died of some sickness after giving birth to Farida.³³ The fact that his only connection with Europe was the journal articles that he sent to scientific and geographical journals could also contribute to my hypothesis.³⁴ Emin did not attempt to leave Central Africa after he came to Khartoum in the first place. Even when he met the expedition to relieve him, he asserted that “he would be quite happy in Africa if he could receive papers and letters from Europe.”³⁵ Due to the reasons for Emin’s integration and adaptation to the geography and the people of the region, we might suggest that Emin Pasha became one of them.

Figure 4.1 Emin Pasha



EMIN, THE LEARNED PASHA.

Source: Major Gaetano Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria and the Return with Emin Pasha*, trans. by J. Randolph Clay (London and New York: Frederick Warne and Co., 1891), 327.

³¹Felkin, “Introduction” in *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, xvii.

³²Shee, “Dr. Eduard Schnitzer,” 53.

³³Gray, “The Diaries of Emin Pasha- Extracts XI,” 198.

³⁴See Richard Gray, *A History of the Southern Sudan*, 138.

³⁵Thomas Parke, *My Personal Experiences in Equatorial Africa as Medical Officer of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition* (London Sampson Low, Maeston Company, 1891), 227.

4.2 Emin's "Burden" in The Equatorial Province

This section focuses on his activities and intentions, and dreams regarding the Province of Equatoria. In what ways Emin Pasha held a "burden" on his shoulders as a European who covered himself to be a Muslim Turk? His governance as a doctor and a director proved successful, as the below map demonstrates the expansion and founding of many stations during his time. Most importantly, he served in Equatoria from 1876 to almost 1890 without any interruption and lived there without ever leaving the territories of Equatoria. He became one of the inhabitants of province, and adapted to the challenging life conditions.

Figure 4.2 Map of Equatorial Province



Source: Schweinfurth et al., *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 522.

4.2.1 First Missions in Central Africa (1876-1878)

As already explained, the Egyptian efforts of expansion towards the roots of the Nile had started by Mehmed Ali Pasha in 1839 with the expeditions of Selim Qapudan and followed by the British men Samuel Baker and Charles Gordon. However, they proved the difficulty of conquering, ruling over, and dominating tropical Africa due to the lack or delay of the necessary materials from Khartoum, exacerbated by the difficult geographical conditions such as the obstacle of the sudd to transportation. The Egyptian imperialist penetration towards Central Africa was a struggle that aimed to establish the lines of communication, maintain peaceful relations with the local tribes while providing security at the same time and expanding imperial control. Gaetano Casati mentioned that the size of the Equatorial Province was so vast that to govern and check the officials was not possible.³⁶ In addition to that, the plan to conquer Buganda was a disappointing venture from the beginning of Samuel Baker's appointment until the effective loss of the province. Thus, the plans and the results were generally conflicting.

While writing about the province of Equatoria, one should take the internal affairs in Egypt and Sudan into account. The main idea of expanding across the Nile Basin and creating an empire that stretched from Lake Victoria to the Mediterranean was not a state policy orchestrated by the Sublime Porte or by the Egyptian administration but rather a personal dream of Khedive Ismail. He was heavily influenced by his European advisors, the enthusiasm of European public opinion about the unknown parts of Africa, the intellectual interest in the exploration of these lands, and the opportunity to enhance the public image of Egypt in the eyes of Europeans. It would be a significant achievement for Ismail Pasha to be able to create an Egyptian Empire in Africa, earning him prestige. However, more resources were needed for the foundation of such a province than Egypt itself could provide. In fact, the main body – in other words, the father state- Egypt itself experienced a severe economic collapse in 1876, followed by an internal turmoil triggered by the Urabi Revolt, which eventually led to its occupation by Britain in 1882. Meanwhile, in Sudan, the Mahdi uprising from 1881 until the final defeat in 1899 which greatly affected the administration of Equatoria. In the end, Emin had to leave his province and 'was relieved' by Europeans coming to protect him from the same tragic end of Gordon to be killed by Mahdists. In short, the period that is covered in this chapter at first presents a stable run, while the chaotic events happening in the northern parts of Sudan destroyed this fairly stable era.

³⁶Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria and the Return with Emin Pasha*, 256.

A linear view of history that highlights a state's rise and fall by emphasizing an ideal period would easily perceive Emin Pasha's period in Equatoria as a linear view of history that highlights a state's rise and fall by emphasizing an ideal period would easily perceive Emin Pasha's period in Equatoria as a golden age that was destroyed by the forces of the Mahdi. This would be a simplistic and superficial understanding of his time without highlighting the external factors and developments, such as the crisis in Egypt, and the internal factors, such as both negative and positive characteristics of Emin himself, the lack of resources, and the challenge of ruling over a peripheral and remote area in tropical Africa. It was not a golden age but was an appealing case of global connections and -to a primitive degree- an attempt at colonization.

Previously, when Gordon left his position of the governorship of Equatoria in December 1876, Prout Bey replaced him. He was then followed by Mason in June 1877. Due to the fights in Ethiopia, Mason was recalled joining the battles there. After him, Ibrahim Fawzi was appointed as the governor of Equatoria by Gordon, who had become the general governor of Sudan from late 1877 to December 1879. However, Fawzi abused his position because he was involved with the slave trade and thus got arrested.³⁷

Emin arrived in Khartoum for the first time in 1875, and the next year he was appointed as the chief medical officer in Equatoria by replacing another Dr. Emin Efendi.³⁸ Gordon sent Emin twice as an emissary to the Bugandan king Mutesa I "in order to arrive at a final settlement with him." Emin used these diplomatic opportunities for zoological, botanical and geographical research. He appeared to be a tolerant, generous, and friendly negotiator and also acted as a mediator. In the end, he achieved diplomatic relations with Mutesa for the Egyptian government.³⁹ In his diaries, Emin recounts his conversations with Mutesa about religions and books. Mutesa told Emin that he preferred a British protection over an Egyptian one. Subsequently, the stay of Emin seems to have been a positive and successful experience. Although Mutesa thought that Emin was a white Christian, Emin accepted that he was white but rejected that he was Christian.⁴⁰

During these tasks, Emin proved his capacity and intelligence and gained, to some

³⁷Scmiede, "Hattüüstüva Valisi Dr. Mehmed Emin Paşa," no.49, 19 ; Gray, *A History of the Southern Sudan*, 137.

³⁸Schnitzer seemed to take this man's name if not Emine Leyla's masculine version.

³⁹Gray, *A History of the Southern Sudan*, 136.

⁴⁰John Gray, ed., "The Diaries of Emin Pasha- Extracts I," *The Uganda Journal* 25/1 (1961): 9-10.

extent, Gordon's trust and respect.⁴¹ In June 1878, Dr. Wilhelm Junker noted that Gordon asked his opinion for a suitable man for placement of the governorship of the province. Despite his objections, Gordon finally accepted the recommendation of Junker, that was Emin, in the end. Since Gordon was not entirely relying on Emin Efendi, as Emin's position was an efendi at the time, Gordon decided to position Romolo Gessi Pasha (1831-1881) as Emin's superior because he was higher in rank and status and was the governor of the neighboring province Bahr al-Ghazal at the time. At one point before his resignation in 1879, Gordon decided to remove Emin from Equatoria and appointed him to serve in Suakin. However, soon, afterward he resigned from his position of governor-generalship in Sudan. After Gordon resigned, Muhammad Rauf Pasha became the governor of Sudan and reappointed Emin as the governor of Equatoria in 1880.⁴²

In 1878, Emin Efendi was granted to be the title of "Bey" and appointed as the administrator of Equatoria within the realm of Gessi Pasha's province of Bahr al-Ghazal on July 23. After two years, Gessi left Bahr al-Ghazal, and Emin stayed on his own after his struggle with the rebellions of Zubeir Pasha – a former governor of Bahr al-Ghazal– and slave traders.⁴³

Emin replaced Ibrahim Fawzi for the position of the governor of Equatoria in 1878. His official title was "*Müdür-i Umumi-yi Bilad-ı Hatt-ı Üstüva Emin Hekim Bey*". Schmiede suggested that his achievements were countless, including the development of human dwellings from *the lowest position* to a "prosperous Ottoman city."⁴⁴ On the other hand, when we look at the achievements of Emin, it is rather difficult to claim that he actually Ottomanized Equatoria to a great extent.

4.2.2 The General Outlook of Administration

To begin with, as an eyewitness of Emin's governorship in Equatoria, a missionary and doctor Robert Felkin's thoughts and observations are noteworthy. He praises the work of Emin in Central Africa in which he was invested with all of his time and energy for the province and had to be mobile. According to him,

⁴¹Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria*, 254.

⁴²John Gray, ed., "The Diaries of Emin Pasha- Extracts IV," *The Uganda Journal* 26/2 (September 1962): 121-122.

⁴³Stigand, *Equatoria*, 168, 169.

⁴⁴Schmiede, "Hattüstüva Valisi Dr. Mehmed Emin Paşa," no.49, 19. Schmiede also makes a mistake by assuming that Emin was raised to the position of Mirliva. If we accept it, Emin should have taken the title Pasha as well.

Constant journeys had to be made, daily complaints arrived from all sides of difficulties between officials and native chiefs, and a continual round of stated duties filled up his time from sunrise to sunset. Many a man would have shrunk from undertaking the responsibility of inducing order out of such chaos. Not so, Emin Effendi. Slowly but firmly, and with ever-increasing success, he became master of the situation, and when I passed through his province for the second time in 1879, a most wonderful change had taken place. Stations had been rebuilt, discontent was changed into loyal obedience, corruption had been put down, taxation was equalized, and he had already begun the task of clearing his province from the slave-dealers who infested it. This was a difficult and dangerous undertaking, for they had rooted themselves very firmly in the soil, and most of the officials in Emin's employ were in full sympathy with them. Emin was entirely alone ; no friend or helper was near. Indeed, with the exception of a few months when Lupton Bey was his second in command, he has been alone from the day of his appointment in March 1878 until the present time. When at Lado, he also had other duties to perform ; the chief hospital of the province was there, and every morning he might be seen at 6 A.M. going around its wards or engaged in prescribing for the numerous patients.⁴⁵

Remarkably, the repetitive criticisms against the Egyptian officers continued in Casati's account as well the heroic understanding towards Emin Bey. Emin Bey was portrayed as a unique individual who was only occupied with the development of his country and performed a "masterly inactivity" identified by Casati.⁴⁶ It could mean that Emin did not engage in military activities and kept peaceful relations with the surrounding chiefs. Nonetheless, Schmiede argued that Emin had woken the province up from its sleep and enriched it there.⁴⁷

As Felkin also put it, in order to ensure control and government, Emin had to remain mobile. Not all the stations were of the same importance and meaning for the province. They functioned differently from each other. The southern ones were more loyal to the government since they were founded later, while the northern ones were open to the influences of Mahdi troops.⁴⁸ A summary of Emin Bey's journeys compiled by Felkin proves us the mobility that Emin had to engage in.⁴⁹ During the inspection tours, he stayed in every station for a few days to start agriculture,

⁴⁵Felkin, "Introduction" in *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, xv-xvi.

⁴⁶Umar Abdin Mustafa, "Emin Pasha in the Equatorial Province: A Study of Challenges and Achievements," (Master's Thesis, American University of Beirut, 1971), 64-65.

⁴⁷Schmiede, "Hattüüstüva Valisi Dr. Mehmed Emin Paşa," no.49, 16.

⁴⁸Javier Serrano Aviles, "Steamers on the Upper Nile: Stations Under Emin Pasha Equatoria," *The Uganda Journal* 52 (December 2009): 68- 69.

⁴⁹Felkin, "Introduction," xxi-xxii.

find looms for damur cloth making, and organize the internal affairs.⁵⁰

As a part of urbanization and civilization, Emin developed a town in Lado with a mosque, A Quran school, and a hospital. He was still the physician of the country himself. The flag in the figures is a symbol of the Egyptian government. Emin represented Cairo and Khartoum there through his slight control and influence. He acted as a judge and suppressor while suppressing inter-tribal rivalries.⁵¹ Since he was a civilian ruler, he was less likely a militarist but more of a mediator.

Emin organized the administration of the province, expanded the centers from 15 to 50, and divided his province into three main districts, namely, center, east, and south. He had a total of 1820 subordinates, of which 990 was his military force, 400 were translators, and the rest were other local officers.⁵² According to one view, he succeeded in "civilizing" the region, keeping security, developing agriculture and commerce, and expanding his province's borders.⁵³ This view will be discussed in the next section as well.

It is necessary to note that Emin was officially under the jurisdiction of the governor-general of Sudan and free of direct control of the Khedive.⁵⁴ It decreased his abilities and freedom in the region. Due to the distance to centers, Emin was almost free of control. His main concern was securing sub-provinces and to improve infrastructure. He aimed to downgrade these places to the rank of districts. In order to check the local representatives, inspection tours were vital all around the province. Tough the difficult topography prevented him from taking full control of the province,⁵⁵ the posts he established made the vast region governable and manageable and eased the communication and control. In fact, Emin established fifty stations, whereas Baker established three, and Gordon around fifteen. In a unique article about the stations of the Equatorial Province, Aviles asserted the methodological problems to find the exact geophysical spot of these posts. These places were also alternatively referred to as "camps, posts, stations, and forts."⁵⁶

⁵⁰Gray, *A History of the Southern Sudan*, 141

⁵¹Gray, *A History of the Southern Sudan*, 140-141 ; "Her merkez-i müdiriyette bir ser-tabib ve bir ser-mühendis vardır, her müdiriyette bir hastane, bir zabıta konağı, ve bir de meclis konağı vardır. Bunlardan başka idareyi teftiş için bir müfettiş, iki müfettiş muavini ve köprülere ve kanallara iska'ye nezaret için iki mühendis ve sıhhat-ı ammeyi teftiş için iki tabib me'murdur." in *Mısır Salnamesi*, 6.

⁵²Kavas, "Osmanlı Mısırına Bağlı Ekvator Vilayeti'nin Prusya Asıllı Valisi," 112.

⁵³"Emin Paşa," *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, vol.15, 151.

⁵⁴Gray, *A History of the Southern Sudan*, 150.

⁵⁵Kirchen, *Emin Pascha*, 81-84.

⁵⁶Aviles, "Steamers on the Upper Nile," 66.

As already pointed out, Emin was almost independent in the province. He also did not have an assistant until Vita Hassan joined his staff in 1881.⁵⁷ Vita Hassan was a Tunisian Jew and a pharmaceutical dispenser who served under Emin Pasha for ten years and marched with him in 1889 at Bagamoyo.⁵⁸ He was one of the most useful among the staff of Emin Pasha in *Hatt-ı İstiva*. He accompanied Emin in his journeys along the stations. Apart from his personal experience, Vita Hassan published work in German. The chief biographer of Emin Pasha, Sweitzer, quoted from Vita Hassan about the regular activities of Emin in these journeys. According to Vita Hassan,

Emin Bey inspected the books at the Store Depôts, had uniforms served out to the troops, and made inquiries about the state of affairs by asking each one whether he had any reason to be dissatisfied. In this way he heard complaints and grievances, which he inquired into and redressed them to serve the Government faithfully and obediently, promoted deserving soldiers so as to encourage them and so spur the others on the follow their example – in a word, he interested himself with wonderful zeal and fatherly care in the most trifling matters, with the object of fostering content and maintaining order among the troops and inhabitants.⁵⁹

In terms of the administration, Emin relied on a few different officials. The officers were mainly *kutiria*, armed Dongolan irregular troops from Northern Sudan; drago-
mans, armed locals; *jehadia*, the regular Egyptian troops armed with Remington
rifles. The cloth and food were necessary for these men, and Khartoum was unable
to provide enough.⁶⁰ Remarkably, even under such isolated conditions, the province
could produce a self-sufficient amount of ammunition and clothing.

On a regular day in Lado, he would first visit the hospital and see the patients. Then, he would come to his divan (see Figure 4.3) and receive the messages and govern the country. After completing the official work, he could be occupied with scientific research.⁶¹ The description of Thomas Heazle Parke is valuable for us

⁵⁷Stigand, *Equatoria*, 169.

⁵⁸Hill, *Biographical Dictionary of the Sudan*, 374.

⁵⁹Quoted in George Sweitzer, *Emin Pasha His Life and Work* (Westminster Archibald Constable and Co, 1898), 99.

⁶⁰Stigand, *Equatoria*, 171.

⁶¹Stigand, *Equatoria*, 174-175. Felkin gives more information about these officers. According to him, "Danagla is the plural of Dongolai = Nubians from Dongola. They were once the armed employees of the Khartoum merchants, and when the trade in ivory was taken over by the Egyptian Government,

to have more visual observations about Emin Pasha and the governmental staff. According to Parke,

Emin Pasha turned out in full uniform today: this consists of an old blue tunic with epaulettes and a few brass buttons, decorated with a crescent and a star ; also a sword and blue trousers with a red stripe. All his soldiers are dressed in uniform-coat and trousers made of tan-colored cotton cloth, which is grown and prepared in his own province. The buttons are beautifully made from shells, each of which is pierced with two holes and sewn on with cotton thread. They all wear leather sandals, as there are many mimosa and other thorny trees in the country. They wear hats (neatly woven) of grass, with a small conical crown and a broad leaf to keep off the sun. They are all armed with Remingtons.⁶²

Nonetheless, Emin gradually expanded the province and convinced the tribes to accept an imperial protection. It proved impossible to seize the Lacustrine kingdoms, so Emin turned his attention to the fertile Mangbetu area, the upper basin of Wele. Rohl was potentially the richest and most important district.⁶³

Emin was able to obtain a 5-6000 € surplus and proved self-supporting of the province in 1881.⁶⁴ Felkin further demonstrated the successes of Emin Pasha's rule in 1882. According to him, peace and prosperity were established; slave traders were exiled; the undisciplined Egyptian officers were replaced with faithful natives; previously independent tribal districts turned out to be stations through negotiations ; camel and oxen were introduced. Emin Pasha achieved to make an 8000 € profit from a province with a 32.000 € deficit.⁶⁵ Felkin's overly optimistic image of the province might be due to his "admiration and respect" for Emin Pasha; Felkin referred to him as an unselfish man who deserves honor for how much he achieved.⁶⁶

In terms of the relations with the local inhabitants, Felkin explains Emin's good

they were enlisted as irregular soldiers. A company of them is called a *hutteria*. " Dragomans " are freed slaves, who are employed as police soldiers, and negotiate with the natives. The *basingers* are armed slaves who accompany the traders as an escort; their gunboys are called *farukh*, which name is also given to mercenaries hired as irregular troops at Khartoum." in Schweinfurth et al., *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 409.

⁶²Parke, *My Personal Experiences in Equatorial Africa*, 224.

⁶³Gray, *A History of the Southern Sudan*, 144-148.

⁶⁴Ibid., 151.

⁶⁵Felkin, " Introduction," xvi.

⁶⁶Ibid., xvii-xviii.

