A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE EMERGING LINKS BETWEEN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND SOUTH AFRICA BETWEEN 1861-1923

by

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TABLE of ILLUSTRASTIONS

GLASSORY OF ARABIC and TURKISH TERMS

Adhak: A religious vow to make an offering

Alim: *(Plural Ulema)* the term 'alim' usually refers to the person who holds a degree in Islamic sciences. In times of doubt the alim will give a fatwa resolving matters because he unlike others in the community will have the most knowledge.

Amir: A leader

Bey: Amir, chief

Din: Religion, system of living

Effendi: A Turkish title meaning a lord or master, and is a title of respect, equivalent to the English 'Sir', in Turkey and some other Eastern countries. It follows the personal name, when it is used, and is generally given to members of the learned professions, and to government officials who have no higher rank, such as Bey or Pasha.

Fitrah: An amount of money given to people in need such as poor, traveller, student etc.

Hadji: A person goes to Mecca for pilgrimage.

Haj: Pilgrimage to holy place Mecca

Hanafe: Hanafe is one of the four schools *(madhabs)* of Fiqh or religious law within Sunni Islam. Founded by Abu Hanifa, (699 - 765), it is considered to be the school most open to modern ideas.

Hifz: The art of memorizing the Holy book Qur`an

Huffaz: The plural of Hafiz

Ibadat: Acts of worship

Imam: A prayer leader

Khalifah: A sword game

Khutba: An address or public prayer read from the steps of the pulpit in mosques, offering glory to Allah, praising Prophet Mohammed and his descendants, and the ruling sultans.

Madhab: a method of interpretation of religious material in the three major areas: belief, religious practice and law.

Madrasah: It is religious school for the advanced study of Islamic sciences.

Mahdi: A leader who assumes the role of a messiah

Millet: It is an Ottoman Turkish term for a confessional community in the Ottoman Empire.

Murid: Follower

Pasha: It was the highest honorary title in official usage in the Ottoman Empire and with slight variation in the states formed from its territories, where it is sometimes still employed (although Turkey formally abolished it in 1934 and Egypt in 1953). The designation, which was a personal distinction rather than a hereditary one, was given under the Ottoman rulers to individuals of both civilian and military status, notably ministers, provincial governors, and army officers.

Qur-an: The holy book of the Muslims

Shafee: The Shafee school of thought is one of the four schools of fiqh, or religious law, within Sunni Islam. The shafee school of thought was named after its founder, Abu 'Abd Allah ash-Shafi'i. There are shafees in Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somali and North Yemen, but the main concentration of the shafee madhab is in South East Asia: Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Muslim minorities of mainland South East Asia and the Philippines are exclusively shafee.

Sheik: A title given to a religious scholar or very pious man

Sheikh-ul Islam: The highest judicial authority in the Ottoman Empire. The sultan had to obtain his approval on important issues.

Shiite Islam: It is the largest minority denomination (10-20%) based on the Islamic faith after Sunni Islam.

Sublime Porte: The term was used in the context of diplomacy by western states to refer to the Divan (court) of the Ottoman Empire where government policies were established.

Sufi: A person belonging to spiritual order.

Sultan: The Arabic word for king or leader

Sunni: The branch of Islam that accepts the first four caliphs as rightful successors of Prophet Muhammad.

Şehbender: Concul, an official appointed by the government of one country to look after its commercial interests and the welfare of its citizens in another country.

Tafsir: It refers to interpretation, especially of the Qur'an.

Tajvid: It means to recite every letter correctly, i.e. from its proper origin of pronunciation coupled with its stipulated attributes.

Tariqa: In Islam, the Tariqa is the "special way" of mystical Sufis, in contrast to the Shari'a, which is the orthodox religious law.

Zakah: A compulsory giving of alms

ABBREVIATIONS

CUP The Committee of Union and Progress

DEIC Dutch East Indian Company

Ibid. Same as previous citation

POW Prisoners of War

USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

ZAR Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek

ZRFA Zwarte Ruggens Farmers` Association

Note on Pronunciation

The Following Turkish letters are pronounced approximately as follows:

ş-*sh* as in “shining”

ç-*ch* as in “chocolate”

c-*g* as in “George”

ö-*e* as in “erring”

ü-*ew* as in “few”

ğ-silent *g* as in “higher”

â-*a* as in “palm”

INTRODUCTION

The political and religious relations of the Ottoman Empire with the Southern region of Africa during the 19th century can be interpreted in the context of the Ottoman's foreign policy towards Africa. These links were later mostly effected from Abdulhamid`s pan-Islamism ideology. In the process, the Ottoman sultan claimed himself as the head and protector of all Muslims in the world and he tried to gain the support of the Muslim states, even the minority Muslim groups. Sultan Abdulhamid began to appoint religious officials and envoys to Muslim communities in order to maintain his influence among the Muslim populations of the world.

