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The Sudan under Wingate
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Administration in the
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan
1899-1916

Gabriel Warburg
THE SUDAN UNDER WINGATE
SIR F. REGINALD WINGATE AND KARL VON SLATIN PASHA
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Administration in the Anglo-Egyptian
Sudan 1899-1916

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Preface

The purpose of this book is to describe and to analyse the administrative policies in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan during the formative years of the Condominium. The period chosen for this purpose corresponds with the governor-generalship of Sir Reginald Wingate, whose seventeen years as governor-general of the Sudan, had a lasting effect on later developments. This book is therefore primarily about Wingate, Slatin Pasha and a handful of British officials who formulated and executed the Sudan’s administrative policy. It also tries to assess the role played by the Egyptian government and its representatives in the Sudan, in shaping the government of a country, of which they were supposed to be co-rulers. Finally, the book attempts to estimate the effects of administration on the population of the Sudan and to find out whether certain groups within the population influenced the development of government policies as time went on.

I have tried to evaluate the impact of the British and Egyptian governments in formulating policies in the Sudan. However, I limited myself to administrative aspects without trying to assess the political implications of the reconquest. Certain spheres of administration have been dealt with quite briefly. The development of education in the Northern Sudan has been covered adequately by Mr. Mohammed Omar Beshir, while Dr. L. M. Sanderson has devoted her research to education in the South. In view of these works, and also the fascinating autobiography of Shaykh Bābikr Badrī, the founder of girls’ education in the Sudan, I have decided to limit myself only to those aspects of education which had a direct bearing on other fields of administration. Similarly, the development of communications and transport has been described by Mr. R. L. Hill and Dr. O. M. O. Abdu, while the beginnings of a medical service were dealt with by Dr. H. C. Squires. Finally, the economic financial and agricultural policies during the early years of the Condominium, have been admirably dealt with by Mr. J. Stone, Dr. A. W. Abdel Rahim and Mr. A. Gaitskell.¹

The source materials used in writing this book are primarily the official and private papers of the Sudan government officials who worked in the Sudan until the end of the First World War. Most of these papers have been stored at the Sudan Archive in
the School of Oriental Studies, University of Durham. Other collections are those of the Church Missionary Society in London, the Anti-Slavery Society at Oxford, private and official records at the Public Record Office, London, and the *Sudan Intelligence Reports* at the War Office Library, London. This brings me to a major shortcoming, namely the lack of adequate source material of Egyptian or Sudanese origin. Ample use has been made of the few existing autobiographies written by inhabitants of the Sudan. Nonetheless, in the absence of adequate sources, I tried to assess the reactions of the Sudanese to their new rulers through the reflection of their views in the private papers of the administrators. I can only hope that further evidence will emerge and enable historians to shed some light on this problem.

For the spelling of Arabic names and terms I have followed the accepted system of transliteration which will enable readers to find these terms in Arabic publications and dictionaries. The only exception is in regard to names of larger towns which are spelt in the conventional form, e.g. El Obeid, Khartoum, Suakin.
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Abbreviations

CAO  Sudan Government Civil Administration Orders.
CMSA  Church Missionary Society Archive.
DNBS  Dictionary of National Biography, Supplement.
GGC  Governor-General’s Council, minutes of meetings.
GGR  Reports on the Finances, Administration, and Conditions of the Sudan, (Confidential).
FO  Foreign Office Archives.
SAD  Sudan Archive, at the School of Oriental Studies, University of Durham.
SG  Sudan Gazette.
SIR  Sudan Intelligence Report.
SNR  Sudan Notes and Records.
SPS  Sudan Political Service, 1899–1929, Khartoum 1930.
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CHAPTER I

The Governors-General, Kitchener and Wingate

The reconquest of the Sudan and the Condominium Agreement

‘... On 4th September [1898] the British and Egyptian flags were hoisted with due ceremony on the walls of the ruined palace at Khartoum...’ and the Mahdist state came to an end. The overthrow of Mahdism had been propagated for many years by some of the senior British officers of the Egyptian army. Most notable among them was Major Wingate, head of the intelligence department, whose book *Mahdiism and the Egyptian Sudan* was the beginning of a concerted effort to revive British interest in the reconquest of the Sudan. When on 13 March 1898, the British government ordered Kitchener to advance into the Sudan, public opinion in Britain was well prepared for the forthcoming campaign. Britain was furnished with a pretext for the expedition by the defeat of the Italian forces at Adowa on 1 March 1896. However, subsequent evidence has proved that the British decision of 11–12 March was prompted by European reasons connected with the Triple Alliance. Egyptian interests in the Upper Nile played no role in the government’s considerations, nor did the struggle for the control of the Nile, which became a dominating factor only in the later stages of the reconquest. The military campaign which brought about the collapse of the Mahdist state started on 18 March 1896 and came to its successful conclusion on 24 November 1899. It was planned and executed by Kitchener, the sirdar of the Egyptian army, assisted by the information supplied by Wingate, Slatin, and the intelligence department. However, the crushing defeat of the Khalifa’s army in the battles of the Atbara, Karari, and Umm Diwaykarāt, was first and foremost the result of the technological superiority of the advancing conquerors.

The overthrow of the Mahdist state forced the British government to determine the status of the reconquered Sudan as well as its future administration. Until June 1898 there was every indication
that the British government intended to restore Egyptian rule in the Sudan. In June 1898 Cromer pointed out to Salisbury that after the conquest of Omdurman the French might be encountered in the Upper Nile. In that case the Anglo-Egyptian commander would have to lay claim to the territory in the name either of the Egyptian government or of the British government, or of both. Thus, in July 1898 the ‘two flags’ policy was adopted which marked the beginning of Anglo-Egyptian rule in the Sudan. The Condominium Agreement which came into being as a result of this policy excluded Egyptian and international authority from the Sudan and vested the supreme civil and military command in the British-nominated governor-general. On 19 January 1899 Lord Cromer and Butrus Ghali Pasha signed the ‘Agreement for the Administration of the Sudan’, and on the same day Lord Kitchener of Khartoum was appointed as the first sirdar and governor-general of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.6

Kitchener’s governor-generalship

The relationship between the governor-general of the Sudan and the British agent and consul-general in Egypt was largely determined during the short period of Kitchener’s governor-generalship. Following the battle of Karari, the relations between Cromer and Kitchener reached a crisis. Cromer had just completed the first draft of the Sudan agreement. Included in it were two articles relating to the control of the consul-general over Sudanese affairs. Kitchener strongly objected and during his visit to England persuaded Salisbury to alter the proposed constitution. In a letter to Cromer, Salisbury summed up Kitchener’s arguments:

... the Governor General of the Soudan is to govern and is to spend the money he has. In both cases he is, of course, to obey orders received from you ... but he shall not by a formal document be forbidden to pass an Ordinance or to spend 100 £ without preliminary approval ...

As a result of this letter the original draft of the proposed Condominium Agreement was amended. This draft had contained, under article IV, a passage stating that the governor-general of the Sudan could not promulgate laws or regulations without the prior consent of the Khedive and the British consul-general in Cairo. Article VI stated that in all financial matters the Sudan would be controlled by the Egyptian ministry of finance. Both these articles were deleted from the final text of the agreement. The financial regulation of the Sudan government thus became a separate document. This gave a much greater latitude to the governor-general of the Sudan who was empowered to make
appointments of personnel and changes in the budget, with the only proviso that, should such changes entail any increase in the liability of Egypt, they must be approved by the ministry of finance and the Egyptian council of ministers. The signed agreement, as amended, contained no mention of the control exercised by the British consul-general in Cairo over the governor-general. Salisbury, therefore, suggested that ‘... it will be necessary to take an acknowledgement from each new Governor-General, on his appointment, of his subordination to the British Agency...’ In the absence of any clearly defined regulations, it was left to Cromer and Kitchener to find a workable *modus vivendi* for the future relationship. On 19 January 1899 Cromer wrote to Kitchener stating the principles of his relations with the Sudan: ‘... Generally what I want is to control the big questions, but to leave all the detail and execution to be managed locally...’ However, it was soon apparent that these general regulations were open to misinterpretation.

Kitchener’s aims were clear when he became governor-general. He had avenged the murder of Gordon and proved that the Egyptian army could fight. Now, his first priority was to re-establish the seat of government in Khartoum, in the palace where Gordon had ruled, and to transfer the remnants of the population of Omdurman back to the former capital. The rebuilding of Khartoum was ordered by Kitchener in November 1898, while enjoying a hero’s welcome in England. Inadequate sums had been set aside for this project in the Sudan budget, and Kitchener set out to find the necessary funds through less conventional methods. On 26 January 1899, he directed Wingate to ‘... loot like blazes. I want any quantity of marble stairs, marble pavings, iron railings, looking glasses and fittings; doors, windows, furniture of all sorts...’ Again he ordered Wingate not to send any of the Sudan accounts to Gorst, the financial adviser of the Egyptian government. Even Maxwell, the new governor of Khartoum province, was left in the dark and complained to Wingate that everything was sacrificed in order to facilitate the rebuilding of Khartoum. Cromer attempted to interfere, but to no avail. On two occasions Kitchener’s obstinacy had far-reaching consequences. First, he decided to stop the field allowance granted to the Egyptian army serving in the Sudan; Cromer’s order to renew this allowance went unheeded. Secondly, Kitchener adamantly refused to cancel some of the trainloads of building materials destined for Khartoum which were needed to supply grain for the famine stricken provinces. *The Times* correspondent who wrote in April 1900 that the building of Khartoum was executed ‘... by the autocratic will of a single man...’ was therefore not far from the mark. But he made the following
criticisms. Firstly, owing to hasty legislation, most of the town's lands had passed into the hands of a few speculators. Secondly, Kitchener's assumption that the population of Omdurman would move to Khartoum proved fallacious. Khartoum remained an empty city, while the inhabitants of Omdurman were completely neglected.13

The Anglo-Egyptian administration of the Sudan started before Kitchener became governor-general. The reconquest had taken more than two years, during which period the new administration was slowly extended, first to Halfa and then to Dongola and Berber. By April 1899, the reconquered territories of the country had been divided into five provinces and three districts, each under the governorship of a British officer, with Egyptian officers acting as ma'mûrs.14 A number of ordinances were promulgated, dealing mainly with tenure of property, taxation, the licensing of firearms, and the sale of alcoholic liquors. Kitchener also sent a set of instructions to all governors, inspectors, and ma'mûrs laying down his principles of government.15 The main premise of these instructions was that '... The absolute uprootal by the Dervishes of the old system of government has afforded an opportunity for initiating a new administration more in harmony with the requirements of the Soudan ...' The new administration was to be built by '... individual action of British officers, working independently, but with a common purpose, on the individual natives whose confidence they have gained ...'. Kitchener warned his governors that this could be achieved only through the '... better class of native, through whom we may hope gradually to influence the whole population ...'. Furthermore, the governors were warned against trusting the people of the Sudan who make things appear as pleasant to their superiors as possible. The treatment of the inhabitants was to be just but severe: '... The Government should do nothing which could be interpreted as a sign of weakness, and all insubordination must be promptly and severely suppressed ...'. The memorandum included also detailed instructions to the Egyptian ma'mûrs who were warned against accepting bribes, and were ordered '... to make the government of your district as great a contrast as possible to that of the Dervishes ...'. Lastly, the memorandum mentioned the three main principles to be observed by the Sudan government in the coming years. These were: the toleration of domestic slavery, low taxation and the encouragement of Orthodox Islam as opposed to Sufism.

Having laid down these general principles, Kitchener left his new governors to use their own initiative. He was not concerned with central administrative measures, and even refused to consider the Sudan Annual Report, which he ordered Wingate to compile in
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his name. In general, this system of decentralization might have been acceptable in a country like the Sudan, devoid of effective communications and hampered by immense distances, provided that the governor-general enjoyed the respect and trust of his provincial governors. Unfortunately, Kitchener's relations with the British officers were predominantly based on fear. Hence the criticisms they offered never reached his ear, but were received by Wingate, who could only offer his sympathy. Cromer, who knew Kitchener well, attempted to change the latter's attitude to his subordinates. In a private letter sent on the day of his appointment as governor-general, Cromer warned Kitchener, ' . . . In the first place, pray encourage your subordinates to speak up and tell you when they do not agree with you. They are all far too much inclined to be frightened of you . . .' It was not only fear which disturbed the relationship between Kitchener and his subordinates. They also lost faith in his ability to construct a civil administration and were concerned over his absolute absorption in the rebuilding of Khartoum to the exclusion of everything else.