Figure 4.3 Emin Pasha's Divan



Source: Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria*, 306.

relations with the native population of the Equatoria again in a positive way. He reports that:

Emin's dealings with the natives are worthy of notice. He has always been patient in the extreme with them; he has a high opinion both of their intelligence and their capabilities; he respects their peculiarities, their modes of thought, and their beliefs, and the influence which he is able to exert upon native chiefs is very remarkable. His dealings with Mtesa and Kabrega were characterized not only by a keen sense of justice but also by a thorough appreciation of their various needs. Mtesa had the highest respect for him, and on several occasions, he expressed to me his appreciation of the way in which Emin had preserved his independence when it was threatened by the injudicious action of Nur Bey, who had marched to his (Mtesa's) capital with three hundred Egyptian soldiers with the intention of annexing Uganda to Egypt. This action of Nur Bey's, by the way, was in direct opposition to Gordon Pasha's orders. Emin's power over the natives may also be gathered from the fact that he entered into friendly relationships with so many of the petty native chiefs whose districts adjoined his province. One after another began to trade with him, and sooner or later, with very rare exceptions, they asked him to extend Egyptian authority over their lands, and without a shot being fired, they became tributary chiefs. They recognized that it was to their advantage to do so, for, once having placed themselves under his beneficent rule, they knew well that their district was safe, both from the slave trade and from the raids which the Egyptian troops

so frequently made into the outlying districts.⁶⁷

Emin was "ranked among philanthropists of the highest type" whose labors affected "to civilize the people of Equatorial Africa" via "continuing the General Gordon's work."⁶⁸ These are the words from the Ottoman archives from New York Herald dated 01/04/1888. This piece is an example of the case that was mentioned in Ebuzziya Tevfik's *Nevsal-i Marifet*, in which the author criticized European newspapers for equalizing Emin with Livingstone or Baker. Nonetheless, this piece from the archive considered Emin equal to Gordon, Gessi, and Lupton.⁶⁹ We can assume that the author of the article from *Nevsal-i Marifet* criticized the newspapers not for glorifying the actions of Emin as a governor or scientist but due to his deceptive behaviors, such as showing off himself as Muslim and Turk and seizing the properties of the widow of Ismail Hakkı Pasha. These European authors apparently were not concerned with issues related to Emin with Emine Leyla or Emillie. It is remarkable that in accordance with the time's vocabulary or the spirit, Emin was undeniably the civilizer of Equatoria.

Some authors portrayed Emin as a calm, clean, and modest person whose only occupation was to think of the welfare of his people and who could sacrifice himself for their cause.⁷⁰ This view appears to be naïve and even absurd in the sense that it disregards the personal motivations of Emin and tends to present him as the "white man" with the burden of enlightening the dark-skinned people of the heart of Africa.

4.2.3 "Civilizing Mission" in Equatoria

What Emin did for civilization is an important dimension of his period that we ought to discuss. The New York Herald in the aforementioned article suggests that Emin had "a love for the unknown" and "wandering," which I can claim made him very suitable for the position as governor of Equatoria. The newspaper stated that he ruled over his province in peace, a claim that would be an exaggeration to characterize Emin's governorship. We know that his time was relatively peaceful, but not to the extent that he achieved a complete law and order.

⁶⁷Ibid., xxiv-xxv.

⁶⁸BOA, HR.SYS.59/ 35 (2 April 1888).

⁶⁹"Doktor Şinîçer Nam-ı Diğer Emin Paşa," *Nevsal-i Marifet*, 212.

⁷⁰Stigand, *Equatoria*, 174-175.

Emin Pasha's words reflect an ambitious ruler who was willing to take the necessary steps to "civilize" his country. Here, he shall speak:

Whilst in the south, civilization is slowly advancing, and land after land is being opened up to trade, our fertile mountain districts lie fallow, and with folded arms, we watch the advance of commerce from south to north when we ought to be up and doing, and striving continually to open up new routes for ourselves. Would it not, then, be better to break loose from the old Utopian system, to say farewell to philanthropic whims, and to adapt the administration of these fruitful lands to the development of their resources and to the supply of their needs? Should these few words give an impulse in that direction, their object will be more than realized.⁷¹

One of the most important enriching and developing -but not 'civilizing'- forces Emin utilized was agriculture. He was optimistic about the agricultural production to blossom the country, so he planted many seeds which he brought and received from Egypt. He paid special attention to the plantation of orange, lemon, cotton, grape, pawpaw, and guava trees, the latter two originating from America.⁷² The first attempts for development were practiced in Makaraka and Mambettu-land. While Lado was getting the corn from Khartoum during Gordon's governorship, Emin's achievement lay in making Lado self-sufficient in terms of producing corn. He promoted cultivation to a good extent. The gardens of Lado, Makaraka, and Kakua were full of different kinds of vegetables.⁷³

Emin worked on various possible ways to develop the country. Due to the geographical position of the province, the stations were almost isolated except for the navigation along the Nile. Hence, Emin Pasha wanted to open a road to the East towards the coasts of the Red Sea or the Indian Ocean.⁷⁴ It appeared that the idea to find a road to Equatoria from East Africa was an essential policy of Khedive Ismail Pasha, though.⁷⁵ It may be a part of the empire building of Ismail Pasha. It would enhance the mobility of travelers, scientists, or maybe missionaries. The correspondences of Emin Pasha reveal the isolated state of himself and his province

⁷¹Schweinfurth et al., *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 123.

⁷²Stigand, *Equatoria*, 175 ; Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria*, 257.

⁷³Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria*, 256-257.

⁷⁴Felkin, "Introduction", xx-xxi.

⁷⁵Moore-Harrell, *Gordon and the Sudan*, 122. Harrell also mentioned that the Sudanese government could not construct a telegraph line because of the expenses and natural obstacles, 125.

in many instances. Thus, he wanted to develop networks for his province as well.

The soil was of particular interest. He tried to improve the roads, employ animals for transportation. Emin assumed that he began irrigation through the steam engine for the first time in Central African history.⁷⁶ Casati thought that if outside factors would not have caused his leave, he would have ameliorated the country.⁷⁷

Another striking “civilizing mission” that he bore was “scientific medicine.”⁷⁸ It can be viewed as a medical mission. Matching perfectly with his early studies, his idea was not only to develop the province but also to run the hospital in terms of the principles and methods of modern medicine.

Let us look at Emin Pasha’s actions in more detail. The agricultural development during the Emin Pasha period in Equatoria needs more elaborated explanation. Emin experimented with the seeds of rice, maize, grain, sugar, cotton, tobacco, and nutmeg, but not all of them were successful. He complained that they could only cultivate in the stations because “the black population understands nothing of these new crops.”⁷⁹ Some sort of sesame and nut oils were also introduced as the land is fertile. He said that “Especially in the south, a vast and rich field is open for commerce and industry; and let us hope, for the welfare of the country, that no delay will be made in using the materials which nature offers in such abundance.”⁸⁰ Major Casati described Equatoria as “one of the richest provinces of Central Africa for the excellence and quantity of its products, for the abundance of water, healthy climate, and great natural beauty.”⁸¹

Emin Bey also mentioned the progress of locals in agricultural production. He stated that,

The love of gardening and cultivation has increased among my people during the past year, and I receive letters daily begging me for seeds and plants. Our soldiers and officers are now quite aware that a well-tended garden affords not only amusement but tangible advantages. When, however, the plant or fruit arrives at maturity, it is consumed—you know the

⁷⁶Schweinfurth et al., *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 420.

⁷⁷Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria*, 257.

⁷⁸Felkin, “Introduction,” xix.

⁷⁹Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria*, 266, 269.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 269.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, 258.

Negro character—no one dreams of reserving seed for the next planting, for is not Emin Bey in Lado in order to provide seed ? I have hundreds of times sent seeds to the people and asked them to preserve some ; they have over and over again promised to do so, but when sowing time comes, they invariably apply to me for a fresh supply. They have, however, improved a little lately, and with time and patience, I think I shall bring them to better ways.⁸²

As an industrial good of tropical Africa, rubber was also gathered by natives that could be utilized for commercial reasons. Among the locals, Mambettu people proved the most gatherer though their rubber seemed to be less qualified.⁸³ One can say that Emin Pasha was a promoter of the introduction of various commercial and agricultural products in Equatoria, which in return enhanced the economy.

Trade is another noteworthy aspect of the development. In terms of the ivory trade that the government monopolized during Gordon's time, Emin Pasha said that "The monopoly system which is established in the Bahr al Abiad ("White Nile") province, by being an obstacle to the *colonization* of the country, prevents a regular and steady increase of the revenue from agricultural and commercial sources, whilst, on the other hand, it helps to augment the expenses of the country."⁸⁴

Emin Pasha also mentions the absence of apiculture in his province. He says that the locals do not consume honey. According to him, the quantity of honey is substantial, but the wax is not utilized. He reproved that "during 1882, there was only one steamer arrived in the Equatorial provinces! If merchants were allowed to buy wax, the government would benefit by it".⁸⁵ He further proposes that the skins of animals such as cattle, sheep, goats, buffaloes, antelopes, and giraffes as potential trade goods since they were not utilized for such commercial purposes. According to him, fur was another possible good to be produced.⁸⁶

This short passage from Emin Bey's reports shows how enthusiastic yet on the ground he is. He reported that:

I have been aware for a long time of the great advantage that would

⁸²Schweinfurth et al., *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 424.

⁸³Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria*, 268.

⁸⁴Quoted in Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria*, 259.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 261.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 261-262.

attend the introduction of tame buffaloes here, but although many of them are to be seen on the roads to Khartoum, I have been unable as yet to possess one. The necessary conditions of their existence -viz, heat, water, mud, and bitter gramineous plant- are so abundant in this country that these animals would supplement the laziness of men and could very well supplant the ox, a more delicate animal whilst female buffaloes might supply milk abundantly. While trade in live animals, especially in birds, is carried on with success on some parts of the Western and Eastern coasts of Africa – wonderfully adapted for traffic with Europe by their favorable situation- our territory, rich in all sorts of animals, has not yet been thought of for this business. By regulating navigation in a convenient way, the trade from here to Khartoum and Berber and through the desert to Suakin would present few difficulties.⁸⁷

As mentioned earlier, trade was developed in the province as well as the surrounding territories before the chaos broke out in northern parts of Sudan and Khartoum, the administrative center of Egyptian Sudan. In another passage, Emin Bey touches upon Equatorial trade in the Lakes region:

In the district between the lakes, an active trade has been developed; it has been set on foot by external influences and is promoted by the inhabitants' love of commerce. Intercourse of the different tribes with one another, as well as with the Arab traders, is resulting in constant efforts to open up new trade routes and to create and satisfy fresh wants. The Egyptian territories in the north, however, have remained in these respects very far behind. In spite of our occupation of the northern region, which has now lasted for many years, no progress has been effected, for the unfortunate system of well-guarded frontiers and a monopoly in trade, up till now, looked upon as the only protection against kidnapping and slave dealing, has only prevented the natural development of our countries, and has done little enough to abolish the purchase and sale of slaves.⁸⁸

In addition to all this, Emin offered to supply the European zoological gardens with exotic animals as well.⁸⁹ Apparently, he aimed to actively exploit or utilize the natural sources of the region. For the mining, iron was the key element because the good, qualified iron was abundant and common. Mambetu and Makraka people were very talented for smithing iron. He admits that he has no knowledge of the other

⁸⁷Ibid, 264.

⁸⁸Schweinfurth et al., *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 123.

⁸⁹Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria*, 264.

elements whatsoever. Emin admitted that "we are rather inclined to believe that great treasures of this kind are hidden under the earth, principally in the east."⁹⁰

Emin Pasha was not a dreamer less than Ismail Pasha with all his achievements and disappointments. Curiously, Emin dreamed of an independent Equatoria separated from the northern parts of Sudan. The suppression of the slave trade was still the topic when he wrote,

If the Government, besides the exploitation of the interior of Africa for pecuniary ends, which seems to have been the cue latterly, is really bent on carrying on a humanitarian mission there—and that was certainly Ismail Pasha's intention—it can, in my opinion, only be done by uniting the Negro districts—the Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Equatorial Provinces—and separating them entirely from the Arab portions of the Sudan. Then a capable European Governor must be found for them, who has a love for the work and will take an interest in the country, not one who does not care whether "blue men or green live by the Albert Lake." He should have three to four steamers at his disposal and should be commissioned to work out the details of the organization, of the exploitation of the country, of the disposal of the products, and of matters affecting the slave trade in conjunction with us, the local Governors. ⁹¹

Overall, Emin Pasha was a responsible and improved governor who was preoccupied with the governmental, administrative, and economic conditions of his province. He evidently had a "civilizing mission" in mind and a "burden" on his shoulders expressed in the terms of the late 19th century mentality. His studies and the detailed explanations of the places where he visited are worth mentioning because it reflects the Enlightenment philosophy that aimed to observe, record and study anything. For example, when he visited Albert Nyanza, he described the people and the place in detail as a mere observer. As the governor, he was allowed to find a station there called either Kushi or Wadelai there. In terms of the scientist layer of his identity, he noted details about the geography, language, clothing, facial structures, and physical appearance of the local population's commercial goods, villages along with what he had done.⁹² The tone of his language demonstrated a scientific, dispassionate, and objective attitude. He might take these notes carefully as he sent them to European journals. Compared to the common biased language

⁹⁰Quoted in Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria*, 270.

⁹¹Schweinfurth et al., *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 425

⁹²Sweitzer, *Emin Pasha*, 70-77, 106.

of the late 19th century, his writing style flashed a minimum level of prejudice against the natives of Central Africa. This tone of language contributes to my earlier speculation that Emin Bey turned native.

As already known, Emin was an enthusiastic person in terms of scientific research. He benefited from the multiple journeys that he took along the country for the sake of scientific purposes. He collected specimens of many kinds of plants, birds, and fossils. He also measured the distances between the stations.⁹³ It is possible to state that Emin was not only a governor or a scientist but also a traveler who used every opportunity to travel around, observe and experience the tropical Africa. These journeys did not only constitute crucial parts of his administration but also chances to observe, learn, enlist, and inform. His journals and diaries are full of description of the peoples, places and cultures, languages of tropical Africa.⁹⁴ One of Emin's projects was to sketch an ethnographical map of his province, but he could not have the time to make it.⁹⁵ I think the scientific efforts and systematic writings of Emin can be regarded as a kind of encyclopedia (*salname* in the Ottoman context) with the motivation of Enlightenment ideas. Apart from his own interest in learning about the peoples and places of Equatorial Africa, he called for other more famous and informant explorers of his time to come and visit Equatoria.⁹⁶

However, the actual conditions were not easy in the farthest province of Egyptian Sudan. In a journey in 1881, Emin seems to have been in urgent need or lacking the means, such as paper, to write a long report, preventing him from compiling the plans of routes and positions but only giving an idea of his journey. He says that,

Besides putting the service in order, inspecting works done, supervising the officials, and examining the measures taken for the protection and amelioration of the negro population, I have been some pecuniary use to the Government, inasmuch as I deposited at the Government stores about 10 cwt. of ivory and five or six pounds of ostrich feathers, - presents given me by negro chiefs in return for such as I bestowed on them.⁹⁷

⁹³Ibid., 90.

⁹⁴See Schweinfurth et al., *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*.

⁹⁵Ibid., 454.

⁹⁶In his letter, Emin calls Schweinfurth to visit his province. Ibid., 416.

⁹⁷Sweitzer, *Emin Pasha*, 111.

Lastly, we should have a look at the anecdote of Emin Pasha and a chief of a “cannibal” tribal. This anecdote is an example of the encounter between a white man and an African native. It was cited by Schmiede, revealing his perception of Emin Pasha as the "Muslim civilizer of Central Africa". According to this narrative, after expanding the border of the Province towards the territories of Congo for the sake of the Ottoman Empire, Emin Pasha encountered the dwarf and cannibal tribe of Congo from Monbuttu. In his meeting with Munso –the chief of the tribe– Emin Pasha condemns and detests this custom.⁹⁸

This section discussed Emin Pasha’s government of *Hatt-ı İstiva* in terms of civilization, developments that Emin Pasha imagined and realized, whereby it was the locality that conditioned and dominated the administration, but not the empire with itself. Indeed, this most remote region of Equatoria required a quasi-independent administration from centers such as Khartoum, Cairo, and Istanbul. Centralization was among the most challenging goals that could be achieved. Thus, the central government of Cairo and Khartoum learned the lesson to expect little from the province, which was the southernmost border of Ottoman Africa geographically.

⁹⁸Schmiede, “Hattüüstüva Valisi Dr. Mehmed Emin Paşa,” no.50, 30-31.

5. THE BROKEN DREAMS IN EQUATORIA- EMIN PASHA RELIEF EXPEDITION

In the introduction of this thesis, I underlined the importance of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition for many aspects of the colonial history of Central Africa, the weakening of Emin Pasha's developments in Equatorial Province, and the range of sources it offered to researchers. I also asserted that in order to understand the Expedition and the matters occurred after the Expedition, the earlier formation period and Emin Pasha's governance should have been examined. This chapter follows the previous chapter in terms of chronology and issues the Relief Expedition and the popularization of the Expedition in European and Ottoman contexts.

Can we speak of the loyalty of Emin Pasha to the Egyptian and so the Ottoman government in Central Africa? What were the underlying causes of the Expedition and its main objectives? What kind of an impact did this Expedition left for the province? These are the main points which will be discussed in this chapter.

5.1 Challenges after the Mahdi Uprising

Emin Pasha began the most challenging parts of his government in 1880s. Early in 1880, after the resignation of Gordon from the general governorship of Sudan, Emin Pasha began to feel insecure about his position in Equatoria and the disruption of his communication with the outside world. He was even lacking enough paper to be able to send detailed letters, as I cited above.¹ However, an instance shows the attachment of Emin Pasha to the province. As already mentioned, Gordon then wanted to appoint Emin to Suakin, but it could not be realized. Vita Hassan speaks of him explaining why Emin did not like the change "For he liked his province, and it was hard for him to have a break from his scientific research and the study of

¹Sweitzer, *Emin Pasha*, 78-79.

the country."² When Gordon left the position, Emin was able to stay in Equatoria, thanks to his reappointment by Gordon's successor Muhammad Rauf. In 1882, we see that Emin Pasha was complaining about the government. He wrote that "But it seems as if the Government did not value this province much; for instance, during the year 1882, only one steamer was sent here—that which brought me from Khartoum—."³ From June 1882 to March 1883, there was neither a supply nor any letter nor a steamer coming from Khartoum to Equatoria. Hence, Emin complained about the neglect of the government. He added "Hitherto my personal influence has kept things in order and made the Negroes my allies, but I begin to be tired of it, for I see that the Government does not understand us, and never will; and if I retire, things will fall to pieces here in a very short time, and then they will have a nice task before them."⁴

Respectively, after the final supply in March 1883, Emin Pasha and his province remained isolated for five years until April 1888, when Stanley's Expedition arrived.⁵ One can infer that even in a crisis situation similar to this, Equatoria still managed to remain stable; thus, the province was, in fact, self-sufficient for five years at the Pearl of Africa.