The South African Muslims had a certain awareness and loyalty to the Ottoman Caliph-Sultans and saw them as a religious guide and protector especially during the second half of the 19th century. On many occasions they showed their sympathy and support, sometimes financially, and considered the Caliph-Sultans as a spiritual leader although they were British subjects in a British colony. This created a 'double allegiance' for the South African Muslims. While they accepted the British Crown as a temporary sovereign, on the other hand, they accepted the Ottoman sultans as a religious (or spiritual) sovereign. This double identity, especially during the Abdulhamid`s reign, became more apparent under the pan-Islamism influence. However, during the First World War, Muslims found themselves in a dilemma between the Ottomans and British and chose to remain neutral. While the first Ottoman contacts with the Muslims of the Cape were established through Britain in the Cape Colony, in later decades the Ottoman State's contacts spread beyond the Cape Colony to areas such as Durban, Johannesburg and Kimberley.

To solve certain ongoing disputes amongst themselves, the Muslim leaders of the Cape Colony demanded a scholar from Istanbul via Britain. Abu Bakr Effendi had a unique place in Ottoman history. He was appointed to the Cape Colony with the purpose of guidance in religious issues and Islamic education in 1862 and he was paid a generous allowance from the Sultan's treasury. He stayed in the Colony almost twenty years and during that time dealt with education of the Muslims. An immediate outcome of Effendi's stay (1863-1880) at the Cape was the fostering of Cape Muslim's relationships with the Ottoman Empire. Archival research in Turkey and South Africa indicates continuity of the relations between the Ottomans and the Muslims of South Africa from 1862 until the Empire's complete collapse in 1923. The aim of this study is to examine the nature of the emerging relations between the Ottoman State and

South Africa by focussing on the religious, political and cultural contacts between 1861 and 1923.

When the current literature is considered, there is a recently published book by Ahmet Uçar, '*Güney Afrika`da Osmanlılar'* (The Ottomans in South Africa), in Turkish. The first chapters of the book present a detailed explanation of the life and activities of Abu Bakr Effendi in the Cape Colony. While the eightieth chapter deals with Ahmed Ataullah Effendi, the eldest son of Abu Bakr Effendi, and his occupation in Singapore as a consul, the last chapters explain the relations between the Ottomans and Mauritius Muslims. The book gives the general outline of the relations between the Ottoman Empire and Muslims resident in South Africa despite the fact that it only refers to the primary sources from the Ottoman's Prime Ministers Archive. However, it should be emphasised that Uçar's book plays a leading role to alert new researches to the different directions of the Ottoman foreign policy during the 19th century. The book includes currently unknown Ottoman Archival records related to South Africa. Hence, it is, to some extent, considered that Uçar's study was the first attempt largely based on the Ottoman sources to determine the outline of the relations between South African Muslims and the Ottomans.

Among the other works on the theme, there is an unpublished MA dissertation titled *'The life and contribution of the Osmanli scholar, Abu Bakr Effendi, towards Islamic thought and culture in South Africa'* by Selim Argun. The study focuses specifically on the life of the Ottoman scholar, Abu Bakr Effendi, as well as his literary works such as *Bayan ud-din* and his individual letters. Argun's dissertation is of a biographical nature. Based on a series of primary and secondary sources, this dissertation conveys a deep concern for the life of Abu Bakr Effendi in a foreign environment. The study aims to answer this question: Why did the Muslims of the Cape Colony request religious guidance and welfare assistance from the Ottoman Caliph? Why not from any other country or from their country of origin? Through a careful approach to the Ottoman education system and the Ottoman Islamic School's curriculum, Argun analyses the aim of Effendi by establishing a new Islamic school in the Cape. In this way, the study represents an important contribution to the identification of the significance of development of Islamic thought and culture in South Africa.