When in 1899 famine broke out in the Sudan, conditions were still unchanged. Kitchener had received ample warning as to the coming plight. Towards the end of 1898, over seventy Sudan notables presented him with a petition in which they complained that the people of the Sudan had been robbed of all they possessed. Moreover, they claimed that owing to the compulsory recruitment of agricultural slaves into the army, cultivation was at a standstill, and hence famine was imminent. As early as April 1898, Talbot wrote to Wingate: ' . . . I fancy we've skimmed the people pretty well. I hope they will have enough left for seed . . .' By April 1899, Talbot reported that on the White Nile ' . . . people live upon water and nuts and are dying in large numbers . . .' Yet, despite these warnings and Cromer's repeated demands, Kitchener refused to take any measures to alleviate the people's plight. He maintained that the famine aided his policy of depriving the Khalifa of local support, and left for a two months' vacation in England. This same attitude prevailed in Kitchener's treatment of the Egyptian army. The army was employed in constructing the Sudan railways and in the works' department, without receiving additional remuneration. But it was not only in the financial sphere that Kitchener's attitude manifested itself. He also regarded the Egyptian officers with profound distrust, as expressed in his Memorandum to Mudirs. Before leaving the Sudan, he reiterated this distrust to Maxwell, who duly reported it to Wingate:

. . . the last thing he said to me was to keep this in mind. The fact is they [the Egyptian officers] are not to be trusted and he always said
even a British officer with no experience whatever would be better than a discontented intriguing Egyptian...24

Kitchener’s treatment of his officers, and his administrative measures, had won him the fear and mistrust of most of his subordinates. The destruction of the Mahdi’s tomb, and the treatment of his remains, turned certain sections of public opinion in Britain against him. The Mahdi’s tomb was erected in Omdurman, according to the Khalifa’s orders, on the spot where he had died and was buried. It became a centre of worship and of pilgrimage, thus replacing the pilgrimage to Mecca, which had been discontinued during the Mahdia. The order issued by Kitchener to raze the tomb to the ground and to cast the Mahdi’s bones into the Nile, caused widespread resentment in Britain. Throughout the crisis, Cromer and the British officials in the Sudan fully backed Kitchener’s order to destroy the Mahdi’s tomb. Kitchener argued that the destruction was dictated by political considerations, and that it was fully backed by the orthodox Muslim leaders.24 This attitude prevailed when a few months later a Mahdist insurrection was reported from the Blue Nile. On 27 August, Muhammad Sharif (one of the Mahdi’s Khalifas) and two of the Mahdi’s sons were killed, and fifty-five prisoners taken. The insurrection seems to have been a minor affair, only three men of the Egyptian army force being slightly wounded. Yet Kitchener, fearing that any leniency might be interpreted as weakness, decided to execute all the prisoners and to arrest all those implicated in the revolt. Rodd, who was acting consul-general in Cromer’s absence, refused to comply with Kitchener’s demand, because ‘... of the effect on public opinion in England of a wholesale execution...’28

Kitchener’s term of office as governor-general should probably be regarded as an extension of his work as sirdar, rather than as a new venture of a civil administrator. His desire to leave the Sudan was first expressed in September 1898, and persisted throughout his governor-generalship. Hence, it could hardly be expected that he would devote his time and his talents to the tedious details of long term government. The glory of rebuilding Khartoum and the governor-general’s palace, and the foundation of Gordon College, were bound to appeal more to Kitchener who regarded his sojourn in the Sudan as purely temporary. Cromer, who originally proposed Kitchener’s appointment as governor-general, soon changed his mind. He realized that the details of civilian government were beyond Kitchener’s comprehension and hence did not insist that he should remain in the Sudan. On 18 December 1899 Kitchener was appointed as Lord Roberts’s Chief of Staff in the Boer War, and a week later he sailed for South Africa. To his successor he
left a skeleton staff, a famine-stricken country and an army rife with discontent. It is no wonder, therefore, that when he expressed his wish to return to the Sudan after the Boer War, Cromer objected strongly and wrote: ‘... He would not be able to hold the Soudan without a large British force...’

**Wingate’s governor-generalship**

Wingate was appointed governor-general of the Sudan and sirdar of the Egyptian army on 23 December 1899. Up to the battle of Karari, Wingate had been in charge of military intelligence and so had played an important role in preparing the reconquest. He had established close relations with many of the Sudanese shaykhs and with the help of Slatin and Na'üm Shuqayr had succeeded in providing valuable information for the advancing Anglo-Egyptian forces. With the battle nearing its end, Wingate knew that the importance of military intelligence was bound to decline. He, therefore, decided to seek a post which would secure his future in case Kitchener decided to leave. In a letter to Kitchener, Wingate explained his views about the reorganization of the intelligence department and its division into quite distinct military and civil branches. He suggested that he should head the civil branch in Cairo, and coordinate policies with the British agency. Wingate was at this stage next to Kitchener on the Egyptian army seniority list. His presence in Cairo in close proximity to Lord Cromer and at the head of the Sudan office, could therefore place him in a better position when the next governor-general was appointed. In a letter to Rodd, Cromer’s first secretary at the agency, Wingate stated his views as to his future prospects:

... The departure of Hunter has placed me in the position of second in command of the Egyptian Army; I do not say for a moment that in the event of the departure of the present Sirdar, I should be selected to succeed him; at the same time I should not submit to any other officer now in the Egyptian Army being given the preference over me to succeed the present Sirdar. It seems to me quite possible that some senior general from outside the E.A. [Egyptian Army] may succeed, but under any circumstances I should, as head of the Sudan Office, be in a better position to have my claims considered ... if I were an Anglo-Egyptian than if I were a purely British official ...

Cromer had mentioned the possibility of Wingate’s appointment to the governor-generalship as early as May 1899. He had known Wingate for fifteen years and held his achievements in the intelligence department in high esteem. Moreover, Cromer knew that Wingate would be easier to control than a general nominated
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by the war office, whose appointments Cromer regarded with complete mistrust. The appointment of a civilian governor-general was not considered at that time, as the whole country was ruled by military officers. For these reasons, when Kitchener was ordered to leave for the Boer War, Wingate's nomination for the governor-generalship seems to have been unopposed.

Wingate's appointment was greeted with satisfaction by many of the Egyptian army officers, who had suffered from Kitchener's autocratic methods. The Times correspondent in Khartoum described the atmosphere which was created by the appointment as '... a general expectation as of something springlike and mild ...' Even al-Ahrām accepted Wingate as the best possible choice, though commenting that it would have been better to appoint an Egyptian. For Wingate himself, the initiation into the long-cherished post of governor-general could hardly have been more difficult. Many of the veteran officers who had been administering the provinces had left to take part in the Boer War, and before Wingate could wind up his affairs in Cairo, a mutiny of a Sudanese battalion broke out in Omdurman. Furthermore, the country was impoverished by continuous wars culminating in the famine of 1899. Cultivation and trade were practically at a standstill owing to the decline in population, the tribal policy of the Khalifa 'Abdallāhī, and the trade and agricultural policy adopted by Kitchener. These were some of the difficulties faced by Wingate when, with a handful of British officers inexperienced in administration and with little knowledge of local languages, aided by Egyptian officers and officials whom he did not trust, he set about to build up the civil administration of the Sudan.

Wingate's powers as governor-general and sirdar were the same as those of his predecessor. The following definition which appeared in The Times is a fairly accurate summary:

... Everything derives from the will of the Governor General ... He unites in himself, and delegates from himself, all legislative, executive and judicial powers ... He 'notifies' his ordinances to the joint Sovereigns, but he is under no obligation to attend to their advice ...

The governor-general was, to a certain extent, controlled by the British consul-general in Egypt, but apart from that his authority was not limited either by representative bodies or by public opinion. The consultations which did take place on an executive level, were undertaken by Wingate voluntarily, at least until 1910 when the governor-general's council was instituted. During the seventeen years of Wingate's governor-generalship, the underlying principle emerging was one of reconstruction. Development was slow, and consistent, but lacking in outstanding episodes. The Sudan emerged
from a state of near famine and of financial dependence on Egypt, to a fairly stable economy which could support its growing population. An administrative structure was built up in the provinces and the centre, and though military rule prevailed, an ever-increasing number of civilians was recruited into the service and slowly affected its character. The extension of communications by rail and river, and the building of Port Sudan were some of the important achievements of this period which greatly contributed to economic development. Economic expansion culminated in the Gezira development project, sanctioned in 1913, which enabled the Sudan to become a major cotton-producing country. Thus the country, which was reconquered for strategical and political reasons only and was regarded as a financial liability, emerged as a potential economic asset for Britain before the Wingate era was over.

**The routine of a governor-general**

A survey of Wingate’s routine of office is essential in order to understand how his government functioned. The ‘Sudan year’ started in Cairo. The governor-general, accompanied by Slatin and by his private secretaries, used to arrive in Cairo from their annual leave towards the end of October. During the following two weeks the biggest annual meeting of Sudan officials took place. The directors of all the departments and most of the provincial governors were gathered in Cairo to discuss the Sudan budget for the following year. The budget had already been hammered out during the summer months in England in endless meetings, in many of which Wingate had participated. The purpose of the meeting in Cairo was to enable the governors and directors of departments to voice their objections, with the hope that some minor changes could still be effected. The Cairo gathering was Wingate’s only opportunity of meeting all his provincial governors personally. Therefore, there was as much activity behind the scenes of the budget discussions, as in the meetings themselves. Matters ranging from personnel and promotions to tribal policy and military expeditions were discussed, and in many cases decided upon. There are numerous letters from Wingate to his governors insisting on their attending the Cairo gathering, so as to conclude arrangements regarding their provinces. During the month he stayed in Cairo, Wingate was a regular guest at the British agency where discussion with the consul-general took place regarding matters on which the latter’s approval was necessary. In his capacity as sirdar, Wingate had also certain functions to perform in Cairo. A courtesy visit to the Khedive and the Egyptian minister of war, followed by a review of the troops and barracks, formed the official part of the sirdar’s visit. More important, how-
ever, were the discussions with the financial adviser to the war office and with the British staff officers in Cairo. These were usually attended by the adjutant-general, and all matters concerning finance, recruiting and army personnel were decided upon.

Wingate arrived in Khartoum towards the middle of November and took up his residence at the governor-general's palace. The following extract from the diary of Butler, of the intelligence department, affords a glimpse of the palace routine.

... Sir Reginald Wingate, Governor General and Sirdar, was a most kind, pleasant little man ... He loved pomp and state and his early morning rides round Khartoum were rather a joke with British Bimbashis, as the cavalcade was so glittering and immense, black cavalry men with lances, ADCs, P.S.s. and a herd of all grades of officials ...

The rest of the morning was spent in dealing with correspondence. Wingate kept up a regular correspondence, with nearly all his provincial governors, in which matters concerning their respective provinces were discussed. Most of their requests were then sent by Wingate to the heads of departments enclosing his own recommendations. Wingate's letters to the British consul-general and the Sudan agent in Cairo formed the most voluminous part of his correspondence. A lot of time was also devoted to dealing with petitions from inhabitants of the Sudan. The direct appeal to the governor-general had been an accepted procedure of government during the Turco-Egyptian regime, and had been carried on by the Mahdi and the Khalifa. The number of petitions presented during the year was regarded by Wingate as indicating the extent of public contentment. Many of the petitions were forwarded by Wingate to Slatin and to the intelligence department. Others found their way to the provincial governor or the departmental director concerned. Wingate's Arabic secretary sorted out the petitions, translated them, and presented them to Wingate. The number of petitions presented to Wingate in 1900 was 4,074, and he soon realized that many petitionerers were repeating requests which had already been decided upon. Hence in 1902 Wingate published an order to the effect that his decisions were final, and by 1905 the number of petitions had decreased to 1,108. Most of these dealt with problems of land ownership and taxation, while the number dealing with slavery cases decreased rapidly over the years.