For a long time, Emin could not receive news about the Mahdi uprising in 1881. Even when he heard of the news in 1883, he was not particularly cautious of Mahdi. Dr. Junker's notes present an Emin Pasha who sought the help of Khartoum and wanted there to be more active. He said,

I am curious to know how long the central government at Khartoum will remain a passive spectator of these things on the Ghazal and whether it cannot bring itself to understand that to this day, the Bahr al Ghazal only acknowledges Egyptian rule to the extent of receiving merchandise, money and guns and power from Khartoum and sending ivory in return.⁶

Before the Mahdi crisis outbreak, Emin began to lose the initial hope for advancing his country in May 1881. His letter to Schweinfurt asserted that he accepted the

²Quoted in *Ibid.*, 80.

³Schweinfurth et al., *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 424.

⁴*Ibid.*, 426.

⁵Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, vol 1, 445.

⁶John Gray, ed., "The Diaries of Emin Pasha-Extracts V," *The Uganda Journal* 27/1 (March 1963), 1.

struggle for development he aimed to pursue. He wrote that "under the present conditions, no real progress can be made, or at least it must be so slow that decades will hardly suffice to set upon a solid basis the work which has hitherto been done with so much trouble."⁷ For this reason, he proposed the immigration of Chinese workers to the area. He begged Schweinfurt to convince the Egyptian government of this project. He once said,

It is possible for Central Africa to be opened up, but it can only be accomplished by means of the Chinese and our beautiful country, with all its rich resources, and with the possibility is afforded of establishing good communications between each settlement by means of such workmen, would repay a thousandfold such an undertaking. This idea has been one of my dearest projects for four years, but I kept silent because I hardly expected to obtain a single response to such wishes. Now, however, that you have given me permission to come to you for advice, it is different, for your influence in Government circles in Egypt will attain much that 'un certain Emin Bey' would strive for in vain.⁸

The Mahdi troops could conquer Northern Sudan and Bahr al-Ghazal, but Equatoria was still secure from Mahdi troops. However, Emin received a letter from Karamallah, who occupied Bahr al-Ghazal, that indicated the danger for Equatoria since the Mahdi forces wanted to have Equatoria surrender after their conquest of Bahr al-Ghazal in May 1884. Following this letter, Karamallah began to approach Lado. Facing this threat, Emin had to transfer his administration, and his forces to the southern parts of the province called the locality known as Dufile. Meanwhile, he organized the defense of the province from both north and south up until Wadelai. Surprisingly, Karamallah did not move further but retreated to Bahr al-Ghazal.⁹

The Prime Minister of Egypt, Nubar Pasha, sent a historically crucial letter to Emin Pasha in May 1885. He was authorized to retire from his position. The letter is as follows,

To Emin Bey, Commandant at Gondokoro. The state of insurrection in the Sudan compelled His Highness' government to abandon that country. Consequently, we cannot bring you to help. On the other hand, being

⁷Schweinfurth et al., *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 417.

⁸Ibid., 417.

⁹P. M. Holt, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan*, 2nd edition (Oxford University Press, 1970), 216.

ignorant as to the condition in which you and your garrisons exactly are, we cannot give you any instructions as to what you have to do, and if we ask you to explain your position – that of your garrisons- so as to give you instructions thereon, that will take a great deal of time and the delays will aggravate your position. The object of this letter, which comes to you by way of Zanzibar, through the kindness of Sir John Kirk, H.B.M.'S Consul-General at Zanzibar, is therefore to give you *full liberty of action*. . . . I repeat that you have *carte blanche* to act in the best way for your own safety and that of the garrisons you would take.¹⁰

Emin would be able to receive this letter only in the next year. In 1886, a missionary in Uganda, Mackay, also informed Emin about the foundation of the Congo Free State and the destruction of the Egyptian government in Khartoum. Mackay wrote to Emin that,

You have the key of the whole neighborhood in your hands. You know quite well how powerless all these lands are. It is very necessary for the peace of East Africa that a good governor, such as you are, should take over the whole territory of the Nile Sources. I know quite well that you could bring all this about if you took it in hand. You must, however, be supported, and England will, without doubt, help you. If you say so...¹¹

This letter clearly manifested of British policies related to employing Emin Pasha. The reply of Emin Pasha indicated an acceptance of this offer. Emin said that “If England intends to occupy these lands and to *civilize* them, I am ready to hand over the government into the hands of England, and I believe thereby I should be doing a *great service to mankind* and leading an advance to civilization.”¹² However, later on, when Stanley offered Emin Pasha entry into the British service, he declined.

The real executive power of the Egyptian government and the governor Emin Pasha in the region was limited. It may have been higher compared to the crisis period after 1881. For Emin Pasha’s situation, the eyewitness and a member of the Relief Expedition, Parke’s comments are particularly noteworthy. Witnessing the weakness of Emin Pasha, Parke suggested that “He has evidently no power to lead off his men in any direction – he has merely a voice among them, perhaps a little more influential

¹⁰ John Gray, ed., “The Diaries of Emin Pasha- Extracts VI,” *The Uganda Journal* 27/2 (1963): 150.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 158-159.

¹² *Ibid.*, 160.

than the average.”¹³ Furthermore, the head of the Expedition, Stanley, noted similar cases in that he finds the behavior of Emin Pasha awkward and Emin Pasha himself as not representing an "ideal governor" for him.¹⁴

5.2 Background and Unfolding of the Expedition

In 1886, Felkin began to excite the Scottish Geographical Society by informing the society about the news of Emin Pasha, who was in need of rescue. It was a triggering moment creating a media frenzy within European public opinion. From now on, "The whole civilized world becomes keenly interested" in saving Emin, as the discussions concerning it in Britain could prove.¹⁵ At this moment, one should question the motives and subjective reasons for Felkin –and also Junker –to declare Emin’s urgent condition to the European societies. Were they highly affected by Emin Pasha’s hard work in Equatoria, or did they suppose he could benefit from becoming an intermediary for the philanthropic protection of Emin Pasha and Egypt’s "civilizing" government in Central Africa or the hidden colonialist actions? As they were already working for colonial governments in Central Africa, these reasons that I highlighted could actually be stemmed from their contact with Emin Pasha and their knowledge about the importance of the Upper Nile region through their experiences.

As the Egyptian government was in a state of crisis, the politicians lost interest in the affairs of the Upper Nile. Emin was by himself, and under these conditions, he preferred to serve the British while keeping his administrative position.¹⁶ Therefore, Emin sent a letter to British Mackay in 1886, revealing that he would submit his province to England if they intended to occupy it.¹⁷

Emin Pasha Relief Expedition is a well-researched topic as the sources regarding it offer a lot.¹⁸ As researchers already exploit the European sources so I would like to combine the witnesses of the Expedition with the Ottoman sources about it. It may

¹³Parke, *My Personal Experiences in Equatorial Africa*, 228.

¹⁴Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, vol 1, 423.

¹⁵Stigand, *Equatoria*, 178.

¹⁶Ibid., 179.

¹⁷Kirchen, *Emin Pascha*, 119.

¹⁸For example, Iain R. Smith, *The Emin Pasha Relief Expedition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); Ruth Rempel, "Exploration, Knowledge, and Empire in Africa: The Emin Pasha Relief Expedition, 1886-1890," (PhD Diss., University of Toronto, 2000).

help us to understand the Ottoman perspectives about the issues of Central Africa and colonization.

Henry Stanley was the head of the Expedition. From his point of view, he already had a reputation with his *How I Found Livingstone*; he now aimed to repeat that by relieving Emin Pasha.¹⁹ From the British point of view, the guilt that Gladstone felt when they could not rescue Gordon caused an immediate action to rescue Emin Pasha.²⁰ From Emin's point of view, this Expedition made him famous; owing to his celebrity status, he could be granted many fellowships and honorary degrees from various universities and societies in Europe.²¹ Although, it also endangered his position as the governor of Equatoria and his influence in the region.

Schmiede stated that Emin Pasha did not need to be relieved. In order to invade or annex Pasha's country into Congo, European capitalists and colonizers, in collaboration with the Belgian king Leopold II planned to take him out of Equatoria. By quoting Emin's words, the author stated that Europeans aimed to turn Equatoria into no man's land to enable its possession by themselves.²² This suggestion seems right as Stanley also implied that Emin and his troops were not in a terrible and urgent condition to be relieved from. For example, after they met, surprisingly, Emin Pasha helped Stanley and the Expedition members and even provided them with clothes.²³

The Scottish Geographical Society, which planned the Expedition, explained the reasons for the Expedition due to the unusual situation of Emin Pasha. Its statement from November 1886 is as follows:

Having regard to the long and various services rendered during the past twelve years by Dr. Emin Bey in Central Africa, not only to geography, but to other cognate sciences, both by his exertions and by the help he has constantly given to explorers, the Council considers that he well deserves the support and assistance of the British government.

The council does not suggest any military expedition for his relief but is of the opinion that a pacific relief expedition might be successfully undertaken by her majesty's government.

¹⁹Meyers, "Henry Morton Stanley and Emin Pasha," 77.

²⁰Shee, "Dr. Eduard Schnitzer," 54.

²¹Ibid., 55.

²²Schmiede, "Hattüüstüva Valisi Dr. Mehmed Emin Paşa," no.50, 33.

²³Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, vol 1, 422.

It is evident that an expedition of this character, passing through hitherto unexplored districts, would contribute not a little to our geographical knowledge of Africa.²⁴

The Society emphasized the vital importance of Emin Pasha in terms of his scientific achievements. Apart from that, the statement also pointed to the humanitarian aspect of the Expedition. Doubtlessly, Felkin was right about the significant position of Emin Pasha and his province for the European colonial powers, as I quoted at the beginning of this chapter. Germany and Belgium were interested in the Expedition since they thought that Emin held the key to the whole territory –the pearl of Africa– in his hands. Equatoria was seen as the property of Emin. That is why it was him that was to be approached in order to seize Equatoria.²⁵ Mackay’s letter to Emin also set forth the importance of Emin Pasha’s position, as already discussed.

Until the Relief Expedition, Emin Pasha was the only one who continued to control his province while Khartoum, Darfur and Bahr al-Ghazal were captured by Mahdists. He was abandoned by the Egyptian government, was forced to move his headquarters to Wadelai close to Lake Albert in 1885, and waited for news, orders, and relief in the heart of Africa. When the news of his situation reached Europe, he was seen as the second Gordon who needed to be relieved. William Mackinnon – the businessman whose British East Africa Company enabled the colonization of East Africa– organized an expedition led by Stanley, whom King Leopold II employed at the time. The Expedition set out in 1887 and left there in December 1889 and eventually became probably the best-documented expedition of 19th century Africa.²⁶

King Leopold II already possessed Congo and wanted Stanley to cross over the unexplored regions called Ituri rainforests in the Congo State. He also asked Stanley to offer Emin to get employed under Belgian service while keeping his province as the governor. He wanted Emin to strive to keep communication open between Nile and Congo Rivers.²⁷ Henry Stanley made this offer to Emin Pasha, including the other two offers. The First one was that the Egyptian government asked Emin and his men to return and get paid. If Emin would not accept this offer, the government would not be responsible for what happened to him. The other offer, apart from Leopold’s

²⁴Felkin, “Introduction,” xxiii.

²⁵Kirchen, *Emin Pascha*, 110; Volker Riehl, “Who actually was Emin Pasha- A German Explorer’s Contribution to the Birth of Uganda,” *The Uganda Journal* 44, (1997): 94-95.

²⁶Smith, *Emin Pasha Relief Expedition*, vii-viii.

²⁷Hochschild, *King Leopold’s Ghost*, 97; Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, vol 1, 411.

one, was that Emin would be settled on the northeastern shore of Lake Victoria and then try to communicate with the Imperial British East Africa Company.²⁸

Emin refused the offer of Belgium as well and proved his loyalty to the Egyptian government. He replied that “First of all, my duty is to Egypt. While I am here, the provinces belong to Egypt and remain her property until I retire. When I depart, they become ‘no man’s land.’ I cannot strike my flag in such a manner and change the red for the blue. I have served the first for thirty years; the latter I never saw.”²⁹

Notably, German government charged Carl Peters – the leading explorer and officer of German East Africa– to relieve Emin. However, at the time he left, Emin was already relieved by Stanley. Remarkably, *Resimli Gazete* paid attention to this Expedition and published two articles in a sequence called "Emin Pasha Relief Expedition under the leadership of Doctor Carl Peters."³⁰

Other than Germany, The French government also planned to save Junker and Schnitzer but eventually did not make any effort. Britain apparently was more interested in the “no man’s land” than the person of Emin Pasha.³¹ The involvement of various governments also prove the attraction that the province of Equatoria have taken for the colonization of Central Africa.

Stanley first came to Cairo and met Nubar Pasha. Nubar Pasha wanted Emin back in Cairo as the Government lost Sudan to the Mahdists. Nubar Pasha allowed the use of their flag by the Expedition. He also wanted Emin to bring utmost ivory.³² Stanley and Emin could meet on 29 April 1888. However, contrary to British expectations, the forces of Emin were not willing to leave as some of them were natives, and some were pro-Urabi rebels who did not want to go back to Cairo. Hence, a mutiny occurred in Dufile that prisoned Emin, Jephson, and Stanley’s men. Meanwhile, the Mahdists, under the leadership of Ömer Salih, succeeded in reaching Emin Pasha’s headquarters in Dufile, which resulted in a military confrontation. Due to the Mahdist threat, the rebels in Dufile released Emin Pasha and Jephson after their selected governor was killed in the battle against the Mahdists. On the other

²⁸Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, vol 1, 410-411.

²⁹Ibid., 416.

³⁰“Doktor (Karl Petros)’un Riyaseti Altında Emin Paşa Heyet-i Seferiyesi,” *Resimli Gazete*, vol. I, no. 20, (Istanbul: Kitabçı Karabet, 25 Temmuz 1307): 244-245 and no.21, 255-258. These articles contain little information for the discussion in this chapter; they explain the colonialist efforts of Peters under the cover of the philanthropic reason to save Emin Pasha.

³¹Kirchen, *Emin Pascha*, 118.

³²Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, vol 1, 52.

Figure 5.1 Meeting with Stanley



Source: Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, 396.

hand, Ömer Salih failed to conquer Dufle.³³

Despite the fact that Emin Pasha was nominally under Egyptian-Ottoman jurisdiction, the Ottoman center in Istanbul was able to follow these developments only employing European sources, as it appears from the documents and press clippings preserved within Ottoman State Archives. They reflect the European interest in the Relief Expedition and include considerable sources. However, there is also documentation originating directly from the Mahdists. The principal part of the sources is about the supposed capture of Emin Pasha and Stanley by the forces of Mahdists in December 1888.³⁴ The false news of the capture of Emin Pasha and Stanley by the Mahdist commander Osman Digna and his letter appeared in the archive dating to December 1888.³⁵ The letter by Digna was sent to the British commander in Suakin. It was translated into Turkish.³⁶ Digna claimed in this letter that the müdir of *Hatt-ı İstiva* is at the hands of Mahdi. He claimed that the chalip

³³Holt, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan*, 217.

³⁴BOA, HR.TO. 63/59 (18 December 1888); Y.EE.127/5 (14 Rebiülahir 1304/10 January 1887); HR.SYS.Y. 986/ 35 (15 December 1888) ; HR.SFR.3. 345/103 (18 December 1888); HR.SYS. 986/ 37 (22 December 1888); Y.A.HUS. 220 /61 (25 Rebiülahir 1306/ 29 December 1888); Y.PRK.EŞA. 8 /68 (26 Rebiülahir 1306/ 30 December 1888); HR.SFR.3.345/110 (22 December 1888).

³⁵BOA, Y.EE.127/ 5 (14 Rebiülahir 1304/10 January 1887). For the English version, Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, vol 2, 229.

³⁶BOA, Y.EE.127/ 5 (14 Rebiülahir 1304/10 January 1887). For the English version, Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, vol 2, 229.

-Abdullah et-Teâyişî³⁷ once sent ships to Equatoria under Ömer Salih. When they arrived in Lado, they found the governor and another white man captured by the local forces. They tied the two men and brought them to Ömer Salih. Digna also claimed, "Now all the province is in our hands, and the inhabitants have submitted to the Mahdi." The other white traveler man was assumed to be Stanley, who came to relieve Emin.

Even on 21 December, Reuters Telegram Company reported the abovementioned dubious news and confirmed the security of Stanley, but Emin's situation was still in doubt.³⁸ There was no effective means to check if the letters of Osman Digna informing about the capture of Equatoria along with Emin Pasha and Stanley is really true. Apart from that, the letter of Digna was also packed with another letter that was written by the Egyptian government given to Stanley in order to submit it to Emin Pasha. Thus, the content of the letter of Digna seemed to be correct at first sight.³⁹

Another Ottoman source of knowledge to follow Emin Pasha's current situation was Jullian Pauncefote, who was a foreign affairs councilor, after the Ottomans had read the news about the capture in the European newspapers. Pauncefote reported that the only information learned and/or disseminated through some dispatches coming from Egypt. He added that Osman Digna sent a letter to the commander of Suakin about the mentioned incident.⁴⁰ The Ottoman Empire here is involved in the news about the fate of Emin Pasha and Stanley but does not have direct influence or action.

We get the impression that toward the end of his governorship in 1888, the people of Emin Pasha did not want to leave him. They were ready to follow him where he wanted to go.⁴¹ Emin also did not like the idea of leaving his people. Using a graphic expression, Parke identified Emin Pasha as the "slave of his people".⁴² This attachment of Emin to his people and his province can be proof of my earlier point that Emin and his province are inseparable from each other for the time being.

³⁷He was the successor of the Mahdi Muhammad Ahmad, who took over the rule in 1885 and continued his reign until 1899. See, DÍA, "Abdullah B. Muhammed Et-Teâyişî," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*.

³⁸BOA, HR.SYS. 986/3722 (December 1888). This document in French was translated into Ottoman Turkish. See, HR.TO.63/61 (22 December 1888).

³⁹BOA, Y.A.HUS. 220/61 (25 Rebiülahir 1306/ 29 December 1888), 5.

⁴⁰BOA, HR.TO. 63/58 (15 December 1888).

⁴¹John Gray, ed., "The Diaries of Emin Pasha-Extracts XI", 194.

⁴²Parke, *My Personal Experiences in Equatorial Africa*, 225, 227.

Emin's own words from 1887, when he was in Wadelai, are worth quoting in order to see his perception:

The work that Gordon paid for with his blood, I will strive to carry on, if not with his energy and genius, still according to his intentions and in his spirit. When my lamented chief placed the government of this country in my hands, he wrote to me :—" *I appoint you for civilization and progress' sake.*" I have done my best to justify the trust he had in me, and that I have to some extent been successful and have won the confidence of the natives is proved by the fact that I and my handful of people have held our own up to the present day in the midst of hundreds and thousands of natives. I remain here as the last and only representative of Gordon's staff. It therefore falls to me, and is my bounden duty, to follow up the road he showed us. Sooner or later, a bright future must dawn for these countries; sooner or later, these people will be drawn into the circle of the ever-advancing civilized world. For twelve long years, I have striven and toiled and sown the seeds for future harvest—laid the foundation stones for future buildings. Shall I now give up the work because away may soon open to the coast? Never!⁴³

In spite of these emotional efforts, after the rebellion took place, Emin Pasha changed his mind and decided to come with Stanley. At a feast at Bagamoyo (present-day port town of Tanzania), Emin Pasha fell from a balcony due to his short-sightedness and got injured. That is why Emin had to stay in a hospital and could not leave with Stanley. After these days, he decided to work for the German colonial empire in East Africa.⁴⁴

In other words, Emin left his position as an Egyptian officer in Equatoria when he rejected the command or offer of the Khedive and Nubar Pasha to return to Egypt with his men. His men were not convinced to come back, and so was he. As I quoted his words earlier, Equatoria turned out to be a no man's land in practice while the rights of Egypt continued on paper.