Apart from the abovementioned studies, there is also a well-prepared French article on the subject. In his article, Eric Germain utilizes secondary sources and some primary sources

from the South African Archives. The article pays attention to the Sultan Abdulhamid's reign and his pan-Islamic ideology. The article claims to illustrate the existence of pragmatic intentions to integrate the Muslim communities of South Africa into a broader political propaganda scheme targeting, especially, South Asian Muslims. Claiming South Africa as an important playground of pan-Islamic ideology, Germain interprets the Ottoman's attempts to establish links with the Muslim communities of South Africa via scholars and consular representatives as concrete evidence of practices of pan-Islamic policy. As a result, this article provides new historical, religious and political perspectives on the history of South African Muslims.

To understand the relations, it is inevitable to consider the 19th century environment of the Ottoman Empire, the Cape Colony and of their relations with Britain, since the British colonial attitude affected the Ottoman's relations with not only South African Muslims but also the other Muslim communities. Hence, the first chapter of this study aims to summarise general aspects of the relation of the Cape Colony with Britain and the existence of the first Muslim community in the Cape. Later, mention is made of the political struggles of the Ottoman Empire and its relation with Britain during the second half of the 19th century. In this chapter, '*The Oxford History of South Africa'* by Monica Wilson and et al. and '*History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey'* by Stanford J. Shaw and et al. provide deeper insights into the general environment of South Africa and the Ottoman State in the 19th century. In the chapter, a recently published book, *'Politicization of Islam'* will be used frequently. The book, written by well-known historian Kemal Karpat, deals with the last decades of the Ottoman Empire and Abdulhamid`s pan-Islamism ideology.

Abu Bakr Effendi's arrival on a special mission in the Colony is the main concern of the second chapter. He was appointed a religious guidance to the Colony and spent almost twenty years among the Cape Muslims. The duty of teaching Islam was entrusted to him by the Ottoman sultan. The chapter examines the circumstances that paved the way for this special unprecedented mission in the long history of the Ottoman Empire. Primary sources from the Ottoman Prime Minister's Archive and secondary books related to the Cape Muslims will be discussed in the chapter. As a secondary source, '*Ümidburnu Seyahatnâmesi'* (A travelogue of my journey to the Cape of Good Hope, obtained in Ottoman Turkish) by Omer Lutfi Effendi in 1869 will be utilised as an essential source of reference in the second chapter. In the chapter only brief mention will be made to importations of Angora goats and South

African grown Turkish tobacco. Archival records and David Uys' book *'Cinderella to Princes, the Mohair Board'* are also important sources for this section.

It must certainly have been a difficult task to educate people who resided in a non-Muslim community as British subjects. When it is considered that the Cape Muslims had lost their contacts with their motherland and forgotten their language under the colonial powers, it must be understood that how enormous the task ascribed to Abu Bakr Effendi. The third chapter of the study deals with Abu Bakr Effendi's adaptation to the Colony and his introduction of a hanafe school of thought in the Cape shafee community. It also examines Effendi's most famous book *'Beyan ud-din'* and his letters to the Turkish Newspaper Mecmua-i Fünun. This chapter refers to the secondary sources collected in South Africa. Among the books, there is an unpublished book titled *'On the Trail of Mahdi' by* Shukru Effendi, kin to Abu Bakr Effendi.

At the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, the Ottoman representatives in South Africa seemed to have neglected the Malay Muslims and focused more on the groups of Indian Muslims who arrived in the country at the time. The Muslims, especially immigrants from India, were influenced by the idea of Abdulhamid`s pan-Islamism and expressed their sympathy with the sultan whom they perceived as the religious leader of Islam. South Africa became one of the regions of the pan-Islamic activities during the Sultan Abdulhamid`s reign. The Ottoman diplomacy in South Africa gained a more political nature than in previous decades. The fourth chapter explains how and why the pan-Islamic propaganda took shape among the South African Muslims. As an important project during the Abdulhamid`s reign, the Hijaz Railway project and Muslim's financial support to the project will be discussed. The chapter relies primarily on primary sources from the South African National Archives.

The last chapter of the dissertation examines the structure of the Ottoman General-Consulate in South Africa. The Ottomans continuously appointed official representatives to South Africa from 1861 to 1923. When and why were these consulates appointed? These questions will be investigated using consular reports. Later, the chapter investigates the life of Mehmet Remzi Bey, the first Turkish diplomat who resided in South Africa and also examines an exchange program between Britain and the Ottoman Empire regarding to the Prisoner of Wars (POWs).