During the winter Wingate entertained a host of distinguished guests, and compiled his annual report on the administration of the Sudan. This consisted of detailed reports by provincial governors and heads of departments, as well as a memorandum by Wingate himself. It was from these reports that the British consuls-general
compiled their annual reports on the Sudan, which were published as command papers. As for Wingate’s guests, there were constant complaints in his correspondence with the consuls-general, about the time and money he had to spend on entertainment. Yet judging by the many invitations he sent, he was by no means eager to put an end to these visits. It was Cromer who tried to limit his enthusiasm for guests when he wrote in 1905, ‘... I am all for entertaining the officials and local people. But I do not think you are at all called upon to do much for tourists. I do mighty little for them ...’

Until 1912, the governor-general’s palace was the only place for Anglican services in Khartoum, and Wingate never failed to attend. Wingate’s deep religious feelings were described by Gwynne, the first Anglican Bishop of the Sudan: ‘... The holiness of life is most marked by all who come in contact with him ... He never moves in the morning without prayer and Bible reading ...’ But apart from his duties as a Christian, Wingate was also a keen Freemason, and soon after his appointment to the governor-generalship, he was approached to establish a district lodge in the Sudan. In 1903 he founded the Reginald Wingate Lodge, which held its regular meetings at the palace. Wingate played an active part in all its activities which were often mentioned in the Sudan correspondence.

Wingate undertook at least one big tour of inspection each year. The official reports on these tours which were published in the *Sudan Intelligence Reports*, give little information. Fortunately, detailed accounts of some of them were written by the inspectors who accompanied Wingate or by Slatin who kept a regular diary of events. In 1902 Wingate himself kept a diary of his tour of the White Nile up to Gondokoro. On these tours the governor-general was usually accompanied by over twenty officers and officials of the Sudan government in addition to his military escort. Before arriving at any government post or village the governor-general was met by all government officials and army officers as well as by the shaykhs of the various tribes. Following a parade of the army and an inspection of its magazines, Wingate met the assembled shaykhs and religious notables to whom he distributed presents of beads or money and gave robes of honour or religious robes. During his stay at each station, Wingate received and settled petitions, appointed new shaykhs wherever necessary and attended various races and sporting events organized in his honour. Wingate’s intention in these inspections was to keep in direct touch with his officers and officials as well as with the people of the Sudan. During the First World War, Wingate’s tours covered the length and breadth of the country. As a strong advocate of the value of direct contact, he believed that the loyalty of the Sudanese people to British rule was in fact a personal loyalty to the British governor-general who
The Sudan under Wingate

had ruled them for fifteen years. Wingate elaborated on this when he wrote: '... I feel that were I to leave the Sudan, even for a day ... I should seriously risk an upset of the present tranquil state of affairs here ...'. Commenting on his tours of Kordofan and the Gezira he noted: '... I have spent several hours daily talking to important natives ... and I am confident that the sympathetic touch which these conversations produce is very helpful ...'.

During the hot summer months of April–June the governor-general and his staff moved to Erkowit, a hill station not far from Suakin, which was established in 1902. During his stay there Wingate had more time to deal with correspondence and to prepare the confidential reports on the British officers for the war office. While at Erkowit, Wingate usually undertook a tour of inspection of the Red Sea province.

In June Wingate left the Sudan for his annual leave in England, where he stayed until October. During the summer the Sudan was practically deserted by its British officials. A skeleton staff was kept in various government departments, but very little work was done and practically no decisions were taken. The acting sirdar and governor-general had to be an officer of the rank of colonel, and consequently was not too well acquainted with the problems of administration. During Wingate's long absence in England at least two acting governor-generals filled his position every year and apart from the adjutant-general, Colonel Asser, most of them never did it for more than one year. As a result, the acting governor-general had very little authority and had to consult Wingate on any matter of importance. During these four summer months, the Sudan government continued to function in England. Wingate spent most of his time in his country house in Dunbar from where all the Sudan correspondence was conducted by his private secretary. Many senior government officials visited Dunbar to discuss their departments or provinces between rounds of golf, and Slatin was a constant visitor. The stay in England usually culminated in a visit to Balmoral, where both Wingate and Slatin were regular summer guests, and in October the whole retinue started on its way back to Egypt.
Notes

Preface

1. For details see bibliography.

CHAPTER I

The Governors-General, Kitchener and Wingate

2. Wingate, General Sir Francis Reginald (1861–1953), joined the Egyptian army in 1883 and was appointed as A.D.C. on the staff of Sir Evelyn Wood, the first sirdar of the post ‘Urābī Egyptian army. Following a brief period as assistant military secretary to Sir Francis Grenfell, in 1886–7, he became assistant adjutant-general for intelligence. In 1889 Wingate was appointed director of military intelligence and held this post until he became governor-general of the Sudan in Dec. 1899. For details about Wingate’s earlier career, see R. Wingate, Wingate of the Sudan, London, 1955, pp. 22–127.
5. Slatin Pasha, Sir Rudolf Karl von, Baron (1857–1932). Austrian officer who started his service in the Sudan under Gordon in 1878; 1879–81 governor of Dāra in southern Darfur; 1881–4 general-governor of Darfur; in 1884 he surrendered to the Mahdist army at Dāra and remained in Omdurman for eleven years, first as prisoner and later as one of the Khalifa’s private attendants (mulâzim). Following his escape from Omdurman in 1895 he became Wingate’s assistant in the intelligence department. For Slatin’s earlier career see R. Hill, Slatin Pasha, London, 1965, pp. 1–67; see also below pp. 46–58.


8. For further details see Shibeika, op. cit., pp. 449-59; see also below pp. 13-15.

9. Salisbury to Cromer, 14 Jan. 1899, FO/407/150. I have not been able to find any evidence that such a declaration was ever made either by Kitchener or Wingate.


14. Inclosure in Cromer to Salisbury, 4 May 1899, FO/78/5023; Ma’mūr was the title used by the Egyptian government, for the official in charge of a ma’mūriya, a sub-division of a province. See below pp. 69-74, 78-81, 84-87.

15. *Memorandum to Mudirs*, Inclosure in Cromer to Salisbury, 17 Mar. 1899, FO/78/5022; Mudīr was the Egyptian title for a provincial governor. The following details are all from Kitchener’s memorandum.


17. Gleichen to Wingate, 24 Oct. 1898, SAD/266/10; Talbot to Wingate [n.d.] Nov. 1898, SAD/266/11.


20. Talbot Pasha, Milo George (1854-1931), joined the Egyptian army in 1897. Following Wingate’s appointment as head of the Sudan office in Cairo in 1899, Talbot became assistant DMI, and in 1900-5 was Director of Surveys. He was one of Wingate’s closest friends throughout his career, and came to help him during the First World War; Hill, *BD*, p. 355.


22. Talbot to Wingate, 1 Apr. 1899, SAD/269/4.

23. Maxwell to Wingate, 19 Jan. 1900, SAD/270/1/2.


25. Rodd to Salisbury, 31 Aug. 1899, FO/78/5026. Salisbury’s minutes to the letter read: ‘... three or four executions at the very outside ...’


27. Naʿūm Shuqayr (Shoucair) (1863-1922), a Lebanese Christian served in the Egyptian army from 1884 and joined the intelligence department under Wingate in 1890. After the reconquest he remained in the intelligence department in Cairo. During his service he published *Taʾrikh al-Sūdān al-qadīm wal-ḥadīth waṣūṣ waṣūṣ waṣūṣ waṣūṣ waṣūṣ*, Cairo.
[1903], a major contribution to the history of the Sudan during the Mahdia.

28. Wingate to Kitchener, 7 Feb. 1899, SAD/269/2/1.
29. Wingate to Rodd, 10 Mar. 1899, SAD/269/3.
31. The Times, 18 Apr. 1900.
32. al-Ahrām, 26 Dec. 1899.
33. The Times, 18 Apr. 1900.
34. See below pp. 81–84.
35. The following remarks, unless otherwise stated, are based on the Sudan correspondence and Wingate's private letters in the Sudan Archive at Durham.
36. Butler’s memoirs, SAD/422/12; Butler, S.S., was seconded to the Egyptian army in 1909 and served in Wad Madani. In 1910 he was transferred to the Camel Corps in Kordofan and participated in several expeditions against the Nuba. Since April 1911 he served in the intelligence department in Khartoum.
38. Cromer to Wingate, 19 May 1905, SAD/234/3.
40. A Short History of the Sir Reginald Wingate Lodge, SAD/292/2.
41. Wingate to Sir Frederick Milner, 21 Jan. 1915, SAD/194/1.
42. Wingate to Clayton, 21 Aug. 1915, SAD/469/10; for further details see below pp. 106–108.

CHAPTER II

The Sudan Egypt and Britain

3. Financial Regulations to be observed by the Soudan Government, Cairo 6 May 1900, FO/407/157; these regulations were replaced in 1910, following the setting up of the governor-general’s council,
by a new set of regulations, signed by Wingate and Harvey. Inclosure 4 in No. 33, FO/407/175.

4. Bernard Pasha, Sir Edgar Edwin (1866–1931), was transferred from the Egyptian army to the Sudan government in 1901; from 1901–1925 he was financial secretary of the Sudan. Hill, BD, p. 79.

5. Quoted by Stone op. cit., p. 3; from the 1905 financial department report.

6. Ibid., p. 19; until 1905 the maintenance cost of the Egyptian army did not appear in the Sudan budget. From 1905 this sum was included in Egypt’s annual contribution, hence the big increase.

7. There are numerous articles in Egyptian newspapers voicing this criticism. One of the most comprehensive articles was written by Aḥmad Ḥilmi in al-Liwa‘, 21 Oct. 1907.

8. Wingate to Kitchener, 9 May 1914, SAD/190/2/2.


10. See below pp. 32–39.


12. Following the declaration of a British protectorate over Egypt on 18 Dec. 1914, the title of the Khedive was changed to Sultan.


14. Wingate to Cecil, (‘Secret please destroy’), 13 Jan. 1913, SAD/185/1/1. Najib ‘Azūrī had been employed in the intelligence department at least since 1906 and subsequently became the private secretary of the Egyptian minister of war. I have been unable to establish whether there is any connection between him and Najib ‘Azūrī, founder of the ‘Ligue de la Patrie Arabe’. The latter was suspected of being a French agent. S. G. Haim (ed) Arab Nationalism, Los Angeles 1962, pp. 29–30.


16. Sir Edgar Bonham Carter (1870–1956), joined the Sudan government in 1899 as its first legal secretary, a post he held until 1917, when he was transferred to Iraq.