In other words, the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition terminated de facto the Egyptian undeveloped rule in Equatoria, the region which was subsequently annexed to the British protectorate of Uganda.⁴⁵ As long as Emin Pasha stayed in the Equatorial province, the Egyptian government could still claim the Upper Nile, even if it was

⁴³Schweinfurth et. al, *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 509.

⁴⁴Stigand, *Equatoria*, 190-191.

⁴⁵Martin W. Daly, ed., *Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol.2, 212.

loose and vague. The withdrawal of Emin Pasha brought about diplomatic solutions to be decided after.⁴⁶ After Emin Pasha's forces were removed, the province was practically left to its own fate. The Mahdi troops eventually occupied the province.

When considering the Ottoman viewpoint, we see that the Ottoman main interest lay in the Relief Expedition, along with the Mahdi and Urabi uprisings, rather than *Hatt-ı İstiva* as an "Ottoman province". Emin Pasha emerged as an important historical figure due to the spread of the news about his relief. Not only archival documents but also newspapers and even children's journals revealed it. These sources indicate the degree of awareness of the Ottoman-educated public opinion concerning Equatoria, Emin Pasha, and the Relief Expedition.

5.2.1 Contribution of Egypt and Egyptians to the Expedition

The role of the Egyptian government is somehow underestimated or ignored in the literature of the Relief Expedition. Only the European actors are emphasized in the literature. In fact, the Egyptian government also paid half price of the Expedition and thus supported the Relief.⁴⁷ H. Stanley also carried letters from the Egyptian government. It appears that the governments generally adopted a pacific stance in the cases of the unexplored parts of tropical Africa, but their agents played a crucial role on their behalf. Here, the leader of Expedition Stanley was an American claiming to be British and working for the Belgian king. The Khedive Tevfik, son of Khedive Ismail, was known to be a puppet khedive of Europeans. However, in a letter, he mentioned that he sent Stanley to protect Emin.⁴⁸

A brief article from *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* also touched upon the neglect for the agency of the Egyptian government and its officers about the Relief Expedition.⁴⁹ This piece started with the author's impression that the recent columns of the newspapers in every mail, both from Europe and Istanbul, are full of the incidents of Stanley and Emin Pasha "because of the audacity and courage of these two men in their travels." However, the authors were disturbed by the overemphasis on these two men and the neglect of Egyptian officers by the press. The later parts of the passage is as follows:

⁴⁶Holt, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan*, 217.

⁴⁷For a total of 21.500£, the Egyptian government paid 10.000 £. See Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, vol 1, 35.

⁴⁸BOA, HR.TO. 63/59 (18 December 1888); The letter mentioned above can be the translated letter to Stanley. Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, vol 1, 56-57.

⁴⁹*Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, no.3494, (Istanbul, 30 October 1890/ 9 Cemaziyelahir 1307), 3.

In fact, although their efforts and sacrifices are not unacknowledged, should not the congratulations of our poor Egyptians in this Emin Pasha Expedition also be fulfilled? Emin Pasha went to Sudan with Egyptian troops. Until now, his resistance to the Sudanese rebels has been made possible thanks to the bravery and sacrifice of the Egyptian Muslims. Europeans even saw some of these officers and men in Zanzibar. Especially the traveler Stanley admired their endurance. However, it is surprising that even the most despicable Europeans who were with them were presented as heroes. Even those who deserted and fled halfway were considered worthy of praise and honor by Stanley. However, not a single word was written by either of them mentioning neither a name of an Egyptian nor the the Egyptians in general.

Provisions are already being made for the acceptance and applause of these travelers in Egypt. However, before them, some Egyptian travelers had come here from Zanzibar, but no one had even said: "Welcome." What a kind and grateful [behavior].⁵⁰

Their reproachful article reflected a discomfort with the contemporary understanding and depiction of the Expedition in favor of Europeans by ignoring Egyptian efforts. That understanding and depiction continued until the present time in the literature since the works mainly rely on European sources.

5.3 Ottoman Media Following the Expedition

Although it was not expressed formerly, some of the Ottoman newspapers also followed this Expedition and notified their readers with the news coming from European agencies. The sources of this section have not been referenced or utilized in the existing literature before.

The newspapers reported the updates of the details of the Expedition , such as the secure travels of Emin and Stanley to Bagamoyo and Zanzibar and their meeting with German officers in Zanzibar via the news from London and Zanzibar. *Mürüvvet* reported that the Expedition was planned for only nine months, but their arrival took a year and a half, and they still were unable to save Emin Pasha. According to it, even with more time, they would not achieve the goal.⁵¹

Sabah also reported Stanley's interview informing the readers about the Emin's

⁵⁰Ibid., 3-4.

⁵¹*Mürüvvet*, year 2, no. 132, (Istanbul, 17 Safer 1306, 23 Teşrinievvel 1888), 3.

falling off a balcony. Apart from these details, the media's main interest lay in the Scramble for Central East Africa by Germany and Britain. The media explicitly knows the purpose of the Expedition through the German and British newspapers. *Sabah* reported news through *Agence de Constantinople*.⁵²

In general, Ottoman media reported the Expedition and its aftermath in the context of colonizing activities of Britain and Germany. When Emin Pasha decided to work for the German colonial ambitions in East Africa, it represented a case for German-British rivalry for colonizing Central and East Africa. The disagreement of Emin Pasha with Stanley was also reported in which Emin Pasha did not accept the offers of Stanley that I mentioned in this chapter.⁵³ Remarkably, *Sabah* reported the ambitions of Britain for sending Stanley as an implicit reason to employ Emin Pasha. This news described Emin Pasha as "an officer who was persistent on working for an Islamic government in the inner corners of Africa" but decided to work for Germans due to his ethnicity, which in return disappointed the British.⁵⁴

5.3.1 Debating Who "Civilized" Africa: Islam or Christianity

The Ottoman newspapers did not only report the news of Emin Pasha and Stanley but commented on the European views regarding the Expedition. Criticism about the civilization in Africa was remarkable and can open horizons for more discussions. The article began by stating that one of the most talked about topics in European newspapers is the return of Emin Pasha and Stanley.⁵⁵ The authors thought it was their duty to manifest the "actual civilizer of Africa" that was Islam for them. According to this brief article, the statements of European newspapers about the fact that the expansion and advancement of civilization in Africa would have been possible only through the efforts of these two travelers. However, when they had to retreat towards the coast, they could not have continued in their civilizing missions.

⁵² *Sabah*, year 1, no. 98, (11 Rebiülahir 1307/ 5 December 1889), 1. : *Sabah*, no.101, (14 Rebiülahir 1307/ 8 December 1889), 1 : *Sabah*, year 1, no. 153, (9 Cemaziyelahir 1307/ 31 January 1890), 4.

⁵³ *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, no.3553, (9 April 1890/ 18 Şaban 1307), 1.

⁵⁴ *Sabah* year 1, no. 232, (28 Şaban 1307/ 19 April 1890), 1 : "Almanlar İngilizlerden sonra Zengibar sahilinde yerleşerek Alman kavmine mahsus bir metanet ile tevsii-i da'ire-i menafiye çalıştıkları sırada İngilizler Afrika içlerinde bir hükümet-i islamiyenin me'murı olarak sebat etmiş olan Emin Paşa'nın mukteza-yı cinsiyet en sonra Alman menafine hadim olacağından ve İngiltere'nin matmah-ı nazarı bulunan yerlerde Alman nüfuzunun tevsiiine çalışacağından korkarak Emin Paşa'yı bulunduğu yerden kıskırtmağa lüzum görmüşlerdir. Bunun için Afrika seyahatiyle meşhur bulunan Stanley kim bilir ne gibi mevaid ile ile celb edilerek zâhirde çöller içinde ga'ib olmuş zannolunan Emin Paşa'yı kurtarmak, bâtında ise mumailihi nasıl olursa olsun Almanya'ya hizmet edemeyecek bir mevkie îsâl eylemek efkariyle kendisini Afrika'ya irsal eylemişlerdir. Almanya hizmetine girmesi İngiltere'nin ümitlerini boşa çıkarmıştır. . . Emin Paşa Almanya hizmetine girip o hizmetten irâz göstermiş olmasıyla İngilizlerin ümidlerini kamilen boşa çıkarmışdır."

⁵⁵ "Din-i islâmın Medeniyete Hizmeti," *Sabah*, year 1, no. 101, (14 Rebiülahir 1307/ 8 December 1889), 3.

This, in return, would have caused the continent to remain in a state of savagery again. The article continued that these types of statements would have been very upsetting for the people of the civilized world. In this sentence, they refer to Islamic world. One can conclude from this passage that the Ottoman journalists of *Sabah* newspaper were offended and bothered by the Europeans' overly stressing of the role of European travelers and explorers in civilizing Africa. An article from a European newspaper found in the Ottoman Archives clearly holds this view.⁵⁶

The article does not only blame the European newspapers for such an incorrect attitude but also the European rulers as well. It claimed that "by considering the respects of everyone to Emin Pasha and Stanley,[it seems that] the European world wanted to believe that these two men enormously served the civilized world."⁵⁷ According to the authors, the original and primary source of civilization in Central Africa had been the spread of Islam.⁵⁸ For hundreds of years, "brave Muslims" served civilization by traveling and spreading Islam in almost every part of Africa in their view. The authors continue with their assumption that even European travelers like Stanley and Emin Pasha admitted that they could not cross the continent if they had not benefitted from the dominance/potency of Islam.

Although this article identified Emin Pasha as a European, he presented himself as a Muslim and gained popularity with a Turkish or Arabic name. He was not a Christian in the eyes of Europeans at that time, despite the later controversy of his true faith. In one instance, he complained about an "administrative failure" to not being able to spread Islam throughout the 20 years long rule in Equatoria.⁵⁹

⁵⁶BOA, HR.SYS. 59/35 (2 April 1888). The earlier cited article translated from The Times about the Ottoman perceptions of Uganda also referred to Emin Pasha and Stanley as two heroes.

⁵⁷"Din-i islamm Medeniyete Hizmeti," 3.

⁵⁸"Avrupalılar Afrika kıtasının sevahil-i şarkiye ve garbiye ve cenubiyesine dair ilk malumata ancak on beşinci asr-ı miladi evâlinde kesb-i vukûf eylediği sırada envar-ı sâtia-i islam şimalen, şarken ve hatta cenuben kıta-i mezkureyi tenvîr ederek birçok kaba'il- i vahşiyeyi da'ire-i diyanet ve medeniyete idhal eylemek suretiyle cihan-ı medeniyete hizmetler eylemişlerdir... Düşünülün ki ihtiraat-ı harikuladesine nihayet olmayan asr-ı hâzırda hîn-i hacetde kurulur bozulur küçük vapurlar vesa'ir bin türlü vesa'it-i teshîliyye mevcut olduğu halde bile en cesur seyyahların iktihâm edemeyeceği müşkülât-ı bi-nihayeden hâli olmayan Afrika seferlerini bundan üç-dört asır mukaddem seyyahîn için hiçbir vesa'it-i teshîliyye bulunmadığı zamanlarda evlad-ı islam iktihâm ederek Afrika'yı bir başdan bir başa dolaşmışlar ve her yerde efkar-ı medeniyet ve diniyyeyi neşre muvaffak olmuşlardır." in *Ibid.*, 3-4.

⁵⁹Emin Pasha reported that only ten people could convert to Islam throughout Egyptian rule. In Schweinfurth et al., *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 414.

5.4 The Popularization of the Relief Expedition in the Ottoman press

Apart from the newspapers, some other printed sources have mentioned the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition as well. Through these sources, the Expedition have turned to be a popular subject that caught attention of the students and/or educated Ottoman population.

The case of *Çocuklara Rehber* (Guide for Children) (1897- 1900) is crucial because it gives us tangible data about the Ottoman perception of Emin Pasha and *Hatt-ı İstiva*. This journal is among the most compatible with European standards in terms of education and journalism.⁶⁰ The article about Emin Pasha appeared in a series called "Travels in Africa and the famous explorers." It will show how much popularity the Expedition had gained for the readers. This article began with expressing the adventurous details of the Central Africa, the journey of the Expedition under the leadership of Stanley and his desperate conditions in an environment too difficult to pass through. Accordingly, the battles of Stanley against the Congolese tribes in 1885 were still remembered when Stanley commenced the expedition "for the relief of the two altruistic Egyptian delegates and governors located in *Hatt-ı İstiva*, Emin Pasha and Casati."⁶¹ The article continues with a brief biography of Emin Pasha that appeared more accurate and informative than the obituary published in *Maarif*. The biography and the article are as follows:

At first, Emin Pasha served directly in the Ottoman army, then in the Egyptian army as a physician under Emin Efendi. In the meantime, he was appointed as the Egyptian ambassador to Egypt. In 1878/ 1295 , he traveled to Uganda on Lake Victoria. After a trip of exploration, he became the extraordinary director of *Sudan-i İstivai* (Equatorial Sudan) with the title of Bey and restored order in this region within two years. He obtained revenue of 200.000 francs from this country. He paved roads, built motorways, and organized postal services. He organized a small but organized army. He accustomed his people to trade with the people of the surrounding countries. After all, *he established civilization*. However, all these seeds of civilization were destroyed by the rebellion of Muhammad Ahmad, a pseudo-Mahdi, who arose at this time and caused trouble. Emin Pasha was obliged to take the north road due to the rebellion of the Mahdi. He could not unite with the two delegations sent to his aid. His ammunition was depleted, and he was left with an Italian captain,

⁶⁰Cüneyd Okay, "Eski Harfli Çocuk Dergileri," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 4/ 7, (2006): 513.

⁶¹"Afrika Seyahatleri ve Meşhur Kâşifleri," *Çocuklara Rehber*, no. 31, (6 Teşrîmisânî 1313/ 18 November 1897), 6-7.

Gaetano Casati, who was a European.

It was at this time that Stanley offered his service for Emin Pasha's help.

Stanley landed in Zanzibar on the twenty-first day of February 1887/1303. Although there was a distance of 1200 kilometers between Zanzibar and Wadelai, the traveler preferred to go all the way to the Congo by traveling all over Africa. In the harbors of the Congo, which were open to Europeans, there were steamers and ships.

The brave explorer took advantage of these steamers and of the expertise of a prominent Arab *mültezim* named Tippu Tip, who had the privilege of trading in Africa.

The main issue with this article is that it was most likely a translation from Stanley's *In Darkest Africa*. This was also similar to the obituary of Emin Pasha in *Maarif* in terms of source of knowledge that was quite possibly European. It is still noteworthy that the Expedition found a place in children's media as a part of popular culture and general knowledge.

Nevertheless, *Servet-i Fünun* informed its readers that Stanley produced an important work on his travels in Africa to rescue Emin Pasha. This work has been translated and published by an honorable friend of theirs –*Tarîk* newspaper– under the title of “*Afrikâ-yı Zalâm-Âlûd*” as the translation of *In Darkest Africa*; however, this translation was yet to be available for me.⁶²

Lastly, we should examine *Yeni Afrika* which contains a part of a translation of Stanley's *In Darkest Africa*. However, the author made considerable commentaries that reflected another perspective besides Stanley. Mehmed Izzet described *Hatt-ı İstiva* as a colony (*müstemleke*) of Egypt and Emin Pasha as a German whom Charles Gordon employed.⁶³ He highlighted the rebellion of Emin Pasha's soldiers, too. According to Izzet, the situation of the rebellion and the abandonment of Stanley from Lake Albert was no different from a "strange comedy."⁶⁴

He paid attention to the differences between the two personalities by describing Stanley as a hard-working, dutiful and religious man who reads Torah in his spare time. On the contrary, Emin Pasha was described as an imprudent and dreamy person, in fact, it projected Stanley's ideas. İzzet surprisingly continued that "Emin Pasha was too busy and occupied with the scientific endeavor that made him forget

⁶²“Stanley,” *Servet-i Fünun*, year 1, no.2, (Istanbul: Alem Matbaası, 30 November 1890), 21.

⁶³Mehmed İzzet, *Yeni Afrika*, 159.

⁶⁴Şu halin hakikaten pek tuhaf komediden farkı yoktur.” in *Ibid.*, 228.

about the Equatorial Province and even his whole world."⁶⁵ To make the story more readable or fascinating, İzzet added emotional scenes as well. For example, he recounted the moment after Emin Pasha's final decision to leave. At that moment, Şükri Agha, who had served him until the last moment, was asking with tears in his eyes what these circumstances meant.⁶⁶ Furthermore, İzzet claimed that Emin Pasha expelled his loyal men when he left the Egyptian service. He commented that the book of Stanley was full of lines in which Stanley mocked and criticized Emin Pasha. İzzet concluded by saying that he wondered if Emin Pasha would write something in reply and if he did, it would attract much attention according to him.⁶⁷

This chapter argued that the Ottoman Empire was also an observer of the Expedition which became a popular subject in the Ottoman travel literature and journals as well. Through the news of the Expedition and its later remaining documentations, Emin Pasha and the province became known in the European and the Ottoman world simultaneously. Even though the Ottoman Empire did not aim to provide any actual help from Istanbul, several European governments wanted to be involved in the saving of Emin Pasha and seizing his province.

⁶⁵Ibid., 228.

⁶⁶Ibid., 233.

⁶⁷Ibid., 234.

6. THE LEGACY OF EMIN PASHA AND EQUATORIA

The earlier parts of this thesis discussed Equatorial Province as part of the autonomous Ottoman province, the Khedivate of Egypt, by touching on the venture of Egyptian imperialism and the period of Emin Pasha until its end. The province and Emin Pasha were indistinguishable in terms of their fate. For that reason, I must look at the events after Emin Pasha's death and Equatoria's loss together. The fate of Equatoria and its most remarkable ruler Emin Pasha resembled each other. Emin Pasha had been killed; Equatoria was dissolved quickly during the Mahdist state in the Sudan and was left with a power vacuum.

I will first have a look at the trial of Emin Pasha's inheritance. This trial became an international issue at the time in 1897. One can suggest that even after his death, the transnational nature of Emin Pasha caused an international issue in the intersection of empires. Here, I will introduce an unutilized source from the Ottoman archive. The significance of this source lies in the historiography of subaltern groups such as women. We can hear the firsthand speaking of Emine Leyla – Emin Pasha's supposed wife– and her perspective as opposed to the official views.

The 4th chapter proposed that Emin Pasha Relief Expedition ended the rule of Emin Pasha and the Egyptian government in Equatoria. This chaotic break from the Emin Pasha's period lasted until the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium and the second Turkiyya period that started in 1899. The later period was called "Pax Britannica" for the South Sudan and Uganda.¹ During this decade-long time span, no definite government could be built by either Mahdists, Belgians, British, or Egyptian. The efforts of Belgium in the Congo Free State to occupy and annex the northern parts of Lake Albert called Wadelai were unsuccessful. However, it caused a diplomatic crisis internationally in 1894. This chapter also addresses the crisis over the Equatorial Province and the process of Ottoman diplomatic attempts to protect its sovereign rights, which was acknowledged in the Berlin Conference.