The year 1861 was chosen as the date to commence this study because that is the date when the first Ottoman Ambassador, Petrus Emanuel de Roubaix, was appointed to Cape Town by the Ottoman government. The date 1923 is an equally significant date in Turkish history. The Ottoman State was abolished and new Turkish Republic was announced in 1923. Just before 1923 the Ottoman State was defeated in the First World War along with Germany. She ratified the Treaty of Sèvres with the victorious allies. In that period a new government was established in Ankara under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal. It can be said that Turkish foreign policy remained of secondary importance to the country after the rise to power of Atatürk, due to urgent domestic affairs. In the same period pan-Islamic propaganda lost its significance because the new Republic immediately changed its direction and decided to abolish the Caliphate. It was, of course, not just a coincidence that in that same period the contact between the Ottomans and South African Muslims deteriorated almost completely.

The methodology, to be used in dealing with the primary material in this dissertation, will be of a qualitative nature. As the primary sources, first of all, archival documents collected from the Ottoman Prime Minister's Archives will be consulted. Almost one hundred archival documents directly related to South Africa were collected in the Ottoman Archive in Istanbul. These documents, consisting of official letters, private letters, a mosque plan and railway campaign records, are in Ottoman Turkish, English and French. The study will refer to these sources continuously. Secondly, documents from the South African National Archive were utilised. Until recently, more than eighty records in English and French were gathered in South African National Archives in Pretoria. In addition to these archive documents, some records were also gathered in Cape Town and Pietermaritzburg archive repositories.

Up to date, both in Turkey and South Africa, only a few studies have been undertaken on the subject. The present dissertation, however, intends integrating both Turkish and South African resources previously unexplored. The main research aim of this study is to answer the questions: why links between the Ottoman State and South Africa emerged at that time and how they developed. When the current Turkish Republic is considered as the successor to the Ottoman Empire, it is important to explore the origin of the links between the two countries (Turkey and South Africa) in order to understand the foundations of potential future international relations.

CHAPTER 1.

The 19th Century Environment: Foreign Policy, the British Empire, the Ottoman State and the Cape Colony

Introduction

Without considering the 19th century environment of the Ottoman Empire and the Cape Colony and of their respective relations with Britain, it is almost impossible to understand the circumstances which paved the way for the Cape Muslims to establish links with the outside world of Islam. This chapter will explore general aspects of the relations between the Cape Colony and Britain and the existence of the Muslim communities in South Africa. Later, the political struggles of the Ottoman Empire and its diplomatic relations with Britain during the 19th century will be explained.

1. British Colonialism in the Cape Colony

The Cape Colony was subjected to occupation and colonial control by various European nations during the colonial period. The Dutch East Indian Company[1] (DEIC) rule was followed by English occupation. The one and a half century DEIC control (1652-1795) of the Cape ended with the second occupation of the British in 1806.[2] The Cape Colony was initially seized by the British for military purposes, as a fortress halfway to India. However, it was not till 1818 that Britain seriously considered colonisation.[3] The British expeditiously established a stronger and more efficient colonial state and remained the dominant power in southern Africa for the remainder of the 19th century.[4]

After the British occupation of the Cape Colony, the economic, cultural and religious divisions in the Cape society became more profound. Religious toleration was extended to non-Christian creeds. "The British authorities during the first occupation had allowed[5]

[1] Private commercial trading company, commonly known as the VOC, derived from the initials of its Dutch name, Verenigde Oostindische Campaigne (The Dutch East Indian Company.) The VOC was established in 1602 to co-ordinate Dutch trading expeditions to the East India.
[2] M. Wilson and L. Thompson: The Oxford History of South Africa Vol. 1, Clarendon Press, London, 1975, p. 273
[3] H. E. Egerton: A Short History of British Colonial Policy 1606-1909, Eleventh Edition, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1945, p. 226
[4] C. Saunders and N. Southey: A Dictionary of South African History, David Philip, Cape Town, p. 31
[5] Wilson, p. 275

the right of public worship for the first time to the Cape Malay community, and granted the protection of the law on equal terms to all religious associations in the Colony."[6]