23. Wingate to Phipps, 13 Apr. 1909, SAD/287/1.
29. Clayton to Wingate, 1 Mar. 1910, SAD/290/3/1; General Sir Gilbert Falkingham Clayton (1875–1929), served under Kitchener during the reconquest of the Sudan; joined the Egyptian army in 1900 and was transferred to the Sudan government in 1906; Wingate’s private secretary 1908–14; Sudan agent and director of intelligence 1914–17; adviser to the Egyptian ministry of the interior 1919–22; chief secretary in Palestine 1922–5; died in Baghdad in 1929 while British high commissioner for Iraq. DNBS, 1922–30, pp. 186–7.
30. Slatin to Wingate, 6 Mar. 1910, SAD/290/3/1.
33. al-Liwā, 19 May 1908; The Standard, 31 May 1908; L’Étendard Égyptien, 31 May 1908.
34. See below pp. 37–38.
36. Wingate to Harvey, 26 Nov. 1907, SAD/281/5; for details see below pp. 117–118.
37. Phipps to Wingate, 7 Sep. 1904, SAD/234/2.
38. Sir James Currie (1868–1937), joined the Sudan civil service in 1900 as director of education and principal of Gordon College. He held these posts until his retirement in 1914; was a member of the governor-general’s council in 1910–14. DNBS 1931–40, pp. 206–7.
39. Wingate to Clayton (private), 9 Apr. 1916, SAD/470/1. The money came as usual out of the Sudan civil funds.
40. War Office Selected papers—No. 2; British detachment at Khartoum, 1900.
41. War Office to Foreign Office, 9 Nov. 1898, FO/78/5025. The sum involved was £E 29,000.
42. Cheetham to Grey, 10 May 1911; Slade to Mallet, 12 Sep. 1911, FO/371/1113.
43. The Lado Enclave was created by the Franco-Congolese agreement of 1894, and was administered by the Belgians until King Leopold’s death in 1910 when it reverted to the Sudan. For details see R. O. Collins, The Transfer of the Lado Enclave to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1910. Zaire. Vol. XIV, 2. (1960).
47. Wingate to Clayton, 6 Mar. 1910, SAD/469/2/1.
48. Clayton to Wingate, (private), 22 May 1910, SAD/296/2; Wingate to Phipps, 19 Sep. 1910, SAD/297/4.
49. Kitchener to Grey, 10 May 1912, FO/371/1363; Memorandum by E. G. [Grey], 14 May 1912, ibid.
50. For details see A. Gaitskell, *Gezira, a story of development in the Sudan*, (London, 1959), pp. 51–8; see also FO/371/1635 and 1665.
57. Cromer to Lansdowne, 4 Mar. 1902, FO/800/124.
63. Sudan Agent to Findlay, 21 Aug. 1905, FO/141/393.
64. Cromer to Wingate, 8 Apr. 1900, SAD/270/4.
65. Cromer to Wingate, 18 Feb. 1901, SAD/271/1.
67. Cromer to Salisbury, 8 June 1900, FO/633/6.
68. Jackson Pasha, Sir Herbert William (1861–1931), was seconded to the Egyptian army in 1888; commanded the Sudanese force at Fashoda in 1898 during the Fashoda incident; became governor of Berber in 1899 and civil secretary in 1900–1; from 1902 until his retirement in 1922, he was governor of Dongola. Hill, *BD*, pp. 188–89.
69. Cromer to Jackson, 2 June 1900, FO/633/8.
70. Cromer to Sanderson, 26 Apr. 1899, FO/78/5026; Cromer to Wingate, 4 Jan. 1907, SAD/103/1; *al-Liwa‘, al-Mu‘ayyad, al-Minbār, al-Quṭr al-Miṣrī, al-Watān*, and *Wādi al-Nil*, were only a few of the newspapers which were stopped by order of the Sudan agent from entering the Sudan.
72. Cromer to Strachey, 3 Apr. 1906, FO/633/8; Cromer to Kitchener, 30 July 1913, PRO/30/57/No. 44; see also R. Owen, ‘The Influence of Lord Cromer’s Indian Experience on British Policy in Egypt, 1883–1907’; *St. Antony’s papers, Middle Eastern Affairs No. 4* (1965), pp. 122–8.
73. Cromer to Wingate, 3 Feb. 1904, SAD/275/2; *Muwallad* (pl. *Muwalladīn*) was the term applied to persons of Egyptian or
partially Egyptian origin, who were born in the Sudan, where they formed an important class, especially in the towns.

75. Cromer to Salisbury, 8 June 1900, FO/633/3.
76. Cromer to Wingate, 2 July 1905, SAD/234/4.
77. Cromer to Wingate, (private), 21 Feb. 1905, SAD/276/2.
81. Gorst to Grey, (private), 12 Jan. 1908, FO/800/47.
82. Owen to Wingate, (private), 16 May 1908, SAD/282/5. Owen Pasha, Roger Carmichael Robert (1866–1941), was transferred to the Sudan government from the Egyptian army in 1903; director of intelligence and Sudan agent 1905–8; governor of Mongalla 1908–18; Hill, BD, p. 300.
83. Wingate to Slatin, (private), 23 Mar. 1910, SAD/431/1/1.
84. Wingate to Slatin, 12 Apr. 1911, SAD/431/1/2.
85. Stack Pasha, Sir Lee Oliver Fitzmaurice (1868–1924), joined the Egyptian army 1899; Wingate’s private secretary 1904–8; Sudan agent 1908–14; civil secretary 1914–16; acting sirdar and governor-general 1916–18; sirdar and governor-general 1918–24; assassinated in Cairo 1924. DNBS 1922–30, pp. 802–3.
86. Wingate to Stack, (private), 20 May 1911, SAD/300/5/2.
87. See below pp. 74–77.
88. Gorst to Wingate, 13 Jan. 1910, FO/407/175.
89. Currie to Wingate, 7 Mar. 1908, SAD/282/3/1; Harvey to Wingate, 30 Oct. 1907, SAD/281/5; Wingate to Harvey, 26 Nov. 1907, ibid.
91. Harvey to Gorst, 8 Apr. 1908, FO/141/416.
92. Wingate to Harvey, 16 Apr. 1908, SAD/282/4.
93. Gorst to Harvey, 1 Dec. 1908, FO/141/416; Harvey to Gorst, 2 Dec. 1908, ibid.
94. Gorst to Wingate, 3 Dec. 1908, SAD/284/15.
95. Bernard to Harvey, 17 May 1909; Harvey to Bernard, 2 June 1909, SAD/287/2.
96. Wingate to Clayton, 1 Aug. 1908, SAD/469/1.
97. Gorst to Wingate, (private), 18 Feb. 1909, SAD/286/1.
99. Wingate to Gorst, 4 Apr. 1909, SAD/287/1.
100. Wingate to Gorst, 14 Mar. 1910, SAD/469/2/1.
105. Wingate to Gorst, 27 May 1908, FO/141/416; Gorst to Wingate, 28 May 1908, ibid; Grey to Gorst, 29 May 1908, FO/407/172.
106. Gorst to Grey, (private), 31 May 1908, FO/800/47.
CHAPTER III

The Inspector-General, Slatin Pasha

1. For a detailed study of Slatin and of his activities while in the Sudan, see R. Hill, Slatin Pasha, London 1965.
2. Ibid., pp. 57–60.
4. Slatin’s diary, 27 Feb. 1900, SAD/441.
5. Ibid., 20 Feb.–20 Mar. 1900.
6. Cromer to Salisbury, 8 June 1900, FO/633/6.
8. Symes, Sir Stewart, (1882–1963). Joined the Egyptian army in 1906; 1909–12 was A.D.I. Khartoum; 1913–16 was Wingate’s private secretary and remained on his staff after he became high commissioner of Egypt in 1917. During the years 1920–34 he served in Egypt, Palestine, Aden, and Tanganyika, and returned to the Sudan as governor-general in the years 1934–40.
The following details are all quoted from this document.
10. Slatin’s diary, 1913, SAD/441.
11. Savile, Lieut.-Colonel Robert Vesey; seconded to the Sudan government in 1902; served as inspector in Kassala 1902–6; and Dongola 1906–7; governor of Bahr al-Ghazäl 1908; governor of Kordofan 1909–1917. SPS, p. 11.
12. Refers to the French advance in Wadai, Där Tama and Masalit.
13. Gelsa (jalsa)—meeting, gathering.
14. Willis’s diary, Dec. 1910, SAD/210/2. Willis, Charles Armine (b. 1881) graduated from Oxford in 1904, and came to the Sudan in 1905 with one of the first groups of civil-servants. He served in Kordofan 1906–12, first as a junior inspector and following training at the legal department, he became the first legal inspector of Kordofan in 1909; 1913, Senior inspector Red Sea; 1914–15, Dongola; 1915–19, A.D.I.; 1920–6, DMI. SPS, p. 19.
17. Slatin to Wingate, 3 Apr. 1913, SAD/186/1/1. H. C. Jackson joined the Sudan government in 1907 and served in the administration for twenty-four years. He should not be confused with Brigadier-General Sir Herbert William Jackson, who was governor of Dongola for twenty years and is referred to as Jackson throughout the book.
18. Slatin to Wingate, 10 Apr. 1913, SAD/186/1/1.
24. Slatin to Wingate, 15 Sep. 1911, SAD/301/3; see below pp. 100–106.
25. See for instance Slatin’s diary, 1912, SAD/441, (the list is at the end of the diary).
26. Slatin to Bigge, 6 Sep. 1897, SAD/438/653; the letter was sent in reply to a letter written by Bigge to Prince Francis of Teck on
7 Aug. 1897, ibid.; according to Hill, *Slatin*, pp. 55–6, Bigge's letter was a forgery while Slatin's was written in his own hand.


29. For details see below pp. 170–175.

30. Slatin to Wingate, 2 Dec. 1912, SAD/183/3.


34. *CAO*—64, 17 Apr. 1902; the following details unless otherwise stated, are based on Slatin's diaries.

35. Tebeldi trees were used for storing water in the arid areas of western Kordofan and Darfur. H. S. Blunt, ‘Tebeldis’, *SNR*—Vol. 6 (1923), pp. 114–116.


37. Henry to Wingate, 29 July 1904, SAD/275/5.

38. Slatin to Wingate, 13 Aug. 1908, SAD/283/8/3.


40. For details of this concession, which was granted to an American, Leigh Hunt in 1904, see Gaitskell, op. cit., pp. 51–5.

41. *Sakieh* (sāqiya)—a wheel placed alongside the river and driven by oxen in order to lift the water for irrigation.

42. Slatin to Wingate, 17 Aug. 1908, SAD/283/8/4.


44. Ferguson to Wingate, 3 June 1902, SAD/272/4/1.

45. 'Umda (pl. 'umad; English form—'umdas); village headman, administrative head of a number of villages.

46. Slatin to Wingate, 10 Mar. 1910, SAD/290/3/1.

47. *Kurbāj*, a whip usually made of hippopotamus hide, used for punishing offenders.


49. Slatin to Wingate, 14 Apr. 1912, SAD/181/1/3.


51. Slatin to Wingate, 16 February 1903, SAD/273/2; see below pp. 92–4.

52. Slatin to Wingate, 30 Nov. 1902, SAD/272/8.


55. Interview with Sir H. MacMichael, 6 June 1967.

56. Slatin's diary, 12 Apr. 1910, SAD/441.

57. Slatin to Wingate, 26 Nov. 1900, SAD/270/11.

58. Slatin's diary, 29 Nov. 1911, SAD/441; all the points mentioned by Slatin, were in fact incorporated in the speech.

CHAPTER IV

Government Departments and Provinces

1. For a table describing the administrative and military structure of the Sudan see pp. 192–194.
2. These circulars were quoted in a confidential report on the Sudan-agency submitted by the Sudan agent to the First Secretary of the Residency in Cairo, 27 Oct. 1925, FO/141/448; I have not been able to locate the original circulars. The following details are all from the confidential report.
3. During Lord Cecil’s term of office the Sudan agent was called agent-general, CAO—101, 30 Nov. 1903.
5. Owen to Wingate, 7 Apr. 1907, SAD/280/4. I have not been able to locate these reports nor to ascertain whether they were kept.
7. Samuel Atiya, a Lebanese, was one of the old employees of the department, and the most experienced of the Khartoum staff. He continued his work in the intelligence department until his retirement in 1928 when his post was given to his nephew Edward Atiyah. E. Atiyah, An Arab tells his story (London 1946), pp. 156–9.
8. Ismā‘il Ahmed al-Azhari (1868–1947), was muftī of the Sudan, 1924–32, Ismā‘il al-Azhari, the former President of the Republic of the Sudan, is his grandson. Hill, BD, p. 184.
Notes


11. The Sudan agents were: Count Gleichen 1901–3; Lord Edward Cecil 1903–5; Owen 1905–8; Stack 1908–14; Clayton 1914–16. Cecil, Stack, and Clayton were Wingate's private secretaries while Gleichen was one of his closest friends.


13. The functions of the legal secretary will be discussed below pp. 124–136.


18. Maxwell to Wingate, 6 Jan. 1900, SAD/270/1/2.

19. Ṣarrāf—cashier, money changer; assisted in the collection of taxes.