¹Collins, *The Southern Sudan*, 26.

6.1 The Trial on the Inheritance of Emin Pasha (1897)

Emin Pasha was murdered by the Arab slave traders in Central Africa in 1892, his head was cut off, and his body was thrown into the bush. His head was sent to Kibongo to Lualaba, along with his belongings.² As the 4th chapter presented, the rest of the world could only learn the news of his death in the following year. It was also discussed that Emin was the protector of the Ismail Hakkı Pasha family after Hakkı Pasha died. Emin Pasha – Schnitzer at that time–Emine Leyla and her children traveled to Europe. The marital connection between the two was unclear, but their love affair was evident. Emine Leyla was originally a Transylvanian convert named Emilie Leitschaft. They supposedly got married, and she gave birth to a daughter from Emin called Pauline Emilie Elisabeth in Lake Garda. However, no official document or proof was found for the marriage. Kirchen cannot conclude if the marriage was officially done or not in his detailed research. However, the daughter's father appeared to be listed as Eduard Schnitzer in the baptism records in 1874.³

In his will, Emin recognized Ferida as his only legitimate child. He might not have known about Pauline or did not take her as a legitimate heir. On 4 October 1889, he stated that,

In the event of my decease on the journey, I bequeath all my property without any exception whatsoever, as well as all my claims for salary and pension now in the course of settlement by the Egyptian Government, to my only legitimate daughter Ferida, whose mother, the deceased Abyssinian, Safaran, was my legitimate wife. And I appoint my sister Melanie Schnitzer, to be Ferida's guardian until her twentieth year; thenceforward, my daughter shall be free to dispose of the legacy herself.⁴

Emin's explanations were proved afterward in the court about his inheritance in Leipzig in 1897. Emine Leyla could not get a share of the inheritance in the end. Although Emine Leyla claimed to be legitimately married to Emin Pasha, she could

²Pakenham, *The Scramble for Africa*, 619.

³Kirchen, *Emin Pascha*, 59-62.

⁴John Gray, ed., "The Dairies of Emin Pasha- Extracts XII," *The Uganda Journal* 31/2 (1967): 168.

not prove it, and the only inheritor became Ferida.⁵ The sources in Ottoman Turkish can offer another insight for the mentioned topic.

In the previous chapter, I cited the article "Dr. Schnitzer alias Emin Pasha." published in *Nevsal-i Marifet* in 1889. The article condemned Emin Pasha for abandoning Emine Leyla and the children, along with seizing her property. The passage included more parts related to the affair or crime of Emin Pasha that continues:

Among the actions of Dr. Schnitzer that we have described so far, there is no action that he should be ashamed of since poverty is not shameful. In particular, he was able to overcome poverty since he was a doctor and a physician. His real evil and dishonorable actions start after this: Schnitzer converted to Islam after the death of Ismail Pasha. Upon the Pasha's death, he married Emine Hanım, the deceased's wife, and named himself (Emin) because of his wife. After living in Istanbul with this family for a while, in order to realize his plans, he took his wife and the Pasha's children, and he traveled to his homeland in early 1874, to the town of (İşteteyn) in Silesia and took up residence there. In the meantime, there was a wedding of one of his relatives in (Nice?), and he went there with his family. Nevertheless, he disappears during the wedding. The family members could not make any sense of this situation, and of course, they were worried. Eventually, when they returned to their home, the truth was unearthed. It turns out that he had taken five or six thousand *liras* of jewelry and cash from Emine Leyla, inherited from the Pasha in the chest in which it was kept and then disappeared.

This person, who is now working to *bring the black people of Africa into civilization*, went to Paris and London, leaving four children, the oldest of whom was fifteen and the youngest one and a half years old, and a desperate woman in a foreign land, destitute and miserable by robbing and stealing their property.

After a while, he spent the money on debauchery, which he was used to, and he went to Egypt, the source of prosperity for many foreign vagrants. He showed himself to be a servant of civilization at the level of Schweinfurt and so on. However, because of him, Ismail Pasha's family was degraded to the lowest level of poverty, misery, and agony.⁶

The author here condemned Emin because of his abandonment of the widow Emine Leyla and her children in Europe and seizing the money inherited by Ismail Hakkı Pasha. For these reasons, the author also criticized the European states and journals

⁵Kirchen stated that the Leipzig State Archives do not hold the trial documents. Kirchen, *Emin Pascha*, 62-63

⁶"Doktor Şiniçer nam-ı diğer Emin Paşa," *Nevsal-i Marifet*, 211-212.

for glorifying Emin and ignoring his earlier misbehaviors toward the widow. The author stated that Emin could be dismissed in Europe due to his deceiver/intrigant personality, but he was viewed as significant as the "altruist of civilization (*fedâkarân-i medeniyet*)" as Livingstone and Baker. He also criticized the Relief Expedition since he most likely thought that Emin did not deserve such a huge investment.

This article is an earlier manifestation of the claims against Schnitzer that he seized the valuable belongings and jewelry of Emine Leyla that are most likely inherited from Ismail Hakkı Pasha to his wife. This piece does not cite any source, neither written nor verbal whatsoever, which hardens to look beyond what the author had claimed. Even if we assume that his source was Emine Leyla or somebody close to her, why would they fabricate slander against Emin Pasha for seizing her goods? We can make suggestions about the personality of the author. He seems to know Emine Leyla in person or through letters. His writing is a kind of negative propaganda about Emin Pasha, whose news was everywhere due to the Relief Expedition. One can claim that Emine Leyla first saw or heard about Emin Pasha Relief Expedition in the newspapers and recognized Eduard Schnitzer. Changing Emin's name and religion could be a mask that he covered his actual misbehavior to Emine Leyla.

However, as the newspapers also write about his authentic name, the love affair he experienced long ago could be a problem for him. We should consider the gap between when Emine Leyla brought a suit against Emin Pasha in 1897 and the article of *Neusal-i Marifet* from 1889. Her consistency remained for almost a decade. Her persistence most likely resulted from the reality of the claims she experienced in Europe with her children. The instances that Emin Pasha talked about his life differently from many of his contemporaries also contributed to it. Emin should have wanted to cover his earlier life in Europe and Ottoman Empire, and why he should not cover Emine Leyla.

C. Kirchen recounted that the witnesses of Emin in Khartoum said that Schnitzer was in poor condition and asked for financial help. He suspected the author of *Neusal-i Marifet*, in which Kirchen commented that he dramatized the story in order to be able to discredit Schnitzer in the trial.⁷ However, how could the author know in 1889 that Emine Leyla would sue Emin Pasha for his inheritance in the next ten years?

Remarkably, the original petition of Emine Leyla is present in the Ottoman State Archives, which helps us to see the story from her perspective, which can add to the problematic issue. The other remaining documents constituted the later devel-

⁷Kirchen, *Emin Pascha*, 65.

opments after this petition. As the court in Leipzig decided that Ferida was the only inheritor, Emine Leyla wanted the intervention of the Berlin ambassador of the Ottoman Empire. What is seen in this petition is a continuation of the same claim against Schnitzer from Emine Leyla's own words with a sign.⁸ The petition is as follows:

To the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

It is the request of your humble and poor servant, I, your female servant, was the wife of the late Ismail Pasha, the former governor of Yanya. After his death, I married Emin Pasha, the renowned German traveler of Africa, and had a daughter from him. Afterward, Emin Pasha attempted to travel to Africa, seized and dispossessed [me] of my jewelry and money, and fled/ disappeared. Although we have filed a case for the inheritance of the deceased at the court in Berlin for the inherited share of my daughter, the case has not yet reached a final result.

I kindly and graciously request [you to] send the necessary notifications to the aforementioned court through the Berlin embassy for permission to proceed with hearing the mentioned case. I [also] request from the Ministry [of Foreign Affairs] to order the execution to the German embassy inhabiting the Ottoman Empire.

16 Teşrin-i sani 1313 [December 1897] Emine Leyla, the wife of the late Ismail Hakkı Pasha.

The state officials did not ignore the request of Emine Leyla Hanım. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs received this request on 2 December 1897.⁹ However, it was stated that the governments had no influence over the case.¹⁰ Her request to involve the Ambassador in the case was realized since the request was forwarded to the Berlin ambassador of the Ottoman Empire, Ahmed Tevfik Pasha.¹¹ He stated that he asked about the Foreign Affairs Office in order to learn about the case, take measures, and find a solution to the request. However, as he learned, "the countess de Lavaux, who was responsible for the interests of Emine Leyla Hanım, was dismissed from her claim due to the judgment by default in the Supreme Court of the German Empire pronounced on 8 November 1897."¹²

⁸BOA, HR.H. 64/ 15 (2 December 1897), 6.

⁹BOA, HR.H. 64/15 (2 December 1897), 1.

¹⁰BOA, HR.H. 64/15 (2 December 1897), 3 and 7.

¹¹BOA, HR.H.64/15 (2 December 1897), 8.

¹²BOA, HR.UHM. 24/3 (28 January 1898), 3; HR.H.64/15, 8.

According to the verbal notes of 18 January 1898, the Imperial Embassy of Germany informed the Sublime Porte. The Supreme Court, by judgment of November 8, declared the claim that was brought against Emin Pasha's daughter Ferida by the Countess of Lavaux as assignee of the widow Emine Leyla Hanım as inadmissible both on 2 December 1897 and again on 21 January 1898.¹³ The German ambassador inhabiting Istanbul, whom the Sublime Porte similarly requested information about the trial, also was to be informed about the result from Berlin.¹⁴ This case demonstrated the international and global character of Emin Pasha.

6.2 Ottoman Diplomatic Struggle for the Equatorial Province (1893-1894)

In order to understand the Ottoman diplomatic activities for the protection of Equatorial Province from the British and Belgium colonial forces, firstly, we should go back to the British occupation of Alexandria in 1882, which started the Egyptian question. It was "a three-cornered issue" of Britain, the Ottoman Empire, and Egypt.¹⁵ Although Britain occupied Egypt and began to take active parts in government, Ottoman Empire did not abandon its rights over its "privileged state" governed by the descendants of Ismail Pasha. Britain stated that they would be temporarily staying in Egypt until the restoration.¹⁶ Ottoman Empire, for many reasons, did not send a military force to Egypt but indeed pursued a diplomatic effort.¹⁷ Ottoman policies after 1882 in North Africa have been described as "quite assertive, innovative, and dynamic, contradicting the image of the Ottoman state as the 'sick man of Europe'" by Karpat.¹⁸ The case of Equatoria qualified these adjectives, as this last chapter of the thesis will elaborate.

Ottoman Empire and Britain signed a convention about the solution of the Egyptian question. The treaty included both sides to send a High Commissioner to Egypt.

¹³BOA, HR.H.64/15 (2 December 1897), 4 ; HR. UHM.24/3 (28-01-1898) , 2.

¹⁴BOA, HR.H.64/15 ((2 December 1897), 9.

¹⁵Deringil, "Ghazi Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha and the British Occupation of Egypt," in *The Ottomans, the Turks, and World Power Politics* (Istanbul: ISIS, 2000), 35

¹⁶Rifat Uçarol, *Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Paşa (1839-1919) (Askeri ve Siyasi Hayatı)* (Istanbul: Filiz Kitabevi, 1989), 152 . It is noteworthy that, as the foremost biographer of Muhtar Pasha, Uçarol did not mention the crisis over the Equatorial province in the section of Pasha's service in Egypt.

¹⁷It was due to the reason that the 77-78 wars had a profound impact on the Ottoman military. Uçarol, *Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Paşa*, 153.

¹⁸Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam*, 259.

The two men will work together on the issues of Sudan and Egypt. Both commissaries of Britain and the Ottoman Empire regulated the Egyptian army and made necessary regulations with the limits of the edict of Egypt. They will both present reports after the necessary steps had been taken, then the governments will work on the departure of Britain from Egypt. Sir Henry Drummond Wolff represented Britain, while Ottoman Empire decided to put Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha in charge of the Egyptian issues.¹⁹ He could play the role of a protagonist who profoundly defended the sovereign rights of the Ottoman Empire in Central Africa against the European colonial powers. Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Pasha (1839-1919) was a successful and experienced military officer who gained the title of “ghazi” for his achievements in the 1877-78 Wars.²⁰

The edict submitted to Muhtar Pasha in December 1885 presented a challenging condition. He was entrusted to resecure peace and order in Sudan while securing the borders of Egypt and regulating the army. The last mission will be supposed to be accompanied by the British commissioner.²¹

As expressed in the document, Ahmet Muhtar Pasha’s primary duty was restoring security in Sudan, regulating the Egyptian army and security of Egyptian borders, writing reports, and presenting all these. He was assigned to terminate the Sudan uprising that caused the staying of the British soldier, search for solutions, and cautions for this with Khedive and his officers. Deringil called this struggle a "hopeless task."²² During the meetings with Wolf, there could find no solution. The negotiations were interrupted when Sir Wolf returned to his country, and Britain did not send a commissioner to Egypt again. As British troops remained in Egypt, Abdülhamid II wanted Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Pasha to represent Ottoman interests in Egypt and did not allow him to return to Istanbul. Muhtar Pasha finally could return to Istanbul after the Revolution of 1908.²³

After the Relief Expedition, Emin Pasha left for Zanzibar with a small number of his troops. The other government officers stayed in Equatoria with Selim Bey in southern Lake Albert, while the rebellious group under Fadl al-Mawla was in the western parts.²⁴ Holt highlighted that the British could not allow any other

¹⁹Uçarol, *Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Paşa* , 155-157.

²⁰Rifat Uçarol, "Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Paşa," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*.

²¹Uçarol, *Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Paşa*, 160-164.

²²Deringil, “Ghazi Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha,” 177.

²³Uçarol, *Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Paşa*, 183-184.

²⁴Collins, *The Southern Sudan*, 22.

power along the Nile. The upper Nile was critical for them in the colonial race with Germany in Eastern Africa. The competition ended with the treaty making Kenya and Uganda on both sides in 1890. Uganda Protectorate was "declared to extend to the western watershed of the Nile and northwards to 'the confines of Egypt,' a phrase which lacked definition."²⁵ Around the same time, Belgian Congo was also interested in the region. British were on the side of the Belgians as opposed to the French. The Belgian expedition of 1892 to Wadelai is meaningful. Officer Milz sent a letter to Fadl al-Mawla. The letter proposed that,

As you know, the Egyptian government has completely withdrawn from the Sudan and from Equatoria and completely abandoned you. Do not think at all that the Egyptian government will return to Equatoria or... that help or assistance will come to you from Egypt... You do not belong to any state... H.M. the King [Leopold II] now wishes to deal well with you in everything, and I now have with me a letter with his Majesty's seal that you should render obedience to us and thereupon you shall be like us, i.e. government functionaries.²⁶

Al-Mawla, by accepting the offer, took the title the müdir of hatt-ı istiva under the government of Congo Free State. However, the Mahdi forces later gained confidence to fight for the Upper Nile region and killed him in January 1894. They found a treaty in Arabic that divided Equatoria between the British in the east and the Belgian in the west.²⁷

Leopold II sent Van Kerckhoven from Leopoldville to the southern parts of Equatoria in order to find ivories in 1891 with immense military resources. Although he could collect ivories, he accidentally died in the next year. The expedition caused a diplomatic crisis in the next two years.²⁸ Belgium sent another expedition to Equatoria in 1893 that Correspondance Politik reported. The Congo Crisis of 1894 was against the Ottoman sovereign rights over Equatoria, which was diplomatically protected by their participation in the Berlin Conference. Ottoman Empire could protest this expedition, not the weakened Khedivate.²⁹ An official enactment be-

²⁵Holt, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan*, 217-218.

²⁶Ibid., 219.

²⁷Ibid., 219-220.

²⁸Pakenham, *The Scramble for Africa*, 605- 06.

²⁹İdris Bostan, "Orta Afrika'da Nüfuz Mücadelesi ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu (1893-1895)," *Belleten* 54/210, (1990):667-668. This article was also translated into English by Selim Deringil. İdris Bostan, "Ottoman Empire and The Congo: The Crisis of 1893-1895," in *Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic History V*,

tween the Ottoman prime minister Ahmet Cevdet Pasha and the Ministries of Law and Foreign Affairs decided to protect all the Ottoman sovereign rights over Egypt. It was a twofold mission in which both Egypt was to be freed from Britain, and Equatoria was to be protected against a Belgian occupation. Abdülhamid II was also interested in the protection and ordered the Khedive to protect the territories and requested the maps of the region.³⁰ Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha was asked to actively take part in the protection of Equatoria against Belgians by acknowledging the fact that Khedivate conquered those lands with the order of the Sultan. İdris Bostan underlined that the treaty between Britain and Belgium on 12 May 1894 leased the Upper Nile region to King Leopold II. The treaty caused an Ottoman official reaction. However, it was against the decisions of the Berlin Conference as Ottoman sovereignty rights were acknowledged up until the Nile Basin. The rejection of the treaty by the French and Germany and the Ottoman defense made it invalid.³¹

It was clear that “The Ottoman state evidently is concerned about the Central African affairs as Said Pasha’s attitude at the Berlin Conference and at one of its meetings in 1 Kanunievvel 1884 displayed”.³² *Hatt-ı İstiva* was perceived as a component of the Khedivate legitimizing its sovereignty with the conquests of Ismail Pasha. Even under the occupation of Britain, Ottoman Empire was still legally reigning over Egypt.³³ As the Sudan included the Nile Basin, the Ottoman center did not recognize any other state’s occupation other than Egypt and reacted to the British government.³⁴ In the end, no attempt could solve the crisis but the eventual collapse of the Mahdist state and the joint government of Britain and England.

This chapter involved two different historical cases which were mutually interrelated if we take the general understanding of the aftermath of Emin Pasha and his government in Equatoria together. These cases revealed the Ottoman involvement with the Central African and also Emin Pasha affairs which provided original datas.

(Istanbul:ISIS Press,1990): 103-119.

³⁰Bostan, “Orta Afrika’da Nüfuz Mücadelesi,” 669-671.

³¹Ibid., 680-685.

³²BOA, BEO. Mümtaze-i Mısır, 5/A, 135. in Ibid., 690.

³³BOA, Mısır İradeleri, nr. 1595. in Ibid., 695.

³⁴BOA, Y.A. HUS. 296/54 (11 Zilkade 1311/ 10 May 1894). The number of documents about the crisis is massive and thus reveals the importance Ottomans attributed to the Egyptian Sudan.

7. CONCLUSION

Egypt had been a constant issue for the late Ottoman Empire ever since the occupation by Napoleon, if we ignore the earlier centuries' problems, though. The center could not apply the regular centralization policies of *Tanzimat* there. On the other hand, Egypt was a particular province of the Ottoman Empire that could expand the empire's border as well. This thesis included the Ottoman Empire as an actor of the political developments in Central Africa, Sudan, and the Upper Nile. In addition, it examined the Ottoman perceptions concerning late 19th-century incidents and people, including Ismail Pasha and his imperialistic endeavors, as well as European missionaries and adventurers who shaped the history of the region.