After the long war with France, there was massive unemployment among the working population of Great Britain. The only remedy seemed to be emigration to other parts of the Empire.[7] People from different parts of the British Isles applied to emigrate to the Cape Colony. Four thousand white settlers, selected from the 90,000 applications, arrived at the Cape Colony early in 1820. The immigrants consisted of people from all classes: farmers, artisans and professionals military, medical, clerical men etc.[8]

Many difficulties confronted the new settlers. They found farming differed from farming in Britain. A number of the more enterprising farmers turned to cattle and sheep, and by breeding merino sheep they established a flourishing trade in wool, so that by 1845 the annual wool clip had reached a million pounds in weight.[9] Many settlers seeking better opportunities left the countryside and moved into the interior of the subcontinent. As a result, certain towns developed as important trading and administrative center in the Eastern Cape. By 1842, for instance, Grahamstown had developed as the emporium of the Eastern Frontier Districts and at Port Elizabeth, established on Algoa Bay, costal trade developed rapidly.[10]

Slavery had a long tradition in the Cape Colony.[11] At the beginning of the 19th century there were 27,000 slaves in the Colony. The first slaves imported into the Colony were Indians, in 1658. Then slaves were imported primarily from Madagascar and the Malay Peninsula. The movement for slave emancipation began after the slave trade was prohibited throughout the British Empire in 1807. Humanitarianism and missionary reports played an important role in the emancipation movement. "Beneficial or not," Egerton wrote, "there was growing up a power, which neither King, Parliament nor State Departments could in the long run resist."[12] By the early 19th century, anti-slavery had become a defining quality of the British.[13] In 1816, to restrict the increase of slave numbers, an official statement by Lord Charles Somerset

[6] Ibid., p. 275
[7] T. R. H. Davenport and C. C. Saunders: South Africa; A Modern History, Fifth Edition, The McMillan Press Ltd., London, 2000, p. 44
[8] Egerton, p. 235
[9] J. Selby: A Short History of South Africa, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1973, p. 46
[10] I. E. Edwards: The 1820 Settlers in South Africa, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1934, pp. 147-148
[11] Wilson, p. 305
[12] Egerton, p. 237
[13] A. Lester: Imperial Networks, Routledge, New York, 2001, p. 25

ordered slaves and slave births to be registered in every district. In 1823, declaration of the Imperial Government limited the working hours of employment for slaves, acknowledged the legal right to marriage, allowed private earning during extra hours and let them send their children to school. Finally, in August 1833, the Emancipation Act was passed by the British Parliament. After 1 December 1834, slavery was completely forbidden in the Cape Colony.

Slaves in the Colony generated multiple pathways to Islamic conversion. By 1830, conversion to Christianity by slaves reached a standstill. Islam quickly spread among slaves in the Colony. Christianity, on the other hand, lost this vital constituency. Therefore, the era of slave emancipation was considered the golden age of Islam in the Cape Colony in terms of slave converts.[14]

The Great Trek was a significant event in the history of South Africa. Over 15,000 people left the Colony between 1834 and 1840. Theal describes the Dutch colonists (likening their condition to that of Israeli people in Egypt) as people who sought nothing but relief from British rule.[15] The Dutch farmers sold whatever they had and they moved away northward with huge wagons. One reason for the Great Trek might be that Dutch farmers felt insecure on the eastern district. Just prior to the Great Trek the colonists had suffered damages during the sixth frontier war. "It made the Dutch farmers on the frontier feel that they would rather face the dangers and hardships of a life beyond the borders of the Colony than remain any longer under British rule."[16]

The Great Trek had a distinct impact on South African history during the 19th century and even in the 20th century. One effect of the Great Trek was the natural expansion of the Cape Colony that had continued since the foundation of the Colony.[17] The European population had spread over the southern parts of Africa within a few years. The Great Trek provided an opportunity to the Voortrekkers[18] to establish new polities. At the beginning, the Vootrekkers

[14] N. Levtzion and R. Pouwels : The History of Islam in Africa, David Philip, Cape Town, 1999, pp. 331-332
[15] G. McCall Theal: Progress of South Africa in the Century, The Linscott Publishing Company, Toronto, 1900, p. 208
[16] A.S. Bleby: South Africa and the British Empire, Revised Edition, J. C. Juta & Co., London, 1917, p. 229
[17] Ibid., p. 261
[18] The Voortrekkers were white Afrikaner farmers, then known as Boers, who in the 1830s and 1840s emigrated during a series of mass movements of a number of separate trekking contingents under different leaders in what is called the Great Trek from the British controlled Cape Colony into the black-populated areas north of the Orange River in what is now South Africa.

formed small and independent republics which later united into two republics, namely, the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (1852) and the Orange Free State (1854).