20. *SG*—10, 1 Apr. 1900.

21. Cromer to Wingate (private), 20 Apr. 1906, [copy sent to Grey], FO/800/46.

22. Gorst to Wingate, 11 Apr. 1908, FO/141/46; see also GGC, 20 Feb. 1912, FO/867/3.

23. Wingate to Cecil, (very private and confidential), 20 Dec. 1912, SAD/183/3. (Wingate later ordered Stack not to deliver this letter.)

24. Wingate to Stack, (private), 25 Apr. 1914, SAD/190/1/2.


27. *GGR*—1902, pp. 156–57. The classification is not clear. The Sudanese were probably southern ex-soldiers of the Egyptian army, while locally enlisted men were mostly town dwellers, and the Arabs were northern Sudanese.


32. *GGR*—1906, p. 66; Wingate to Stack, 18 Feb. 1911, SAD/300/1.


34. Asser' s memorandum, Sep. 1911, SAD/301/3; see also *GGR*—1904, pp. 6, 59–60.

35. For a full account of agricultural development and administration during this period see Arthur Gaitskell, *Gezira, A Story of development in the Sudan*, London, 1959; Abdel Wahab Abdel Rahim is


37. Wingate to Cromer, 24 Apr. 1905, SAD/276/4; for full details of land policy in the Sudan, see below pp. 155–164.


45. Memorandum presented to Lord Cromer on 4 Apr. 1897, (signed), Sirdar, SAD/266/1/1.

46. This proposal was put forward by Sir E. Palmer, the financial adviser, in a Minute to the Sirdar, 10 Apr. 1897, ibid.

47. Memorandum presented to Lord Cromer, (signed), Sirdar, 10 Apr. 1897, ibid.


49. For full details of provincial and district boundaries see *Handbook of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, 1922, pp. 1–2, 171–72, 283–85.

50. *Memorandum to Mudirs*—Inclosure in Cromer to Salisbury, 17 Mar. 1899, FO/78/5022. The following details, unless otherwise stated, are from Kitchener’s memorandum.


52. *CAO*—60, 17 Apr. 1902.


54. For details see relevant chapters.


56. Wingate to Jackson, 25 Nov. 1914, SAD/192/2.


58. *The Sub-Mamur’s Handbook*, pp. 336–37. For lack of other sources, most of the information about non-European officials is derived from the diaries and private letters of European officials. For the duties performed by shaykhs, ‘umdas and nāzirs see pp. 142–147.
Notes

59. *GGR*—1908, p. 592; see also *GGR*—1907, pp. 119, 122, 132.
60. *GGR*—1914, p. 65.
61. Asser to Wingate, 16 Aug. 1911, SAD/301/3.
63. This conclusion was reached by assessing Wingate's correspondence during this period. Sir Harold MacMichael, whom I interviewed on 6 June 1967, confirmed my impression and pointed out that Wingate's confidants namely: Slatin, Stack, Clayton, and Symes were all former members of the intelligence department like Wingate himself.
64. Phipps to Wingate, 7 June 1908, SAD/282/6.
68. Gorst to Grey, 30 Oct. 1909, FO/800/47.
69. Gorst to Grey, 14 Nov. 1909, FO/371/664.
70. For full text of ordinance see *SG* No. 167, 24 Jan. 1910.
71. Gorst to Wingate, 13 Jan. 1910, FO/867/1.
72. FO/867/1-7.
73. FO/867/1; FO/867/2; Wingate to Gorst, 17 Dec. 1910; Gorst to Wingate, 29 Dec. 1910, SAD/298/3.
74. FO/867/3, pp. 31, 70, 77-8; FO/867/4, pp. 21–2.

CHAPTER V

*Government Officials and the Training of Sudanese*

3. *Reports of His Majesty's Agent and Consul General on the Finances, Administration and Condition of Egypt and the Soudan*, 1899, C.D.95. (short reference is *SAR*.)
4. Inclosures 1 and 2 in Cromer to Salisbury, 11 May 1900, FO/78/5087.
5. Conditions of service of British Officers in the Egyptian army, War Office, Cairo, 17 Nov. 1900, FO/78/5088.
13. Cromer to Salisbury, 8 June 1900, FO/633/6.
15. Cromer to Wingate, 25 Nov. 1905, SAD/234/3; Wingate to Cromer, 30 Nov. 1905, SAD/277/5.
16. Wilfred Cummings to Wingate, Karachi, Christmas 1904, SAD/275/1. These letters are preserved in the Wingate papers at the Sudan Archive in Durham, and are not the official letters of reference, which were required from every candidate.
17. Wingate to Phipps, 6 July 1912, SAD/182/1/2.
18. Egyptian and Sudanese Civil Services, Information to Candidates, June 1913, SAD/152/7/7.
19. Wingate to Cromer, 1 Aug. 1913, SAD/187/2/3. Pease was appointed and served in the Sudan until 1911. In his letter Wingate asked Cromer to use his influence in order to get a post for Pease at the new School of Oriental Studies at London University.
22. Bonham Carter to Wingate, 30 June 1910, SAD/469/2/1.
23. Wingate to Clayton, 2 July 1910, SAD/469/2/2.
24. Clayton to Wingate, (private), 8 Apr. 1914, SAD/469/6/2; Wingate to Clayton, (private), 16 Apr. 1914, ibid.
28. Stack's minutes to an application for post of private secretary by Mr. Alfred W. Allsworth, 10 Oct. 1905, SAD/234/4.
29. Wingate to Kitchener, 7 Feb. 1899, SAD/269/2/1; Talbot to Wingate, 10 Feb. 1899, ibid; Butrus Ghâli to Cromer, 25 May 1899, FO/407/151; Cromer to Salisbury, 8 Jan. 1900, FO/407/151; Cromer to Salisbury, 8 Jan. 1900, FO/78/5086.
30. Notes on Civil Administration in the Sudan n.d. [1897?] SAD/266/1/3; Cromer to Salisbury, 4 Dec. 1898, FO/407/147.
31. Wingate to Phipps, 5 Apr. 1913, SAD/186/1/2.
32. Currie to Wingate, 6 Sep. 1907, SAD/281/3.
33. Bonham Carter to Wingate, 25 May 1909, SAD/287/3; Nason to Wingate, 8 Aug. 1902, SAD/272/6; Willis's diary, 27 Sep. 1910, SAD/210/2; *GGR*—1907, p. 185, *GGR*—1908, p. 687.
34. Wingate to Cromer, 9 May 1906, SAD/278/5.
35. Wingate to Savile (private), 19 Apr. 1915, SAD/195/2.
38. *GGR*—1902, p. 16.
40. *GGR*—1908, p. 156.
42. Syrian Community to Wingate, 29 Nov. 1914, SAD/192/2 (signed), Juredini (editor of the *Sudan Times*).
44. *GGR*—1902, p. 114; *SG*—61, Apr. 1904. The monthly subsidy paid to teachers was £E 3. The Sudanese *kuttâb* were traditionally known as *khalwas*. However, in all the official documents, the term *kuttâb* is used for the Qur'an schools.
46. *GGR*—1908, pp. 224–5, 628.
52. *GGR*—1905, p. 55.
53. *GGR*—1903, p. 18; *GGR*—1904, p. 59; see also 'Historical Records Military School, Khartoum' (Sudan), n.d., SAD/106/4.
54. Wingate to Phipps, 21 May 1912, SAD/181/2/2.
56. List of the family of the Mahdi, the Khalifa, and of leading Mahdist Amirs, their place of residence and employment [n.d. 1914?], SAD/106/2.
57. Currie to Wingate, 24 June 1914, SAD/190/3/2; Wingate to Currie, 1 July 1914, ibid.
59. 'Memorandum by Wingate on interview with Mudassir Ibrahim (late kateb of the Khalifa)', Inclosure in Cromer to Salisbury, 11 Apr. 1899, FO/407/151; *GGR*—1902, p. 317; *GGR*—1903, pp. 74, 96; *GGR*—1904, p. 105; *GGR*—1906, p. 702.
60. *GGR*—1903, App. 'D'.
63. See below pp. 146–147.
64. For the relation of Wingate and Slatin with Egyptian and Sudanese officials, see above pp. 10–12, 19–21, 52–55.
65. Balfour to Lady F. Balfour [his mother], 30 Apr. 1907, SAD/303/6.
66. *Faki*—a colloquial contraction of *faqih*, 'student of law', was applied in the Sudan indiscriminately to men of religion.

68. Willis's diary, SAD/210/2.

**CHAPTER VI**

*Religious Policy, Islam and Christianity*

6. The term orthodox Islam, was used by the British authorities in the Sudan in order to distinguish the Islam they supported from Sufism and Mahdism. I have used the same terminology without trying to determine whether this Islam was really orthodox.
8. Wingate to Cromer, 13 June, 1901, SAD/271/6.
10. These mosques, which included *sūfi zawiyas*, were referred to as 'private mosques', in all the Sudan government reports, whilst the mosques subsidized by the government were defined as public. I have followed this terminology for reasons of clarity although this distinction does not exist in Islam.
11. *GGR*—1904, p. 81.
12. *GGR*—1904, p. 78; *GGR*—1905, p. 114; *GGR*—1906, p. 702.
18. C. A. Willis, *Report on Slavery and the Pilgrimage* (1926), SAD/212/2; see also Wingate to Harvey, 20 Oct. 1910, SAD/284/10/1.
22. Slatin to Wingate, 12 Apr. 1913, SAD/186/1/1.
27. Wingate to Cromer, 1 Mar. 1900, FO/141/356.
29. SIR—85, Aug. 1901.
34. SIR—143, June 1906; SIR—150, Jan. 1907.
35. SIR—166, May 1908, Appendix D.
36. Grey to Gorst, 30 May 1908, FO/141/416.
37. Currie to Slatin, 4 July 1908, SAD/431/50.
38. Article in al-Liwā', 28 May 1908, quoted in Graham to Grey, 8 Aug. 1908, FO/407/172; see also above pp. 20–21.
40. SIR—167, June 1908.
41. Proclamation by Wingate, 26 May 1908, Inclosure 2 in Graham to Grey, 6 Sep. 1908, FO/407/172.
42. Wingate to Maxwell (private), 12 May 1908, SAD/110/8.
43. GGR—1908, p. 200; Memorandum by Sir R. Wingate, 9 Aug. 1908, (Strictly Confidential), FO/407/173, see above pp.
44. SIR—167, June 1908; GGR—1908, p. 590; Asser to Wingate, 9 Aug. 1908; Slatin to Wingate, 9 Aug. 1908, SAD/283/8/4; this rumour was caused by a seasonal movement of nomad tribes.
45. GGR—1908, pp. 49–52.
46. Scott-Moncrieff, the British inspector who was killed, had joined the Sudan civil service in 1906, having graduated from Oxford a year earlier. His father, Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff had been in charge of Egyptian irrigation since 1883. As early as 1902 another British inspector by the name of Scott-Barbour was murdered by the Aggar Dinka. However, an uprising by a southern tribe which had not yet been brought under government control and was regarded as savage, was not viewed in the same light as the Wad Ḥabūba revolt. See below pp. ???
47. Wingate to Stack (private), 3 Jan. 1909, SAD/286/1; Channer to Wingate, 13 Sep. 1909, SAD/288/5.
48. Phipps to Wingate, 14 July 1910; Wingate to Phipps, 28 July 1910, SAD/297/1. The arrested fakis had the Mahdi's rātib in their possession; SIR—192, July 1910.
49. GGR—1910, pp. 66–7; the faki later died of his wounds, SIR—190, May 1910.
50. *SIR*—193, Aug. 1910; *SIR*—195, Oct. 1910; the sentence of one of the sons was later commuted to life imprisonment.


52. Wingate to Gorst, 19 Nov. 1910, SAD/298/2; *SIR*—196, Nov. 1910; *SIR*—246, Jan. 1915.

53. *West Africans*.