The field of Ottoman Africa studies is flourishing in Turkish academia due to the current possible political reasons for opening toward Africa. My thesis aimed to contribute to Ottoman Africa studies. The main reason why this study focused on Equatoria was the fact that the Ottoman Empire actively endeavored to keep this remote region against the Belgian occupation in the 1890s. When we look at the province respectively, we see that Egypt played a significant role before the coming of Europeans to the region and building protectorates. As we know at the end of the story that the Khedivate gradually turned to be a British protectorate; one can easily assume that a weak state as such cannot militarily expand its borders. However, historical developments disprove this impression. The main interest of Ottomans in Africa was to protect Egypt. In return, Egypt itself was an essential factor in the politics of Africa. Although the literature contributed by Selim Deringil, Mostafa Minawi or the debates on Ottoman colonialism strongly argued that the Ottoman Empire was an "active participant" in the Scramble for Africa, the role of Khedivial Egypt and the Ottoman rush to keep Egypt as its province with its territorial integrity has been overlooked.

This work discussed several topics about Emin Pasha's life and the establishment, rule, loss, and preservation of the Equatorial Province. The Ottoman perception of Emin Pasha was entangled due to his racial and religious identity and his affair

with Emine Leyla. Being one of the "global lives" of the late 19th century, Emin Pasha found some places in the Ottoman world that left documentation enabling us to pursue the traces of his life. The story of Emin Pasha with Emine Leyla was a personal case, but it implied imperial relations. Family histories as part of social history can be a segment of general histories of imperialism, as in this case. This short story also added to the complexity of Ottoman Egyptian and African affairs. Interstate relations cannot cover the *histoire totale*, while personal anecdotes or romances propose a multi-dimensions and layers to the ongoing discussions. In this sense, biographies have become remarkable for showing imperial or colonial races and the experiences of the 19th century.

In order to study Equatorial province, Emin Pasha's life was a necessary condition. Interestingly, the later documentation refers to the province only by the name of Emin Pasha and calling there Emin Pasha's Province. The earlier governors were not mentioned when referring to the Upper Nile region. Until today, he left a recognizable legacy for today's Uganda and South Sudan. Due to proximity to the centers such as Khartoum, Cairo, and Istanbul, the Province could only be governed by an ambitious pacifist in terms of military action who did not thirst for power.

The question should be asked why that province was necessary for the Ottoman Empire, leading Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Pasha to invest much energy and effort until the very end. The actions by him and the state reflected the Ottoman policy at the time of Abdülhamid II, in which the state lacked the necessary military power, but diplomacy was their primary weapon. This thesis did not only treat diplomacy as a weapon for the Ottoman interest in the region and its province but also the numerous maps that mirror this diplomatic intention. The various geography books contained the province of Egypt, a part of the larger view of Ottoman Africa. Being one of the units of Egypt, the authors refer to Eutoria or Bahr al-Ghazal a part of Egypt. Having said that, what makes them Ottoman still needs to be asked. Ottomans, in the first place, did press neither the earlier expansions in previous centuries nor Mehmed Ali Pasha and the later governors of Egypt to act according to an imperial policy. Naturally and organically, Sudan joined Ottoman Africa.

Throughout the research in the Ottoman State Archive, I realized a lack of documentary sources dealing directly with *Hatt-ı İstiva* or discussing Emin Pasha for the period of his activities discussed here. The documentation of the Sublime Porte shows that the province itself was not on the center's agenda rather than its position in the *Sudan-ı Misri*. However, two main turning points changed this Ottoman indifference toward the province and its governor. First of these was the internationally well-publicized Western initiative to relieve Emin Pasha. Thanks to the

Expedition, European and Ottoman newspapers became aware of Emin Pasha and his isolated but shimmering province favorable for future progress. The official and civilian Ottoman interest in this expedition can be understood by the translations of articles on this issue from Western newspapers, copies of them located in the archive, and the Ottoman newspapers and periodicals that received dispatches from European agencies. This brings us to the issue of translation. The center learned African affairs most of the time from European resources until the appointment of Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Pasha as the Ottoman high commissioner in Egypt.

The second source of knowledge and the turning point for Ottoman awareness concerning Central Africa has been the vast number of telegrams that Muhtar Pasha sent from Cairo to Istanbul. Due to the limits of this thesis, a detailed analysis of these documents could not be possible. A careful examination of all these documents might suggest some other dimensions of the problems and issues related to *Hatt-ı İstiva*, Muhtar Pasha was intensively occupied. The limited literature about him does not examine his personal or subjective causes to be involved to that extent with the province. A comparison with his other telegrams in terms of quantity could shed light on the range of his concerns. Nevertheless, his activities in Africa should be studied separately in Ottoman Africa studies. A study of this type might shatter the Ottoman colonialism view as well.

Here, I would like to draw attention to the strategic position of Egypt again. It was clear that the Ottomans, just like the Europeans, had gotten the news about African affairs through some Europeans. They brought the news from Egypt and were employed by the Egyptian administration. Interestingly, the Ottoman newspapers also criticized the Europeans' ignorance concerning Egypt's role in Central Africa. Egypt did not get any mention or recognition in the context of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition. Indeed, European sources were silent about the Egyptian expansion and the elimination of the local forces before European colonization. The fact that Egypt employed Europeans does not negate the reality of the governmental support for expansionist policies or the orders of Ismail Pasha prior to the European expeditions to establish the Province. Egypt was critical not only as a "state" but for its geopolitical position due to several aspects of sea transportation and trade, such as the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, and the Nile.

I approached the Upper Nile region as a stage that influenced the actors and their behaviors. From the beginning efforts of Selim Qapudan to the Second Turkiyya period, the Anglo-Egyptian condominium, it was not the people, the newcomers, that fully controlled or colonized the region, but the territory was the most decisive factor above all.

Historically, the only governmental expansion toward the south of *Sudd* occurred during the governorship of Ismail Pasha. When we compare the Egyptian Sudan to the only powerful state of the Nile Valley, it is remarkable that Buganda did not pursue such imperialism. The visual representations of the Egyptian province of the Ottoman Empire from the maps in the state archive and the Ottoman geographical books are meaningful. The obscure borders of the Ottoman Empire in the south were even depicted as far as Lake Victoria. The legitimacy of the southern border owed a lot to the Khedivial expansion that one should give or pay its credit/tribute to Khedive Ismail.

By looking at the formation period of the province by the initiative of Khedive Ismail Pasha beginning from 1869 to Ahmet Muhtar Pasha's protective actions in the mid-1890s, I presented that the expeditions served for the "connectedness" of Upper Nile with the rest of the world – namely Egypt, Middle East, East Africa, and Europe– because the region had been in a very isolated state before. We can say that the expeditions of the governors and, lastly, Henry Stanley opened up the region to attract mobility and networks and become a vivid place.

Ismail Pasha's order directed to Baker had extreme importance (see 3.2). The expansion towards the south of Gondokoro and Lake Albert was a result of the Egyptian desire to suppress the slave trade, open up this region for commerce, civilize the province in order to make equatorial Africa a part of international trade and establish connections and networks in the Equatorial Lakes Region with the Nile, and East Africa. Here, we do not encounter any policy toward the Islamization of the region nor the spreading of the name of Allah but a mere desire to exploit economic resources. Name changing was utilized to claim power and possession there. Even though Baker changed the name of Gondokoro to Ismailia, it was not commonly used. Another name change was from Lado to Ibrahimiyye, while I only found out about that change from Ottoman geographical sources and in a few places as well.

Throughout the thesis, important actors played specific roles in the region. When we look back at Ismail Pasha's personality and his controversial behaviors, a biography or psychohistory could provide more tangible data. However, I have yet to come across a biography of Ismail Pasha in the degree of works such as Kirchen's biography of Emin Pasha, Harrell's works on Gordon, Fahmy's, or Marsot's works on Mehmed Ali Pasha. Indeed, Hayrettin Pınar's book about the relations of Ismail Pasha with the Ottoman Government was distinctive, but it did not necessarily focus on the psychology or mentality of Khedive Ismail. Ottoman Africa studies could benefit from detailed and analytical works on both Ismail Pasha and Ahmet Muhtar Pasha's experiences in Africa.

The lack of comprehensive research hindered me to engage in a detailed comparison of the Ottoman perceptions of the different directorates of the Egyptian Sudan. There need to be more works on, for example, Bahr al-Ghazal, Kordofan, or Nubia that combines these places in conjunction with Ottoman Africa studies and the relations between the directorates of the Egyptian Sudan in the trans-local scene. The present work is an exception in terms of a specific study of Egyptian Sudanese territory, but its importance emerged mainly due to the exceptional governor Emin Pasha and his rising value for the colonialist ventures of European powers.

Archival research in Cairo was not possible for my work, but I referenced those sources which utilized them. The Ottoman archival sources reveal Istanbul's position on the issues related to the Province and the Ottoman diplomatic engagements concerning the resistance of Ottoman Africa and specifically Ottoman Egypt against the European colonizers. When we consider the isolation that Emin went through from 1883 until the Relief Expedition and the helplessness of the Government, the archival sources in Cairo possibly do not offer an excessive amount of information concerning the governorship of Emin Pasha. The fact that the Equatorial Province and, in general, the inner corners of Central Africa could not be controlled by a central government efficiently might also indicate a possible deficiency in Egyptian archives concerning the history of *Hatt-ı İstiva*. Thus, the sources I used, such as letters, memoirs, or travelogues, are still worthy of depicting the realities of the province.

Lastly, the case of Equatoria, the central theme of my work, can also be linked to Ottoman colonialism debates. The debate, for some reason, excluded the Egyptian Sudan. The semi-independent nature of Khedivate might be the cause, but as shown in the 6th chapter, the Ottoman Empire acknowledged Egypt and Sudan as part of their territories. Apart from that, studying Bahr al-Ghazal Province in terms of Ottoman Africa and Ottoman relations with Buganda and/or Uganda Protectorate can also contribute to the literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

A. Archival Sources

BOA, Ottoman State Archives, Istanbul

HR.SYS. 911/ 2 (10 May 1894)

Y.A.HUS. 298/56 (25 Zilkade 1311/ 30 May 1894)

Y.PRK.TKM. 24/1 (3 Cemaziyelahir 1309/ 4 January 1892) HR.SYS.59/ 35 (2 April 1888)

HRT.h. 661 (29 Zilhicce 1301/ 20 October 1884)

HRT.h. 656 (25 Rebûlevvel 1335/ 19 January 1917)

HR.TO. 63/58 (15 December 1888)

HR.TO. 63/59 (18 December 1888)

Y.EE.127/5 (14 Rebiülahir 1304/10 January 1887)

HR.SYS.Y. 986/35 (15 December 1888)

HR.SFR.3. 345 / 103 (18 December 1888)

HR.SYS. 986/37 (22 December 1888)

Y.A.HUS. 220/ 61 (25 Rebiülahir 1306/ 29 December 1888)

Y.PRK.EŞA. 8 /68 (26 Rebiülahir 1306/ 30 December 1888)

Y.PRK.HR.19/26 (6 Zilhicce 1311/ 10 June 1894)

HR.SFR.3.345/110 (22 December 1888)

HR.TO.63/ 61 (22 December 1888)

HR.H. 64/ 15 (2 December 1897)

HR.UHM. 24/3 (28 January 1898)

BEO. Mümtaze-i Mısır, 5/A, 135

Mısır İradeleri, nr. 1595

Y.A. HUS. 296/54 (11 Zilkade 1311/ 10 May 1894)

İ.DH. 733/ 60077 (6 Şevval 1293/ 25 October 1876)

Y.PRK.TKM.14/32 (16 Cemaziyelevvel 1306/ 18 January 1889)

Y.MTV.73/11 (2 Cemaziyelahir 1310/ 22 December 1892)

HR.SFR.3. 208/35 (2 April 1874)

HR.SFR.3. 207/ 30 (7 March 1874)

HR.SFR.3. 154/76 (3 June 1869)

Y.EE.84/21 (3 Muharrem 1298/ 6 December 1880)

İ.MTZ. (05) 29/1584 (10 Ramazan 1311/ 17 March 1894)

B.Printed Sources

Ali Cevad. *Memalik-i Osmaniye'nin Tarih ve Coğrafya Lügatı*. Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1313.

Ali Saib. *Coğrafya-yı Mufassal: Memalik-i Devlet-i Osmaniye*. Istanbul: Matbaa-yi Ebuzziya, 1304.

Atik, Kayhan. *Lütfi Paşa ve Tevarih-i Ali Osman*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2001.

Baker, Sir Samuel. "The Khedive of Egypt's Expedition to Central Africa." *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 18/ 1 (December 1873).

Baker, Sir Samuel. *Ismailia- A Narrative of the Expedition to Central Africa for the Suppression of the Slave Trade Organized by Khedive Ismail Pasha*, 2nd edition. London: Macmillan and Co., 1879.

Casati, Gaetano. *Ten Years in Equatoria and the Return with Emin Pasha*, trans. by J. Randolph Clay. London and New York: Frederick Warne and Co., 1891.

Cevad ibnü'n-Nüzheth. *Musavver Memalik-i Osmaniye Coğrafyası*. Istanbul: Mürettibin-i Osmani Matbaası, 1328.

Dankoff, Robert, and Tezcan, Nuran and Sheridan, Michael D. *Ottoman Explorations of the Nile- Evliya Çelebi's 'Matchless Pearl These Reports of the Nile' map and his accounts of the Nile and the Horn of Africa in The Book of Travels*. London: Gingko Library, 2018.

"General Act of the Conference of Berlin Concerning the Congo." *The American Journal of International Law* 37 1, Supplement: Official Documents (Jan., 1909): 7-25.

Gray, John, ed. "The Diaries of Emin Pasha- Extracts I." *The Uganda Journal* 25/1 (March 1961).

Gray, John, ed. "The Diaries of Emin Pasha- Extracts IV." *The Uganda Journal* 26/2 (September 1962).

Gray, John, ed. "The Diaries of Emin Pasha-Extracts V." *The Uganda Journal* 27/1 (March 1963).

Gray, John, ed. "The Diaries of Emin Pasha- Extracts VI." *The Uganda Journal* 27/2 (1963).

Gray, John, ed. "The Diaries of Emin Pasha- Extracts VII." *The Uganda Journal* 28/1 (March 1964).

- Gray, John, ed. "The Diaries of Emin Pasha- Extracts XI." *The Uganda Journal* 30/ 2 (1966).
- Gray, John,ed. "The Dairies of Emin Pasha- Extracts XII." *The Uganda Journal* 31/2 (1967).
- Hill, George Birkbeck, ed. *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa 1874-1879*, 4th edition. London, 1885.
- Hüseyin Hüsnü. *Coğrafya-yı Umumi*. (n.d.). Istanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi no: TY 04191.
- Ibrahim Hilmi. *Memalik-i Osmaniye Ceyb Atlası*. Istanbul: Kitaphane-i İslam ve Askeri, 1323.
- Jephson, A. J. Mounteney. *Emin Pasha and the Rebellion at the Equator- A Story of Nine Months' Experiences in The Last of The Soudan Provinces*. London: Gilbert and Bivington, LD., 1890.
- Kızıltoprak, Süleyman ed. *15 Numaralı Mühimme-i Mısır Defteri*. Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 2015.
- Mehmed İzzet. *Yeni Afrika*. Istanbul, 1308/ 1890-1.
- Mehmed Muhsin. *Afrika Delili*. Cairo, el-fellah Ceridesi Matbaası, 1895.
- Mehmed Rüşdi and Mehmed Eşref. *Memâlik-i Mahrûse-i Şâhâneye Mah-sûs Mükemmel ve Mufassal Atlas*. Istanbul: Şirket-i Mürettibiye Matbaası, 1325.
- Mısır Salnamesi*, Mısır fi Sene 1288. Paris: Paris Victor Goupy Matbaası.
- Muhammed Mihri. *Sudan Seyahatnamesi*, Istanbul 1326, edited by Ahmet Kavas. Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2016.
- Ömer Kamil Paşa. *Sudan-ı Mısrî*. Istanbul, 1888, Istanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Library, no: TY4243.
- Ömer Suphi. *Memalik-i Osman'ın Mufassal Coğrafyası, Afrika-yı Osmani*, 1st volume. Istanbul Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi no:TY4123, 1894.
- Parke, Thomas. *My Personal Experiences in Equatorial Africa as Medical Officer of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition*. London Sampson Low, Maeston Company, 1891.
- Qapudan, Salim. *Premier voyage a la recherche des sources du Bahr-el-Abiad ou Nil-Blanc*, extrait of the Bulletin of French Geographical Society. Paris, Imprimerie De Bourgogne Et Martinet, 1842.
- Ragıp Raif and Rauf Ahmed, *Mısır Meselesi*, 1334 Babı Ali Hariciye Nezareti Istanbul Matbaa-i Amire, edited by Mustafa Öztürk, and Sevda Özkaya Özer. Fırat Üniversitesi Basımevi, Elazığ, 2011.
- R., E.G. "Obituary of Emin Pasha (Dr. E. Schnitzer)." *The Geographical Journal* 2/ 5 (Nov., 1893): 468-470. Published by The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers).

Schweinfurth, George; Ratzel, Friedrich ; Felkin, Robert ; and Hartlaub, Gustav eds. *Emin Pasha in Central Africa- Being A Collection Of His Letters And Journals*. London, 1888.

Stanley, Henry. *In Darkest Africa or The Quest Rescue and Retreast of Emin Governor of Equatoria*, 2 volumes. London Sampson Low, Mauston, Searle And Livington, 1890.

C.Periodicals

Çocuklara Rehber. Selanik, 1313/ 1897.

Maarif. Istanbul: Kasbar Matbaası 1309/ 1894 , 1311/1893.

Neval-i Marifet. Konstantiniyye: Ebuzziya Matbaası, 1306/1889.

Servet-i Fünun. Istanbul: Alem Matbaası, 1890.

Basiret. Istanbul, 1291/ 1874.

Tercüman-ı Hakikat. Istanbul, 30 Kanunisanı 1890/ 9 Cemaziyelahir 1307.

Mürüvvet. Istanbul, 1888.

Resimli Gazete. Istanbul: Kitabçı Karabet, 1307.

Sabah. 1307/ 1889–1890.

Secondary Sources

Achebe, Chinua. “An Image of Africa: Racism in Conrad’s ‘Heart of Darkness.’” *Massachusetts Review* 57/1, (Spring 2016): 14-27.

Ajayi, J.F. Ade, ed. *General History of Africa, vol VI, Africa in the Nineteenth Century until the 1880s*. UNESCO International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa. University of California Press, 1989.

Akalın, Durmuş and Parlaz, Selim. *XIX. Yüzyılda Doğu Afrika’da Osmanlılar ve İtalyanlar*. Istanbul: Kesit Yayınları, 2015.

Akalın, Durmuş. “19. Yüzyılda Mısır’ın Doğu Afrika’da Yayılma Siyaseti”, accessed 24/04/202. <https://www.academia.edu/36040042/19Y>

Akarlı, Engin Deniz. “Provincial Power Magnates in Ottoman Bilad al-Sham and Egypt.” 1740-1840,” in *La vie sodale dans les provinces arabes a l’epoque ottomane*, 1988.

Akgül, Mücelya. “Layihalara Göre II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Mısır’ın Siyasi Durumu.” Master’s Thesis, Niğde Ömer Halisdemir Üniversitesi, 2019.

Akpınar, Özkan. “Geographical Imagination in School Geography During The Late Ottoman Period, 1876-1908.” Master’s Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2010.

Altundağ, Şinasi. “Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa Hakkında Kısa Bir Etüd.” *A. O. D. T. C. Fakültesi Dergisi* 3: 33-45.

- Aviles, Javier Serrano. "Steamers on the Upper Nile: Stations Under Emin Pasha Equatoria." *The Uganda Journal* 52 (December 2009).
- Aymes, Marc. "Many a Standard at a Time: The Ottomans' Leverage with Imperial Studies." *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 8/1 (Summer 2013): 26-43.
- Bacqué-Grammont, Jean -Louis. "L'Afrique dans la cosmographie de Kâtib Çelebi." *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, XL (2012): 121-170.
- Barthorp, Michael. *War on the Nile- Britain, Egypt and the Sudan 1882-1898*. Blandford Press, 1984.
- Batmaz, Şakir, ed. *Afrika'da Osmanlı Asırları- Siyah İnci Beyaz Lale -A History of Ottoman Africa Black Pearl and White Tulips*. Istanbul, Kenz Yayınları, 2013.
- Bostan, İdris. "Orta Afrika'da Nüfuz Mücadelesi ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu (1893-1895)." *Bellleten* 54/210 (1990): 665-698.
- Bostan, İdris. "Ottoman Empire and The Congo: The Crisis of 1893-1895." in *Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic History V*, edited by Sinan Kunalp, 103-119 (Istanbul:ISIS Press,1990).
- Bulduk, Üçler. "Hülasa-i Ahvali'l-Buldan'a Göre 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Afrikası." in *Kerkük Çok Irak Değil Prof. Dr. Eşref Buharalı'ya Armağan Türk Tarihine Dair Yazılar II*, edited by Alparslan Demir, Tuba Kalkan and Eralp Erdoğan . Ankara:Gece Kitaplığı, 2017.
- Burbank, Jane and Cooper, Frederick. *Empires in World History: Power and The Politics of Difference*. Princeton University Press, 2010.
- Bursalı Mehmed Tahir. *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, edited by Yekta Saraç. Ankara: TÜBA, 2016.
- Casale, Giancarlo. *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Colley, Linda. "Going Native Telling Tales: Captivity, Collaborations and Empire." *Past And Present* no. 168.
- Collins, Robert. O. *The Southern Sudan in Historical Perspective*. Routledge, 2006.
- Çaycı, Abdurrahman. *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti (1858-1911)*. Ankara:Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1995.
- Dados, Nour Nicole. "Mapping Empire: Knowledge Production and Government in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire." in *Media and Mapping Practices in the Middle East and North Africa*, edited by Alena Strohmaier and Angela Krewani. Amsterdam University Press, 2021.
- Daly, Martin W, ed. *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol 2. Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Deringil, Selim. *Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

- Deringil, Selim. "Ghazi Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha and the British Occupation of Egypt." in *The Ottomans, the Turks, and World Power Politics*. Istanbul: ISIS Press, 2000.
- Deringil, Selim. "Les Ottomans et le partage de l'Afrique. (1880-1990)." in *Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic History V: The Ottomans and Africa*, edited by Sinan Kunalp Istanbul: The ISIS Press, 1990.
- Deringil, Selim. "They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery:' the Late Ottoman Empire and the Post-Colonial Debate." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45/2 (April 2003).
- DİA, "Abdullah b. Muhammed et-Teayışı." *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/abdullah-b-muhammed-et-teayisi> (28.06.2023).
- Doğan, Ahmet. "The Berlin West African Conference 1884-1885 and The Ottoman Empire." Master's Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2021.
- Dunn, John P. *Khedive Ismail's Army*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- "Emin Paşa." *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 15. Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1968.
- Fahmy, Khaled. *Mehmed Ali: from Ottoman governor to ruler of Egypt*. Oxford: Oneworld, 2009.
- Falola, Toyin. *Key events in African History: a reference guide*. London: Greenwood Press, 2002.
- Flint, John E, ed. *Cambridge History of Africa, from c. 1790 to c. 1870*, vol 5. Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Fortna, Benjamin. "Change in the School Maps of the Late Ottoman Empire." *Imago Mundi* 57, No. 1 (2005) :23-34.
- Gençoğlu, Halim. *Bree Sokağı No 122, Afrika'ya Hayat Veren Türkler*. Istanbul: Grius, 2021.
- Gençoğlu, Halim. *Güney Afrika'da Osmanlı İzleri, Güney Afrika'da Osmanlı Kültürel Mirası (Arşiv Kayıtları, Resimler ve Belgeler)*. Istanbul:Kronik Kitap, 2022.
- Gençoğlu, Halim. "Güney Afrika Milli Arşivlerinin Osmanlı Tarih Yazıcılığı Açısından Önemi." *Belleten* 83 /298 (December 2019): 933-956.
- Gençoğlu, Halim. *Ottoman Traces in Southern Africa – The Impact of Eminent Turkish Emissaries and Muslim Theologians*. Istanbul:Libra Yayınları, 2018.
- Gençoğlu, Halim. "The Significance of Turkish archives for South African historiography." *Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa* 73 /1 (June 2019).
- Georgeon, François. *Sultan Abdülhamid*. Istanbul:İletişim Yayınları, 2020.
- Gilbert, Erik and Reynolds, Jonathan. *Dünya Tarihinde Afrika*. Istanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2019.

- Görgün, Hilal. "Mısır Vilayetinde Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet Dönemi." *Divan Disiplinlerarası Çalışmalar Dergisi* 13/24 (2008/1): 157-183.
- Gray, Richard. *A History of the Southern Sudan 1839-1889*. Reprint Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1978.
- Gücüm, Kuntay. "1884-1885 Berlin Konferansı ve Kongo Örneği, Afrika'nın Sömürgeleştirilmesi Karşısında II. Abdülhamid Yönetimi." *Teori Dergisi* (2019).
- Güllüoğlu, Abdullah. "Schmiede, Hanspeter Achmed." *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/schmiede-hanspeter-achmed> (11.06.2023).
- Hanley, Will. "When Did Egyptians Stop Being Ottomans? An Imperial Citizenship Case Study." in *Multilevel Citizenship*, edited by Willem Maas. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
- Hastings, Adrian. *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Hathaway, Jane. *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt- The Rise of the Qazdaglıs*. Ohio State University, 2002.
- Hourani, Albert. *Arap Halkları Tarihi*. Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2020.
- Hazar, Numan. "Sultan II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Osmanlı Afrika Devleti ve Afrika Siyaseti." in *Devr-i Hamid-Sultan II. Abdülhamid*, vol 4, edited by Şakir Batmaz, 182-218. Kayseri, Erciyes Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011.
- Hill, Richard. "The Period of Egyptian Occupation 1820-1881." *Sudan Notes and Records* 40 (1959):101-106.
- Hill, Richard. *A Biographical Dictionary of the Sudan*. Routledge, 2019.
- Hill, Richard. *Egypt in the Sudan 1820-1881*. Oxford University Press, 1959.
- Hochschild, Adam. *King Leopold's Ghost- A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999.
- Holt, Peter Malcolm. *The Mahdist State in the Sudan*, second edition. Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Hunter, F. Robert. *Egypt Under the Khedives: 1805-1879: From Household Government to Modern Bureaucracy*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1999.
- Hunwick, John. "Arabic Sources for African History." in *Writing African History*, edited by J. Edward Philips, 216-253. New York: University of Rochester Press, 2005.
- Ibrahim, Gassim. "Afrika'nın Sömürgeleştirilmesi: Berlin Konferansı ve Osmanlı Devleti (1884-1885)." PhD Diss, Fatih Sultan Mehmed University, 2022.
- Ibrahim, Hassan Ahmed. "The Strategy, Responses and Legacy of the First Imperialist Era in the Sudan 1820-1885." *The Muslim World* 91 (Spring 2001): 209-228.

- İhsanoğlu, Ekmeleddin. *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü Tarihi*, 2 vols. Istanbul: İslam Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi, 2000.
- Jeal, Tim. *Explorers of the Nile: The Triumph and Tragedy of a Great Victorian Adventure*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.
- Karahan, Abdülkadir. “Bilinmeyen Bir Mektubuna Göre Ali Suavi’nin Kişiliği ve Mısır Yönetiminde Bir Afrika Devleti Kurma Hayali.” Paper presented at the VII. Conference of Turkish History, Ankara 1970. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1973.
- Karakoç, Merve. “Güney Afrika’da Açılan Osmanlı Mektepleri.” Master’s Thesis, Trakya Üniversitesi, 2019.
- Karal, Enver Ziya. *Osmanlı Tarihi* vol 7. Ankara: TTK, 2011.
- Karpat, Kemal. *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*. Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Kavas, Ahmet “Ottoman Relations with Southern Africa.” *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 48 (2007): 11-20.
- Kavas, Ahmet, and Ülker , Mustafa Birol and Tandoğan, Muhammed. *Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Afrika Bibliyografyası; Africa Bibliographie de l’Afrigue*. Taş Mektep Yayın Atölyesi, 2013.
- Kavas, Ahmet. *Geçmişten Günümüze Afrika*. Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2017.
- Kavas, Ahmet. *Osmanlı-Afrika İlişkileri*. Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2011.
- Kavas, Ahmet. *Osmanlı’nın Merkezi Afrika’ya Açılan Kapısı-Fizan Sancağı*. Istanbul: Alelmas Yayıncılık, 2018.
- Kızıltoprak, Süleyman. *Mısır’da İngiliz işgali: Osmanlı’nın diplomasi savaşı, (1882-1887)*. Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010.
- Kızıltoprak, Süleyman. *Mısır’da Osmanlı’nın Son Yüzyılı Mehmet Ali Paşa’dan II. Abbas Hilmi Paşa’ya*. TBBD Yayınları, 2010.
- Kirchen, Christian. *Emin Pascha: Arzt - Abenteurer – Afrikaforscher*. Brill Schöningh, 2014.
- Kirchen, Christian. “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Bir Alman Doktor Emin Paşa (Eduard Schnitzer).” *Toplumsal Tarih* 213 (September 2011): 50-54.
- Kocamaz, Gürkan. “1884-1885 Berlin Konferansı ve Afrika’nın Avrupalı Devletler Tarafından Paylaşımı.” Master’s Thesis, Manisa Celal Bayar University, 2015.
- Koçyiğit, Ömer. “Muhayyelden Musavvere: Matbuat Çağında Osmanlı’da Afrika Tasavvuru (Sudan Örneği).” *Marmara Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 9 (2022): 226-246.
- Kuneralp, Sinan, eds. *Studies On Ottoman Diplomatic History V*. Istanbul: The ISIS Press, 1990.

- Kutluoğlu, Muhammed Hanefi. "Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa." *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kavalali-mehmed-ali-pasa> (20.05.2023).
- Kutluoğlu, Muhammed. *The Egyptian Question: (1831 - 1841) ; the Expansionist Policy of Mehmed Ali Paşa in Syria and Asia Minor and the reaction of the Sublime Porte*. Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1998.
- Kühn, Thomas. "Shaping and Reshaping Colonial Ottomanism: Contesting Boundaries of Difference and Integration in Ottoman Yemen, 1872-1919." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27/2 (2007): 315–331.
- Lawson, Fred Haley. *Social Origins of Egyptian Expansionism during the Muhammad 'Ali Period*. Columbia University Press, 1992.
- Leopold, Mark. "Crossing the line: 100 years of the North-West Uganda/South Sudan border." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 3/ 3 (November 2009): 464-478.
- Lorenz, Fredrick Walter. "Agents, Ambassadors, and Imams: Ottoman-British Transimperialism in the Cape of Good Hope, 1862–1869." *Journal of World History* 34, no. 2 (2023): 241-276.
- Makdisi, Usama. "Ottoman Orientalism." *American Historical Review* 107/ 3 (June 2002).
- Marsot, Afaf Lutfi as-Sayyid. *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Martin, B. G. "Turkish Archival Sources for West African History." *African Studies Bulletin*, 10/3, (1967): 59–65.
- Melis, Nicola. "L'Impero ottomano alla Conferenza di Berlino (1884-85): imperialismo e anti imperialismo all'epoca di Abdülhamid II." *Afriche e Orienti* XXI (2), 2019.
- Meyers, Jeffrey. "Henry Morton Stanley and Emin Pasha: New Historical Sources for Heart of Darkness." *Conradiana* 48/1 (Spring 2016): 77-82.
- Minawi, Mostafa. *The Ottoman Scramble for Africa: Empire and Diplomacy in the Sahara and the Hijaz*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2016.
- Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonising Egypt*. Cambridge; New York; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Moore-Harrell, Alice. *Egypt's African Empire: Samuel Baker, Charles Gordon and the Creation of Ekuatoria*. Liverpool University Press, 2010.
- Moore-Harrell, Alice. *Gordon and the Sudan: Prologue to the Mahdiyya 1877-1880*. Routledge, 2013.
- Moorehead, Alan. *The White Nile*. Harper Perennial, 2000.
- Mustafa, Umar Abdin. "Emin Pasha in the Equatorial Province: A Study of Challenges and Achievements." Master's Thesis, American University of Beirut, 1971.

- Nour Ali, Tarig Mohamed. *Osmanlı Sudanı- Sevakin'de Türk-İngiliz Rekabeti*. İstanbul: İskenderiye Kitap, 2021.
- Ogborn, Miles. *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800*. Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Okay, Cüneyd. "Eski Harfli Çocuk Dergileri." *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 4, no. 7, (2006): 511-518.
- Okay, M. Orhan. "Maarif." *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/maarif-dergi>
- Orakçı, Serhat. "A Historical Analysis of the Emerging Links Between the Ottoman Empire and South Africa Between 1861-1923." Master's Thesis, University of Johannesburg, 2007.
- Orhonlu, Cengiz. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Güney Siyaseti- Habeş Eyaleti*. Ankara: TTK, 1996.
- Owen, Roger. *Cotton and the Egyptian Economy, 1820-1914: A Study in Trade and Development*. Clarendon Press, 1969.
- Özbaran, Salih. *Yemen'den Basra'ya Sınırdaki Osmanlı*. İstanbul:Kitap Yayınevi, 2019.
- Özdağ, Abdullah. *Nil'de Ayaklanma ve Savaş Sudan'da İngiliz Politikası 1881-1899*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2022.
- Özkaya Özer, Sevda. "Osmanlı Devleti İdaresinde Mısır (1839-1882)." PhD Diss., Fırat University, 2007.
- Özkoç, Özge. *Mısır'ın Uzun 19. Yüzyılı Moderleşme, Merkezileşme ve Özerklik*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2015.
- Pakenham, Thomas. *The Scramble for Africa: White Man's Conquest of the Dark Continent from 1876 to 1912*. London: Abacus, 1991.
- Palabıyık, Mustafa Serdar. "Ottoman Empire and Africa in the Age of Colonial Expansion on Appreciating the Loyalty of African Muslims, Debating Colonial Rupture." in *Turkey in Africa*, edited by Elem Eyryce Tepeciklioğlu and Ali Onur Tepeciklioğlu. Routledge, 2011.
- Parker, Sybil P. ed. *World Geographical Encyclopedia*, vol 1, Africa. McGraw-Hill, 1995.
- Pınar, Hayrettin. *Tanzimat Döneminde İktidarın Sınırları, Babiali ve Hıdiv İsmail*. İstanbul:Kitap Yayınevi, 2012.
- Reid, Donald Malcolm. "The Egyptian Geographical Society: From Foreign Laymen's Society to Indigenous Professional Association." *Poetics Today* 14/3 (Autumn, 1993): 539-572.
- Rempel, Ruth. "Exploration, Knowledge and Empire in Africa: the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition." PhD Diss., University of Toronto, 2000.

- Riehl, Volker. "Who actually was Emin Pasha- A German Explorer's Contribution to the Birth of Uganda." *The Uganda Journal* 44 (1997): 92-107.
- Rolandsen, Øystein H, and Daly, Martin W. *A History of South Sudan: From Slavery to Independence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. C, 2016.
- Sarıbal, İsmet. "İkbalden Zevale: Sultan II. Abdülhamid'in Mâbeyn-i Hümâyûnundan Kazanlı Ahmed Nermi Bey." *Journal of History and Future* 6/4 (December 2020).
- Sarıncı, Yusuf. *Ottoman Archives and Ethio-Ottoman Relations*. Ankara:Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2001.
- Schaade, Arthur. "Emin Paşa." *Meb İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol.4. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1978.
- Schmiede, Ahmet. "Alman Asıllı Bir Osmanlı Devlet Adamı ve Alimi: Hattıüstüva Valisi Dr. Mehmed Emin Paşa." *Türk Dünyası Dergisi* no. 49 and 50 (1991).
- Schulten, Oliver. "The Ottoman Time in Africa- Habes Eyaleti and Turkiyya, 1500-1884: A Bibliography." Accessed 20 April 2023. <https://www.academia.edu/33065903/TheOttomanTimeinAfricaHabesEyaletiandTurkiyya1500-1884>
- Schweitzer, Georg. *Emin Pasha, His Life and Work*. A. Constable, 1898.
- Seyyid, Eymen Fuad. "Nil." *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/nil>
- Shaw, Stanford J. "The Ottoman Archives as a Source for Egyptian History." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83/ 4 (1963): 447-52.
- Shee, Charles. "Dr. Eduard Schnitzer alias Emin Pasha." *The Central African Journal of Medicine* 12/3 (March 1966).
- Shibeika, Mekki."The Expansionist Movement of Khedive Ismail to the Lakes." in *Sudan in Africa*, edited by Yusuf Fadl Hasan. Khartoum University Press, 1972.
- Shillington, Kevin. *History of Africa*, 4th Edition. New York: Red Globe Press, 2019.
- Shukry, Muhammad. *Equatoria under Egyptian Rule- Unpublished Correspondence of Col. (afterwards Major-Gen.) C.G. Gordon with Ismail Khedive of Egypt and the Sudan During the Years 1874- 1876*. Cairo: Cairo University Press, 1953.
- Simpson, Donald. "A Bibliography of Emin Pasha." *The Uganda Journal* 24/2 (1960).
- Smith, Iain R. *The Emin Pasha Relief Expedition*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.
- Somel, Selçuk Akşin. "Hakan-ı Rum or Yavuz Sultan Selim- Throne of Joseph or Universal Islamic Caliphate? Some Observations on Changing Ottoman perceptions of the Conquest of the Mamluk Lands from 1520 to 1920." in *1516 The Year that Changed the Middle East*, Edited by Abdulrahim Abu-Husayn , 45-110. American University of Beirut Press, 2021.