54. *GGR*—1912, p. 9; Wingate to Wilson, 13 May 1912; SAD/181/2/2; Butler to Wingate, 12 June 1912, SAD/181/3; the date suggests a possible connection with the Italian conquest of Tripoli and Cyrenaica and its possible repercussions in the Sudan which greatly concerned Wingate; see Wingate to Kitchener, 9 Nov. 1911, SAD/301/5.

55. Wingate to Phipps, 20 Mar. 1908, SAD/282/3/2; Slatin to Wingate, 2 Apr. 1908, ibid; see also Hasan Dafalla, 'A note on the political prisoners of Wadi Halfa', *SNR*—47 (1966), pp. 148-50. Mr. Dafalla's claim that the prisoners were moved owing to the pressure of British liberals and of the Egyptian press is not accurate.

56. Wingate to Gorst, 26 Dec. 1909, FO/141/423; *SIR*—215, June 1912.

57. Minutes by F. G. Vansittart on a Parliamentary question by Mr. Ponsonby M.P., 6 Feb. 1913, FO/371/1637.


59. Owen to Wingate, 3 June 1915, SAD/195/3.

60. Wingate to Cromer, 8 May 1906, FO/141/402.

61. *SG*—266, 16 Nov. 1914; *GGR*—1914, p. 43; *SIR*—247, Feb. 1915; *SIR*—260, Mar. 1916.


63. 'H. E. Governor-General's Speech to the Ulema at Khartoum,' 8 Nov. 1914, *SIR*—244, Nov. 1914. Wingate's speech included a passage referring to the rulers of Turkey as a '. . . syndicate of Jews, financiers and low born intriguers . . .' The speech was published in *The Times* 29 Dec. 1914, and caused an immediate protest by Anglo-Jewry. The editor of *The Jewish Chronicle*, on 1 Jan. 1915, demanded that '. . . this incendiary document should be recalled without delay . . .' The foreign office which had endorsed Wingate's speech in Nov. and had marked the passage '. . . This Syndicate of Jews . . .' as 'quite nice' (signed) L. O. [Oliphant], (Minute to *SIR*—Nov. 1914, FO/371/2349,) suddenly inquired whether Wingate had in fact made these remarks (Crowe to Cheetham, 7 Jan. 1915, SAD/194/1). Wingate rendered apologies to the *Jewish Chronicle*, through Symes, (Symes to Editor of *The Jewish Chronicle*, 23 Mar. 1915, SAD/194/3/2).

64. Wingate to Cromer, 27 Nov. 1914, FO/633/23.

Notes

69. Wingate to Jackson, (private and confidential), 21 Sep. 1915, SAD/196/5.
72. The Times, 28 June 1916, quoting Lord Cromer’s speech. See also speeches by Lord Grenfell and Viscount Bryce in praise of Wingate, ibid.
75. Stack to Wingate, 3 July 1919, SAD/237/11.
76. For a biography of Bishop Llewellyn Gwynne see H. C. Jackson, Pastor on the Nile, London 1960.
78. Gorst to Wingate (private), 22 Dec. 1910; Wingate to Gorst, 29 Dec. 1910, SAD/298/3; Blyth to Wingate, 28 Jan. 1911, SAD/300/1; Blyth to Bishop Wilkinson, 11 Feb. 1911, SAD/420/2.
79. Blyth to Gwynne, 3 Jan. 1912; Blyth to Wingate, 10 Jan. 1912, SAD/420/3.
80. Report on Interview with Lord Cromer and Sir Herbert Kitchener, 11 Oct. 1898, CMSA/E/03/1898/no. 51; see also Memorandum of interview accorded by Lord Kitchener to the Rev. F. Baylis and Dr. F. J. Harpur, 18 July 1899, CMSA/E/03/1899.
81. Adeney to General Committee CMS, 12 Dec. 1899, and Minutes of the General Committee instructing Gwynne and Harpur to remain in Omdurman and not to proceed to Fashoda, CMSA/Egypt/1899/125; Gwynne and Harpur to Adeney, 22 Dec. 1899, CMSA/E/03/1899.
82. Maxwell to Wingate, 19 Jan. 1900, SAD/270/1/2.
83. CMS Headquarters minutes, 31 July 1900, CMSA/Egypt/1900/78; Cromer to Salisbury, 9 Nov. 1900, FO/78/5088.
84. Cromer to Lansdowne, 9 Mar. 1900, FO/633/8; Cromer to Salisbury, 27 Apr. 1900, FO/407/155.
86. MacInnes to Baylis, 13 May 1905, CMSA/Eg/03/1905; see also Baylis to Gwynne, 7 Apr. 1905, CMSA/Eg/Vol. 3; Wingate to Baylis, 11 May 1905, CMSA/Eg/03/1905; Wingate to Cromer, 19 Apr. 1905, FO/141/393.
88. Wingate to Gwynne, 22 Mar. 1910, SAD/290/3; Wingate to Gwynne, 27 Feb. 1913, FO/371/1638.
89. Blyth to Gwynne, 23 Jan. 1912; Wingate to Blyth, 1 Feb. 1912, SAD/420/3; Wingate to Kitchener, 11 Feb. 1912, SAD/180/2/2.
90. Wingate to Clayton, 14 Feb. 1914, SAD/469/6/1.
91. Wingate to Clayton, (private), 7 Mar. 1914, ibid.
93. Gwynne to Wingate, 19 Nov. 1911, SAD/301/5.
95. MacInnes to Baylis, 13 May 1905, CMSA/E/03/1905.
96. The Times, 28 Sep. 1911; Wingate to Gwynne, 9 Oct. 1911, SAD/301/4.
97. Wingate to Kitchener, (private, please destroy), 11 Feb. 1912, SAD/180/2/2; Wingate to Kitchener, 28 Nov. 1911, SAD/301/5; Circular Memorandum No. 244, Port Sudan, 19 Mar. 1910, SAD/402/12; the reason for introducing Sunday as weekly holiday in Port Sudan was probably because it was a new town with a very cosmopolitan population. In 1906 there were 2,725 foreigners in Port Sudan, out of a total population of 4,289, GGR—1906, p. 720. For Sunday observance in the south, see below pp. 121–122.
99. See below pp. 118–123.
101. Minutes of CMS Managing Committee, 31 July 1900, CMSA/EG/3/1900; Adeney, Harpur, and Hall to CMS, 18 Apr. 1901, ibid, 1901.
102. Gwynne to Adeney, 16 Apr. 1901, CMSA/E/03/1901.
103. Gwynne to Baylis, 12 Nov. 1902, CMSA/E/03/1902.
105. Spence to Secretary of Foreign Department, CMS, 15 Sep. 1903, CMSA/E/03/1903.
111. Cromer to Wingate, 6 Feb. 1907, FO/141/409; Wingate to Cromer, 19 Mar. 1907, SAD/103/7/1.
112. GGR—1912, pp. 289–90; see below p. 121.
113. 'Instructions as to the procedure to be carried out by individuals or societies desirous of opening schools in the Sudan', (signed) R. Wingate, 31 Jan. 1912, CMSA/Sudan/1; The instructions applied to all private schools, except kuttabs.
116. Jallāb: trader; the Jallāba were traders mainly from the riverain tribes of the Sudan. During the Turco-Egyptian period many of them acted as intermediaries in the slave trade and some of them continued this practice during the early years of the Condominium.
118. Boulnois to Currie, Jan. 1904; Currie to Boulnois, Jan. 1904, SAD/103/7/2.
119. Wingate to Boulnois (private), 3 Feb. 1904, SAD/103/7/2.
120. Hill to Civil Secretary, 19 Dec. 1906; Currie to Civil Secretary, 2 Feb. 1907, SAD/103/7/2; GGR—1907, pp. 183–4; GGR—1908, p. 466.
122. Gwynne to Wingate, 29 Aug. 1911, SAD/301/2; Wingate to Gwynne, 9 Oct. 1911, SAD/301/4.
123. Wingate to Gorst, (private), 1 Mar. 1911, SAD/300/3.
125. Wingate to Phipps, 6 Sep. 1911, SAD/301/3; Asser to Wingate, 15 Sep. 1912, SAD/182/3/2.
126. Wingate to Feilden, 28 Mar. 1914, SAD/189/3.
127. Wingate to Balfour, 2 Nov. 1915, SAD/197/2/2; 'Historical Records Nuba Territorial Company', SAD/106/5.
128. Hall to Adeney, 12 Mar. 1901, CMSA/E/03/1901; GGR—1904, p. 37.
130. Wingate to Kitchener, 20 Mar. 1912, SAD/180/3; Wingate to Sir Andrew Wingate, 25 July 1913, SAD/187/1/1.
131. Wingate to Wilson, 3 July, 1913, SAD/420/3; SIR—261, Apr. 1916.
132. Regulations and conditions under which missionary work is permitted in the Sudan (signed) R. Wingate, 31 Jan. 1912, CMSA/S/01/1912; see also GGR—1905, pp. 151–2.
133. Gwynne to Parent Committee, 16 Aug. 1906, CMSA/S/01/1906; Owen to Thornton, 12 June 1907, SAD/208/6.
134. Wingate to Phipps, 3 Aug. 1908, SAD/283/8/3.
135. Wingate to Phipps, 18 Nov. 1912, SAD/183/2; Wingate to Phipps, 19 Nov. 1912, SAD/183/1.
139. Gwynne to Wingate, 20 Apr. 1908, SAD/282/4; Baylis to Gwynne, 10 Apr. 1908, CMSA/Sudan/Vol. 1.
140. Wingate to Feilden, (private), 27 May 1912, SAD/181/2/2.
CHAPTER VII

The Administration of Justice


3. *SG*—86, 1 Jan. 1906; a year later the Codes were enforced in the Bahr al-Ghazāl; *SG*—107, 7 Feb. 1907.


5. *GGR*—1905, p. 79; *CAO*—104, 30 Nov. 1903.


7. *GGR*—1903, p. 29.

8. *GGR*—1907, p. 86; *GGR*—1908, p. 193; For details see below pp. 127–128.


12. *CAO*—133, Feb. 1904; as to lands, five years continuous possession was regarded as proof of ownership. See below pp. 155–159.

13. Wingate to Stack (private), 10 May 1912, SAD/181/2/2; Wingate to Stack (private), 19 May 1912, ibid.


16. ‘Memoirs of Ryder, 1905–1916’, SAD/400/8, p. 66; Ryder started his career in the Sudan in 1905 as a surveyor. In 1906 he was appointed land settlement officer in Berber, and from 1908–12 he became judicial inspector of Berber province.

Notes

27. *SG*—76, 1 May 1905; see also *CAO*—43, 21 May 1903, which allowed *qādis* to send summonses to persons residing in another ma’mūriya.
28. *SG*—98, 1 July 1906.
29. *SG*—227, 28 Dec. 1912; *Mā’dhūn*—official authorized by the *qādi* to perform and register marriages and divorces.
31. Wingate to Gorst, (private), 22 Dec. 1908, SAD/284/15; see above p. 18.
32. *GGR*—1911, p. 141.
33. *GGR*—1903, p. 79.
34. *GGR*—1904, p. 60.
36. Al-Ṭayyib Ahmad Hāshim (c. 1857–1924) was born at Berber of Ja’ali origin, studied in the *khalwa* of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Khayr Khūjāli and was a clerk in the *Sharī’a* court at Berber when the Mahdist Took over. During the Mahdia he became secretary to the Khalifa’s brother and tutor to his son al-Sayyid Muḥammad ‘Abdallāhī. After the reconquest he became the first judge at the *Sharī’a* court of Khartoum. From 1900–1924, he was muftī of the Sudan. *Hill, BD*, p. 354.
37. Quoted by Cromer from a confidential report by the grand *qādi*; see Cromer to Wingate, 11 Feb. 1907, SAD/280/2.
39. *GGR*—1908, p. 203; *GGR*—1912, pp. 360–1; *SG*—208, 28 Dec. 1911, ‘Circuit of Kadis of Mohammedan Law Courts, During 1912’.
40. Wingate to Sutherland, 28 Feb. 1907, SAD/280/2; *CAO*—345, 20 Sep. 1905.
43. Matthews Pasha, Godfrey Escourt (1866–1917), was seconded to the
Egyptian army in 1896 and took part in the Nile campaigns. After one year as assistant civil secretary, he headed an expedition in 1901, to clear the sadd on the White Nile. In 1902-3, he was administrator of Fashoda district and in 1904-10, governor of the Upper Nile province which included Fashoda (later renamed Kodok); in 1911-13 he commanded the military district of Khartoum. Hill, BD, p. 235.

44. GGR—1904, p. 132.
45. GGR—1908, p. 663.
46. GGR—1903, pp. 9-10; see below pp. 142-147.
47. GGR—1908, p. 463.
48. Cameron to Wilson, 9 May 1905, in SIR—130, May 1905. Dengkur was part of Sennar province until 1906, when it became part of Mongalla.
49. SIR—138, Jan. 1906; SIR—139, Feb. 1906, Appendix A.
52. SIR—179, June 1909.
55. Wingate to Owen, 21 June 1915, SAD/195/11.
56. GGR—1906, p. 743.
57. E. S. Hartland to Russel Rea, 29 Jan. 1908, SAD/282/1. This letter was written after Hartland had read the code of Dinka laws prepared by Captain O’Sullivan, a Sudan government inspector.

CHAPTER VIII

Tribal Policy

2. For an English version of these letters, signed Kitchener, 28 June 1897, and the replies of their recipients see SAD/101/1.
7. SIR—93, Apr. 1902.
8. Gwynne to Wingate, 29 Aug. 1911, SAD/301/2.
12. Wingate to Kitchener, 20 Mar. 1912, SAD/190/3; GGR—1914, p. 61, see below pp. 147-154.
14. SG—105, 8 Jan. 1907, Ordinance for regulating the import of ammunition; SG—123, 1 Jan. 1908, Arms Ordinance 1907; SG—128, 1 Mar. 1908, The Sudan explosives Ordinance.
15. Jihādiya—regular troops who were recruited by the Egyptians from slaves obtained in the Sudan. The jihādiya was maintained as a special force during the Mahdia.
18. SG—49, July 1903.
21. SG—110, 1 Apr. 1907; SG—9, Feb. 1900; SG—26, Aug. 1901; SG—31, Jan. 1902.
22. SIR—71, 9 June–8 July, 1900; SIR—75, 8 Oct.–8 Nov. 1900.
23. The Times, 30 Mar. 1900.
24. GGR—1902, p. 305; GGR—1905, p. 121; GGR—1908, p. 695.
28. GGR—1906, p. 710.
29. Willis’s diary, 12 Nov. 1911, SAD/210/2.
31. Some aspects of Nuba administration, Sudan Government Memorandum, No. 1, Nov. 1931, By J. A. Gillan, Strictly Confidential.
32. GGR—1903, pp. 9–10.
33. Matthews to Wingate, 19 July 1903, SAD/273/7.
41. Wingate to Clayton, 13 Feb. 1911, SAD/469/3; C. E. Lyall, ‘Rights

42. Willis's diary, 6 Nov. 1911, SAD/210/2.


45. Wingate's diary, 2 Mar. 1902, SAD/272/8; *SIR*—88, Nov. 1901; *GGR*—1902, p. 229.


47. *SIR*—94, May 1902; *SIR*—93, Apr. 1902.


50. *GGR*—1904, p. 133.

51. Matthews to Wingate, 12 Apr. 1904, SAD/275/3.

52. *GGR*—1905, pp. 16, 150.

53. *GGR*—1908, p. 655.

54. *GGR*—1906, p. 552.

55. Owen to Wingate, 16 Aug. 1908, SAD/283/8/3.

56. Wingate to Owen, 14 Jan. 1910, SAD/290/1.

57. Wingate to Gorst, 1 Mar. 1911, SAD/300/3; Wingate to Grey, 20 Aug. 1911, SAD/301/2.

58. Wingate to Kitchener, 7 Dec. 1911, SAD/301/6/2; *SIR*—211, Feb. 1912.

59. Wingate to Stack, 12 Apr. 1912, SAD/181/1/3; Minutes—No. 13908, 2 Apr. 1912, FO/371/1362, (signed) R. P. M.

60. Wingate to Stack, (private), 20 Apr. 1912, SAD/181/1: Wingate wrote that none of these points would be mentioned in the official report; Wingate to Stack, 9 May 1912, SAD/181/2/2; Stack to Wingate, 20 May 1912, ibid.

61. Wingate to Stack, 12 Apr. 1912, SAD/181/1/3.

62. *GGR*—1906, p. 7; *SIR*—143, June 1906.


64. *GGR*—1908, p. 590; Wingate to Gorst, 29 Dec. 1908, FO/371/659.


66. Wingate to Asser, 12 Sep. 1910, SAD/297/3; Wingate to Gorst, 22 Sep. 1910, ibid; *SIR*—189, Apr. 1910; *GGR*—1911, p. 8.


68. Slatin's diary, 6 Nov. 1910, SAD/441.

69. *GGR*—1911, p. 8; *GGR*—1914, pp. 5–6; *SIR*—240, July 1914.


72. *CAO*—66, 28 May 1901.

73. Slatin's diary, 29 Dec. 1910, SAD/441.

74. Asser to Wingate, 12 Aug. 1912, SAD/182/2/1.

75. Asser to Wingate, 4 Apr. 1913, SAD/186/1/2; Stack who was then Sudan agent came forward with the idea of exchanging cattle for recruits; Stack to Wingate, 7 Sep. 1913, SAD/187/3/1.

76. Drake to Wingate, 26 May 1915, SAD/195/5.
CHAPTER IX

Land-settlement and Taxation

2. SG—2, 27 May 1899; SG—1, 7 Mar. 1899; SG—10, 1 Apr. 1900.
3. SG—45, Mar. 1903; GGR—1903, p. 80.
5. SG—80, 24 Aug. 1905.
6. Phipps to Wingate, 12 June 1905, SAD/276/6; according to Phipps a *jad'a* consisted of 5½ feddans and was the measurement used for taxation.
7. SG—78, July 1905, 'Disposal of land by natives'; SG—79, Aug. 1905, 'Sale or lease of lands'.
8. SG—96, 23 May 1906; SG—113, June 1907; SG—123, Jan. 1908. *Buqr* or *Karu* were the lands lying behind the river banks which were only cultivable in years of exceptionally high floods.
9. Kitchener to Wingate, 5 Apr. 1912, SAD/181/1/3; *Kharâjiya* lands which originally did not amount to full ownership, had since 1891 been regarded as equal to *mulk*. Thus Kitchener's declaration seems to have had no legal significance; see G. Baer, *A history of land-ownership in modern Egypt 1800–1950*, London, 1962, pp. 8–12.
10. SG—2, May 1899. SG—45, Mar. 1903, amending the *Title of Lands Ordinance 1899*.
11. GGR—1908, The Legal Secretary's Report, p. 197.
12. The most comprehensive work in this field is by H. St. G. Peacock, *A Report on the Land Settlement of the Gezira, Messelemia District*, London, 1913. Peacock was a judge of the Sudan civil court and was in charge of the Gezira land-settlement in the years 1906–10. A second report was written by J. G. Matthew, inspector in the Sennar province 1905–9, and president of the land-settlement commission for Singa district. 'Land Customs and Tenure in Singa District', *SNR*, Vol. 4, (1921), pp. 1–19. The third report was about land-settlement in the province of Berber and was written by Ryder, who became land-settlement officer in 1906. 'Memoirs of Ryder 1905–16', (typescript), SAD/400/8. The following, unless otherwise stated, is based on these reports.
14. Corbyn (Settlement Officer Kamlin) to Legal Secretary, 28 Feb. 1910, SAD/290/2/2, inclosure in Wingate to Gorst, 29 Mar. 1910, SAD/290/3/1.
15. *GGR*—1906, pp. 6, 351–2; *GGR*—1908, pp. 197–9.
17. *GGR*—1906, pp. 519, 614, 639.
18. *GGR*—1912, p. 102. For the introduction and the effects of the progressive land-tax, see below p. 166.
20. ibid., pp. 51–73.
22. *GGR*—1902, pp. 242, 282; *GGR*—1906, pp. 570, 636.
24. Grenfell, Francis Wallace, 1st Baron (1841–1925), sirdar of the Egyptian army 1888–1892; commanded the Egyptian army in the Battle of Tūshkī in 1889; in 1902 he was raised to the peerage; was made field marshal in 1909; *DNBS*, 1922–1930, pp. 362–4.
27. *Al-Ahrām*, 5 July 1914; the quotation is from a letter to the editor signed by a former Sudan government official. It was written following an article in *Al-Ahrām*, 1 July 1914, which criticized the Sudan government’s attitude to foreigners and its land policy. The article and the letter were translated by the intelligence department, SAD/191/1/2.
28. *SG*—2, 27 May 1899. The *tanzim* regulations set down the standard of buildings which had to be erected according to the classification of the land.
31. *SG*—206, 2 Nov. 1909; the only town where municipal authorities existed during that period was Khartoum.
32. *SG*—63, June 1904.
34. Inclosure in Asser to Gorst, 2 Oct. 1909, FO/141/423.
36. *GGR*—1912, pp. 92–3; *SG*—225, 23 Nov. 1912.
40. *GGR*—1906, p. 183; *GGR*—1908, p. 316; Slatin to Wingate, 15 Mar. 1906, SAD/278/3.
41. *GGR*—1906, p. 83; *GGR*—1905, p. 7.
42. Bonus to Wingate, 17 Nov. 1906, inclosure in Wingate to Cromer,
Notes

17 Nov. 1906, FO/141/402; Corbett to Cromer, 26 Nov. 1906, ibid., SG—100, Sep. 1906.

43. Amery to Wingate, 20 July 1907, SAD/281/1; The Times, 15 May 1908; SG—100, Sep. 1906.

44. Bonus to Wingate, 12 Apr. 1908; Wingate to Gorst, 28 Mar. 1908; Harvey to Gorst, 8 Apr. 1908; Gorst to Wingate, 11 Apr. 1908, FO/141/416.

45. GGR—1908, pp. 12-14.

46. GGC, 22 Jan.—10 Feb. 1910, FO/867/3; 28 Feb.—14 Mar. 1910, FO/867/1.

47. SAR—1899, p. 47.

48. GGR—1902, p. 114.

49. Wingate to Kitchener (private), 7 Apr. 1912, SAD/181/1/3.

50. SG—2, 27 May 1899.

51. GGR—1905, p. 69; GGR—1908, p. 21.

52. GGR—1906, p. 502; GGR—1907, p. 75.

53. GGR—1905, p. 133; Phipps to Wingate, 27 Aug. 1905, SAD/277/2; GGR—1908, p. 391.

54. SG—7, 2 Dec. 1899; SAR—1899, p. 49.

55. SG—26, 1 Aug. 1901, The Tribute Ordinance 1901, The Taxation of Animals Ordinance 1901.

56. Peacock, op. cit., p. 16; see also Holt, op. cit., p. 34, who quotes a proclamation of the Mahdi stating that the Turks imposed jizya on the Muslim inhabitants of the Sudan.


60. SG—3, 31 July 1899; this tax was amended in 1905; SG—73, Mar. 1905; SG—86, Jan. 1906.

61. 'The Local Taxation Ordinance 1912', SG—225, 23 Nov. 1912.


63. SG—232, 20 Mar. 1913; Wingate to Slatin, 21 Apr. 1914, SAD/104/6; Wingate to Bernard, 6 May 1913, SAD/186/2/1.

64. See above pp. 72–74, 145–147.

CHAPTER X

Slavery and Labour

1. P. F. Martin, The Sudan in Evolution, London, 1921, p. 216. CAO—133, 5 Dec. 1901; this order was superseded by more detailed instructions; SG—63, 1 June 1904.

2. GGR—1906, p. 558.
3. Talbot to Wingate, 20 June 1903, SAD/234/1; Wingate to Cromer, 11 Dec. 1903, FO/141/378.

4. The following details, unless otherwise stated, are taken from C. A. Willis, Report on Slavery and the Pilgrimage, (1926), SAD/212/2; the report was based on the data collected by the Sudan intelligence department of which Willis was the director since 1920.