- Stigand, Chauncy Hugh. *Equatoria: the Lado Enclave*. Routledge; 1st edition, 1990.
- Sweitzer, George. *Emin Pasha His Life and Work*. Westminster Archibald Constable and Co., 1898.
- Tandoğan, Muhammed. *Afrika'da Sömürgecilik ve Osmanlı Siyaseti (1800-1922)*. Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 2013.
- Tandoğan, Muhammed. "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Unutulmuş Sınırları ve Tarihi Coğrafyası: Bir Mekân Tasavvuru Olarak Afrikâ-yi Osmânî." in *II. Türk İslam Siyasi Düşüncesi Kongresi Bildiriler Kitabı*, 69-86. Kütahya, 2018.
- Tezcan, Nuran. "Nil Yolculuğu: Mısır, Sudan, Habeşistan." in *Doğumunun 400. Yılında Evliya Çelebi*, edited by Nuran Tezcan and Semih Tezcan, 244-265. Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2011.
- Tezcan, Nuran. "Seyahatname'de Gerçekle Kurmacanın İnce Çizgisi: Evliya'nın Nil'in Kaynağını Görme Tutkusu." in *Doğumunun 400. Yılında Evliya Çelebi Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, edited by Yusuf Akçay, 367-375. İstanbul Gelişim Üniversitesi, 2012.
- Toledano, Ehud R. *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East*. Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1997.
- Toussoun, Omar. *Tarih ü Müdiriyyeti'l Hatti'l-istivâi'l-Mısriyye: 1869-1889*. Alexandria, 1937.
- Triulzi, Alessandro. Book review of Ghada H. Talhami, *Suakin and Massawa under Egyptian Rule 1865-1885*, University Press of America (Washington, DC), 1979. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 14/ 4 (1981): 764-766.
- Trout Powell, Eve. *A Different Shade of Colonialism: Egypt, Great Britain, and the Mastery of the Sudan*. University of California Press Berkeley, 2003.
- Turton, E. R. "Kirk and the Egyptian Invasion of East Africa in 1875: A Reassessment". *The Journal of African History* 11/ 3 (1970): 355-70.
- Türesay, Özgür. "The Ottoman Empire Seen Through The Lens of Postcolonial Studies: A Recent Historiographical Turn." *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* (2013/2), No 60-2.
- Uçar, Ahmet. *140 Yıllık Miras: Güney Afrika'da Osmanlılar*. İstanbul: Tez Yayınları, 2000.
- Uçar, Gülistan. "II. Abdülhamid Han'ın Batı Dillerinden Türkçeye Çevirttiği Eserler." Master's Thesis, Konya Necmettin Erbakan University, 2020.
- Uçarol, Rifat. "Gazi Ahmed Muhtar Paşa." *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*.
- Uçarol, Rifat. *Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Paşa (1839-1919) (Askeri ve Siyasi Hayatı)*. İstanbul: Filiz Kitabevi, 1989.

- Udal, John. *The Nile in Darkness: Conquest and Exploration 1504-1862*. M. Russell, 1998.
- Uğur, Hatice. “Understanding Afrika-yi Osmani in the late Ottoman Period: The case of Zanzibar.” Master’s Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2003.
- Uğur, Hatice. *Osmanlı Afrikası’nda Bir Sultanlık: Zengibar*. Istanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2005.
- Uğur, Hatice. “Afrikalı Bir Devlet Olarak Osmanlı.” *Sabah Ülkesi Dergisi* 67 (April 2021).
- Uğur, Hatice. “East Africa’s Entangled Worlds in Ottoman Sources, 1879-1915.” PhD Diss., University of Leipzig, 2022.
- Warburg, G. R. “Egyptian and Sudanese Historical Writings on the Turco-Egyptian Sudan.” Paper presented Marmara Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Istanbul 21-25 Ağustos 1989. Ankara, TTK – 1990.
- Warburg, G. R. “The Turco-Egyptian Sudan: A Recent Historiographical Controversy.” *Die Welt Des Islams* 31/2 (1991): 193–215.
- Warburg, Gabriel. “Some Social and Economic Aspects of Turko – Egyptian Rule in the Sudan.” *Bellesten* 49 (1989): 769-795.
- White, Stanhope. *Lost Empire on the Nile: H. M. Stanley, Emin Pasha and the Imperialists*. Hale, 1969.
- Wigen, Einar. “Ottoman Concepts of Empire.” *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 8/ 1 (Summer 2013): 44–66.
- Yılmaz, İbrahim and Yılmaz, Mustafa. “Piri Reis’in Eserlerinde Afrika.” *Harita Teknolojileri Elektronik Dergisi* 7/ 3, (2015): 34-44.
- Zengin, İlhan. “Köle Ticaretinin XIX. Yüzyılda Sudan’ın Sosyal, Siyasal ve İktisadi Yaşantısına Etkileri.” PhD Diss., Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi, 2018.
- Zengin, İlhan. “Modern Sudan’ın Şekillenmesinde Mısır Hıdivliği’nin Katkıları.” In *Afrikada Türkler sempozyumu, 2014 Cibuti– Bildiriler*, 191-210, edited by Ayşenur Şenel and Şükrü Çavuş, Ankara: TTK, 2020.

Digital Sources

- Access 26 April 2023. <https://networks.h-net.org/node/11419/discussions/10515964/cfp-maghribi-turn-ottoman-history-special-issue-journal-ottoman>
- Şemseddin Sami, *Kâmûs’ul-Â’lâm*, 1904. <https://alam.cagdasozluk.com/osmanlica-ansiklopedi-madde-1633.html>
- <https://www.ttk.gov.tr/tarih-cevirme-kilavuzu/>

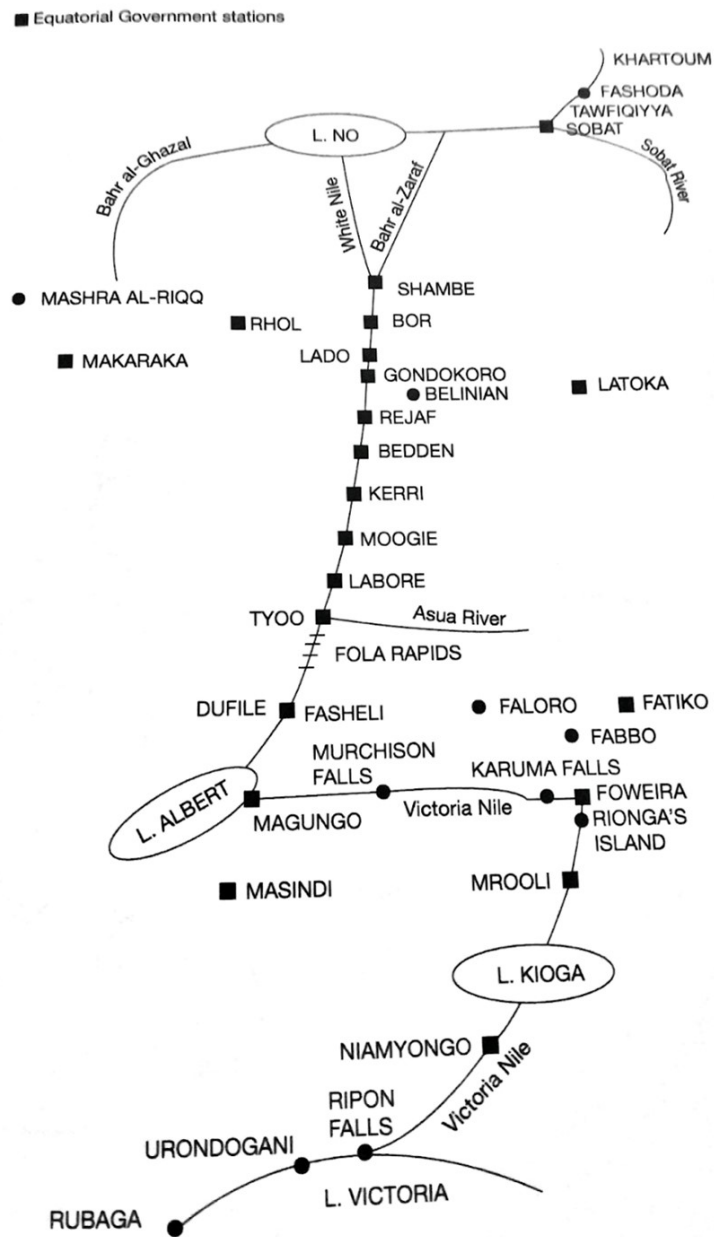
APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Map of Africa.



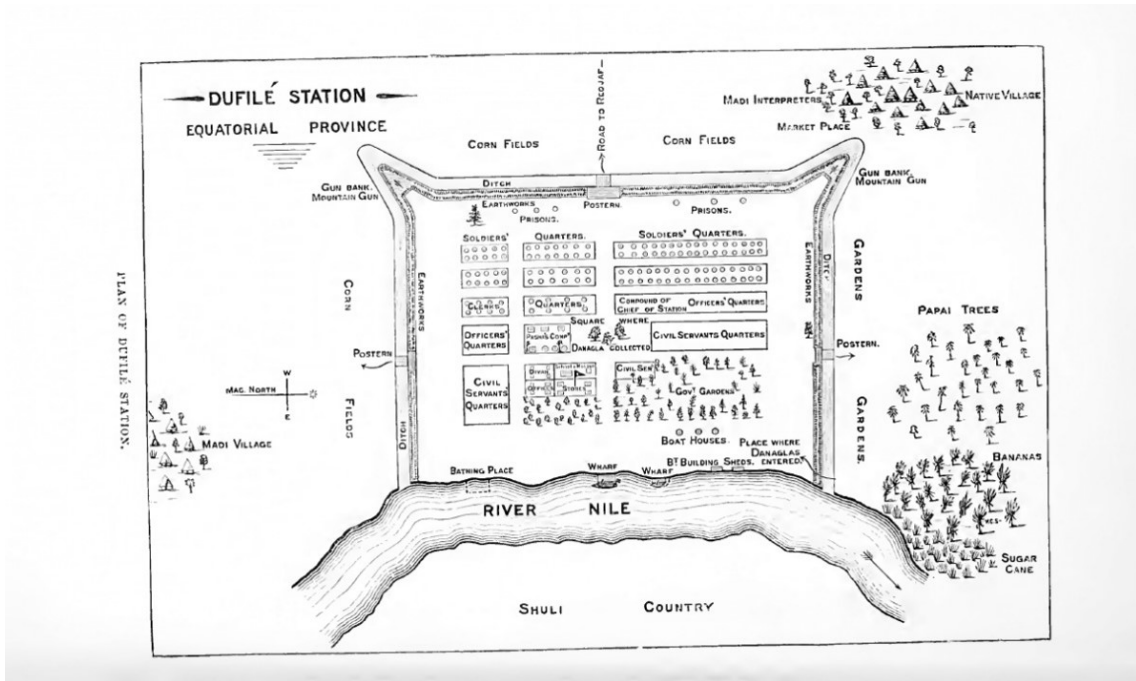
Source: Istanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, IUNЕК, 92307. This map included Uganda in Ottoman Africa.

Appendix 2. A Sketch of Equatorial Province.



Source: Moore-Harrell, *Egypt's African Empire*, 1.

Appendix 3. Plan of Dufilé Station.



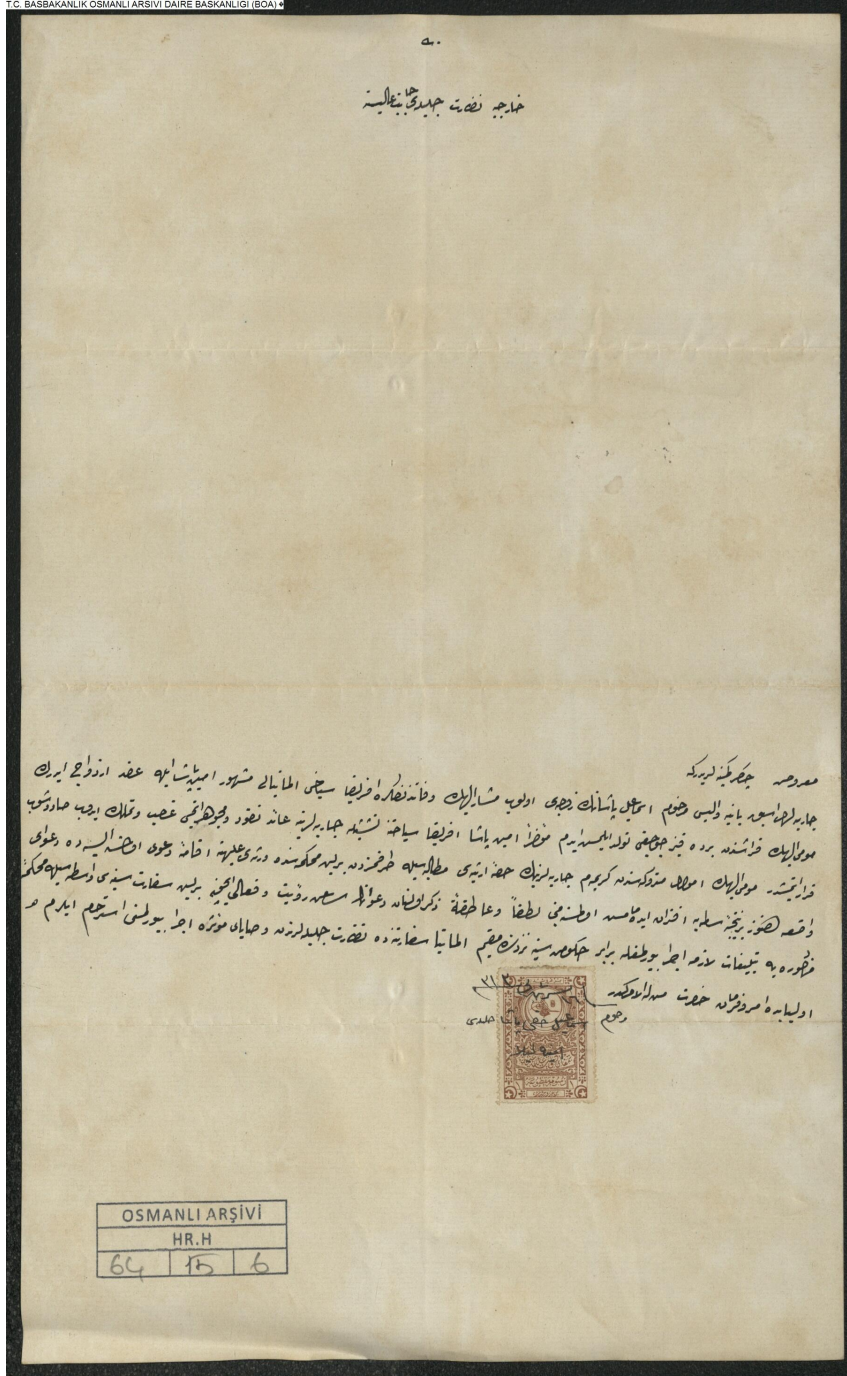
Source: Mounteney, *Emin Pasha and the Rebellion at the Equator*, 82.

Appendix 4. Portrait of Emin Pasha.



Source: Schweinfurth et al., *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 1.

Appendix 7. The Petition of Emine Leyla.



BOA, HR.H.64/15 ((2 December 1897)

Hariciye nezaret-i celilesi canib-i alisine,

Maruz-ı çaker-i kemîneleridir ki

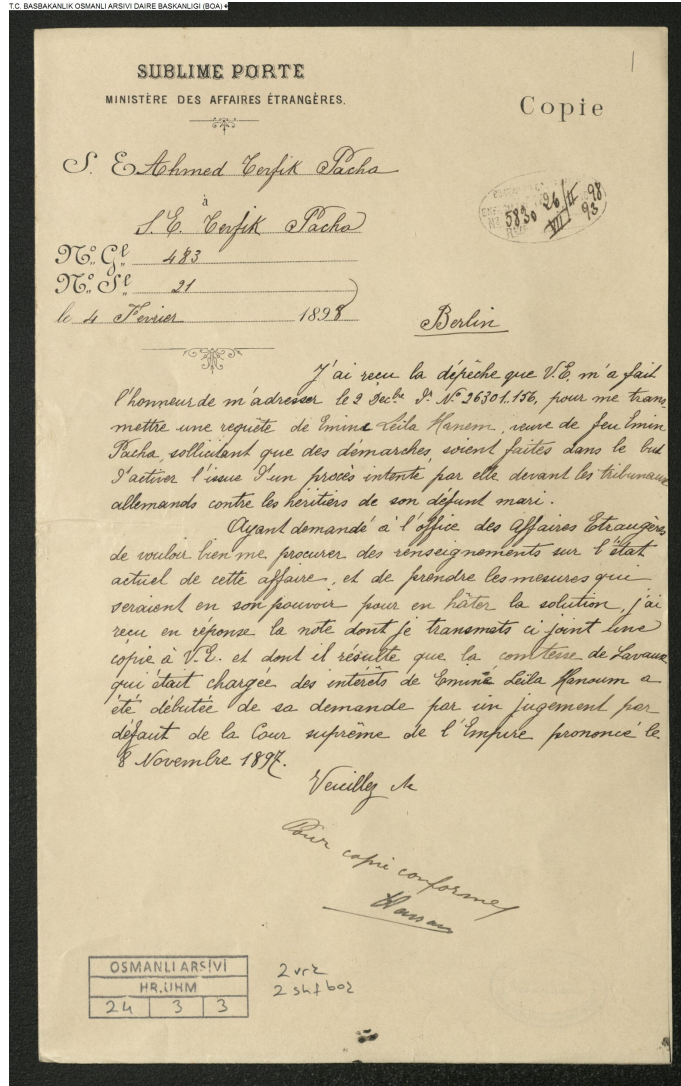
Cariyeleriniz esbak Yanya valisi merhum İsmail Paşa'nın zevcesi olup müşârunileyhin vefatından sonra Afrika seyyahı Almanyalı meşhur Emin Paşa ile akd-i izdivaç iderek mumaileyhin firâşından bir de kız çocuğu tevellüd eylemiş idim. Muahharen, Emin Paşa Afrika seyahatine teşebbüsle cariyelerine â'id nükûd ve mücevherâtımı gasp

ve temellük edüp sıvuşup firar etmişdür. Mumaileyhin emval-i metrûkesinden kerimem cariyelerinin hisse-i irsiyyesi metâlibesiyle tarafımızdan Berlin mahkemesinde veresei aleyhine ikâme-i dava olunmuş ise de dava-yı vâkia henüz bir netice-i müsellemeğe iktirân edememiş olmasına mebnî lutfen ve âtufeten zikr olunan davanın müsaade-i rü'yet ve faali için Berlin sefaret-i seniyyesi vasıtasıyla mahkeme-i mezkûreye tebligat-ı lazıme icra buyurulmağla beraber hükümet-i seniyye nezdinde mukîm Almanya sefaretine de nezaret-i celilelerinden vesâyâ-yı müessire icra buyurulmasını istirham ieyleyim, Ol babda emr ü ferman hazret-i men leh'ül emrindir.

16 Teşrin-i Sani 1313

Merhum İsmail Hakkı Paşanın halîlesi Emine Leyla

Appendix 8. Document about Emine Leyla's Court



BOA, HR.UHM. 24/3 (28 January 1898)