5. The figures quoted by Willis do not agree with those given in the Sudan Intelligence Reports for those years; SIR—174–233, Jan. 1909–Dec. 1913.


8. Stack to Wingate, 20 May 1908, SAD/284/14/1; quoting a discussion he had with McMurd. For Slatin’s views on slavery, see above pp.


10. Wingate to Stack, (private), 12 May 1908, SAD/284/13; ‘Abd al-Qādir Wād Ḥābūba was the leader of the Gezira rebellion in 1908; see above pp. 101–103.


14. Willis’s diary, 16 May 1909, 6 Nov. 1909, SAD/210/2.

15. Willis’s diary, Feb.–Mar. 1910, SAD/210/2. Whithingham was one of the senior inspectors of the slavery department. Wingate's and Slatin’s mistrust for him was a well known fact.


17. For details see below pp. 175–178.

18. Wingate to Gorst, 13 Apr. 1910, SAD/431/11.


20. Wingate to Ravenscroft, (private), 1 July 1914, SAD/191/1/2.

21. GGR—1904, p. 36.

22. J. Matthew (acting governor Red Sea) to all Inspectors, 26 Jan. 1915, Anti-Slavery Archive, G/282.

23. GGR—1905, p. 51; Domestic slaves were always referred to as servants in official communications.


26. Slatin to Wingate, 31 July 1909, SAD/288/1; Slatin’s diary, 1902, SAD/44; see above pp. 50–51.

27. SIR—104, Mar. 1903, Appendix ‘E’.

Notes

29. SIR—130, May 1905.
30. Memorandum from the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society upon the Existence of Slavery in the Sudan, 24 Nov. 1919. Anti-Slavery Archive, G/282; although this memorandum was written after Wingate's governor-generalship, most details concern the period under discussion.
32. GGR—1908, p. 515.
33. GGR—1907, p. 231; see also GGR—1906, pp. 600, 728.
35. Sudan Government—Confidential Circular Memorandum No. 33, Regulations as to Sudanese Servants. (signed) R. M. Feilden Lewa, Civil Secretary, 1 May 1919. Anti-Slavery Archive, G/282.
36. GGR—1907, p. 236; GGR—1908, p. 488.
37. GGR—1908, pp. 21, 177.
38. Phipps to Wingate, 1 June 1905, SAD/276/6; A. C. Parker, 'Memoirs of the early days', SAD/294/10; GGR—1906, pp. 565, 663, 720; GGR—1907, p. 126.
40. 'Report on the Soudan Railway', by G. B. Macauley, Director of Soudan Railways, 2 Dec. 1900, FO/403/312; Government of India to Lord Hamilton, India Office, 4 Aug. 1902, FO/403/323; Lansdowne to Cromer, 22 Oct. 1902, ibidC?
41. GGR—1903, pp. 22–4, 61–2, Appendix 'B'; 'Report by Slatin Pasha on the "Kokreb" meeting with Sheikhs of Nomad tribes to arrange the work on the Red Sea railway'.
42. GGR—1904, p. 14.
43. GGR—1903, p. 23; GGR—1902, p. 280.
45. Clayton to Wingate, 17 Dec. 1913, SAD/469/5.
46. GGR—1905, pp. 29, 30, 160–61, Appendix 'A', Instructions as to the Employment of Labour.
47. GGR—1909, p. 55.
48. ibid, pp. 53–4.
49. GGR—1909, p. 55; GGR—1914, p. 10.
50. SG—61, 1 Apr. 1904; SG—19, Jan. 1901.
54. Wingate to Gorst, 19 Nov. 1908, SAD/284/15.
Bibliography

I. UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

(a) Anti-Slavery Society Archive, Rhodes House, Oxford.
This archive contains the papers of the Aborigines' Protection Society and the Anti-Slavery Society which were founded in the 1830s. The material relevant to slavery in the Sudan in the years 1898-1916 is in Box G-282.

(b) Church Missionary Society Archive, London.
The archive contains the correspondence between the CMS missionaries in the Sudan and their headquarters in Egypt and London. Until Nov. 1905, the Sudan belonged to Group No. 5 in Egypt and the material relevant to the Sudan is classified together with Egypt. From 1905 there are separate boxes and precis books containing the Sudan correspondence.

(c) Foreign Office Archive at the Public Record Office, London.
FO/78 Turkey Egypt, Political 1898-1905.
FO/371 Egypt political 1906-1916. This series replaced FO/78 which was discontinued since Dec. 1905. Apart from correspondence between the consul-general and the foreign office, it also contains the Sudan intelligence reports.

FO/403 Confidential prints, North East Africa and the Soudan. This series was discontinued in 1904.

FO/407 Confidential prints, Egypt and the Soudan 1898-1916. The original letters and memoranda printed in these series are in FO/78 and FO/371.

II. PRIVATE PAPERS

(a) At the Public Record Office, London.
3. The Kitchener papers, PRO/30/57, 10-48.

(b) At the Sudan Archive, School of Oriental Studies, University of Durham.
This archive is made up of numerous collections of private papers
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belonging to British and other officials who served in the Sudan. The major collections are those of Sir Reginald Wingate, governor-general of the Sudan, 1899–1916, and Sir Rudolf von Slatin Pasha, inspector-general of the Sudan, 1900–1914.

1. The Wingate papers contain his private correspondence since 1878 and his correspondence regarding the Sudan from 1883–1916. However, many letters relevant to the Sudan are in the private correspondence. Special boxes contain Wingate’s diaries and memoirs, and the manuscripts of *Mahdiism and the Egyptian Sudan*, and *Ten years’ captivity in the Mahdi’s camp*.

2. The Slatin papers contain his correspondence from 1895–1932 (the correspondence between Wingate and Slatin is arranged in special boxes). The English and German manuscripts of *Fire and Sword in the Sudan*, are in boxes 443–5. Slatin’s diaries for the years 1896–1916 were of particular value, they are written partly in German and partly in English and contain Slatin’s impressions during his tours of inspection as well as his recommendations regarding administrative policy.

Of the numerous other collections which have been used in writing this book, the following are the most important:

3. The private letters of Lieutenant-Colonel Frank C. Balfour, who started his service in the public works department at Port Sudan and later became inspector in the Nuba Mountains.

4. The diaries and memoirs of Major-General Stephen S. Butler contain his memoirs on the Egyptian army and his diaries for the years 1911–1912 while serving in the intelligence department.

5. The correspondence of Sir Gilbert F. Clayton Pasha with Wingate during his period as Wingate’s private secretary 1908–1914, and as Sudan agent 1914–1916.

6. The private papers of Bishop Llewellyn Henry Gwynne are split between the Sudan archive in Durham and the CMS archive in London, both of which have been used extensively.

7. The letters and the manuscripts of several articles by K. D. D. Henderson (boxes 448; 478–9).

8. The Journals of Reverend F. B. Hadow and Dr. E. Lloyd of the CMS, for the years 1905–8 (box 203). Hadow and Lloyd arrived in the Sudan in 1905 with the first group of CMS missionaries who opened the station at Melut in the Upper Nile province.

9. A memoir written by Colonel C. F. Ryder (box 400/8) was of particular value for the chapter dealing with land-settlement in the Sudan.

10. The diaries of Lieut.-Colonel Robert V. Savile (box 427) were of considerable interest with regard to tribal administration and taxation in Kassala (1902–6) and Kordofan (1909–17).

11. The papers of Na‘ūm Shuqayr (Shoucair) contain very little of his private correspondence (box 101/20). More important are his notes on the history of the Majdhibiya order (box 195), and his work in connection with Ismā‘īl ‘Abd al-Qādir’s biography of the Mahdi (box 260/2).
12. The private papers of Sa'id Shuqayr (Shoucair) cover the years 1909–1934. They are classified according to subjects and deal with the Sudan, Palestine, and Syria (boxes 493–4).
13. The correspondence and diaries of Charles Armine Willis (boxes 209–212) are of great interest. As a junior inspector in Kordofan since 1905, Willis kept a regular diary of events which contain many details regarding religious and tribal policy. His later diaries and memoranda afford a critical view of the government's policy as seen by a director of the intelligence department.

III. UNPUBLISHED AND CONFIDENTIAL REPORTS

(a) British.

(b) Sudan Government.
All these reports are in the Sudan Archive, Durham, unless otherwise mentioned.
1. A Note on Government policy towards the native population. [n.d.]
2. Governor-General's Council, minutes of, 1910–1916, FO/867/1–7, (Public Record Office).
3. Regulations as to Sudanese Servants, Sudan Government Confidential Circular memorandum, No. 33, 1 May 1919 by Lewa R. M. Feilden, Civil Secretary. (Anti-Slavery Archive, Rhodes House, Oxford.)
4. Slavery and the Pilgrimage, 1926, report by C. A. Willis, O.B.E.
5. Some aspects of Nuba administration, Sudan Government Memorandum No. 1, Nov. 1931, by J. A. Gillan, Strictly Confidential.
8. The immigration and distribution of West Africans in the Sudan, Sudan Government Memorandum, [n.d.].

IV. UNPUBLISHED THESSES


V. OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

(a) British.
2. *Reports by His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General on the Finances, Administration, and Condition of Egypt and the Soudan*: 1898—C.9231; 1899—CD.95; 1900—CD.441; 1901—CD.1012; 1902—CD.1529; 1903—CD.1951; 1904—CD.2409; 1905—CD.2817; 1906—CD.3394; 1907—CD.3966; 1908—CD.4580; 1909—CD.5121; 1910—CD.5633; 1911—CD.6149; 1912—CD.6682; 1913—CD.7358; 1914–19—CMD.957.

(b) Egyptian.
1. *Journal officiel*.

(c) Sudanese.
1. *Civil Administration Orders* 1900–1908.
2. *Handbook Series*. The Sudan government handbooks were compiled in the intelligence department in Khartoum. Those used in this book are:
   - *Kordofan and the region to the west of the White Nile*, Dec. 1912.
3. *Reports on the Finances, Administration, and Condition of the Sudan*. Confidential. The reports are divided into four parts. A report by the consul-general in Egypt; a memorandum by the governor-general of the Sudan; reports of the central government departments; and reports by the provincial governors. The reports for the years 1902–1914 are in the School of Oriental Studies, Durham and in the library of the Foreign Office. I have not been able to locate the reports for the years 1899–1901.
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VI. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

(a) Daily and weekly newspapers.
   - *al-Ahrām*, Cairo.
   - *L’Étendard Egyptien*, Cairo.
   - *al-Liwā’,* Cairo.
   - *al-Mu’ayyad*, Cairo.
   - *al-Muqattam*, Cairo.
   - *Neue Freie Presse*, Vienna.
   - *The Standard*, Cairo.
   - *The Sudan Times*, Khartoum.
   - *The Times*, London.
   - *al-Watan*, Cairo.

(b) Periodicals.
   - *Middle Eastern Studies*, London.
   - *Sudan Notes and Records*, Khartoum.

VII. BOOKS AND ARTICLES


18. E. E. Evans-Pritchard. 'An ethnological survey of the Sudan', in Hamilton (no. 23).
24. J. A. de C. Hamilton. 'Devolutionary principles in native administration', in Hamilton (no. 23).
32. S. Hillelson. 'Religion in the Sudan', in Hamilton (no. 23).
44. G. D. Lampen. 'The Baggara tribes', in Hamilton, (no. 23).
55. L. F. Nalder. 'The two Sudans: some aspects of the South', in Hamilton, (no. 23).
66. N. Shuqayr (Shoucair). *Ta'rīkh al-Sūdān al-qadīm wa'l-ḥadīth wa jughrafīyatuhu*, Cairo, n.d. [1903].
69. W. Sterry. 'Some notes on the administration of justice in Africa',
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80. F. R. Wingate. Ten years' captivity in the Mahdi's camp 1882–1892... From the original manuscripts of Father Joseph Ohrwalder, London, 1892.