Between 1847 and 1851, the Great Emigration from the British Isles took place, as a result of crop failures, the collapse of the railway boom, and commercial distress. An average of over a quarter of a million people left Britain in each of those years.[19] Approximately five thousand people entered Natal from England and Scotland between 1849 and 1851. There were doctors, engineers, retired military and naval officers, teachers etc. among them. Durban and Pietermaritzburg developed under their influence.[20]

Farming conditions in sub-tropical Natal coastlands were different from those in Britain. The main problem was to find the crop best suited to these circumstances. Farmers experimented with tobacco, coffee, cotton, arrowroot and indigo in their soil. In the end cane sugar was the best-suited crop.[21] With the cane from Mauritius and milling machinery from Britain a sugar industry was established in Natal. Between 1860 sand 1866 about six thousand indentured Indians arrived in Natal from Madras and three hundred from Calcutta. The majority of them were Hindus while some 20% were Muslims and some 5% were Christians. By 1870 Natal was producing about 10,000 tons of sugar per annum.[22]

In the 1850s, Britain recognised the independence of the Boer republics in the Transvaal with the Sand River and Bloemfontein Conventions. However, in this period British colonial policy did not expect the two Afrikaner republics to unite. South Africa was politically divided. Besides the independent African chiefdoms and kingdoms, there were two British colonies; Cape and Natal, and two Boer republics, the ZAR and the Orange Free State.[23]

In 1867 a diamond was discovered at Hopetown. In the following two years more diamonds were discovered in different areas. As a result of discoveries many fortune seekers from all parts of South Africa and overseas arrived to the diamond fields in a short time. The diamond fields developed into the first industrial community in Southern Africa. The diamond fields were situated on the frontier between the Cape Colony, two Boer republics and Grigualand.

[19] Wilson, p. 378
[20] Davenport, p. 100
[21] W. P. Morrell: British Colonial Policy in the Mid-Victorian Age, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1969, p. 101
[22] Wilson, pp. 381-389
[23] Ibid., p. 425

Their location caused 'the diamond field dispute'. Sir Barkly wasted no time to annex Grigualand West on behalf of the British Crown. "Whatever the moral and legal rights of the case, it was economically advantageous that the diamond fields should come under British control for this facilitated the forging of economic ties with the Cape Colony."[24]

Diamond mining provided a new source of wealth which altered the economic life by providing employment to people of all races. Diggers in the mines needed food and transport which opened a new market for farmers. Revenues from diamonds helped to finance railway construction.[25] The discovery of diamonds and later gold offered incentive to the traders of the Cape Colony and increased the revenues of the government. As a result of the gold discoveries in 1886, foreigners poured into the ZAR and Johannesburg which was the most densely populated town, mushrooming almost overnight.

Afrikaner nationalism was stimulated by the diamond fields dispute and the British annexations of the Grigualand West and the ZAR. Between 1895 and 1899 two attempts were made to bring the ZAR back within the British influence. The first one was to replace the Kruger regime with one that would cooperate with Britain. The second one was direct imperial pressure which ended in a war when the ZAR and its ally the Orange Free State declared war upon Britain in 1899.[26]

The Anglo-Boer War was in many respects a new kind of war. Technologically, it saw the first use of automatic handguns, magazine-fed rifles and machine guns. On the other had, it saw the first large-scale concentration camps introduced by Britain and of guerrilla warfare by the Boer commandoes against the victorious British army.[27] It was significant that almost 88,000 men fought on the republican side in the Anglo-Boer War, while nearly 450,000 men served on the British side. The deaths in the concentration camps were catastrophic. The Boer sources estimated that more than 26,000 people died, most of them were children.[28] The war destroyed the independence of the two Boer republics. On 31 May 1902, the treaty of Vereeniging was signed and the two republics remained under British control.

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[24] M. Wilson and L. Thompson: The Oxford History of South Africa Vol. 2, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1978, p. 12
[25] Ibid., p. 12
[26] Ibid., p. 313
[27] D. Craig: "The Weapons and Battles of the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902)", http://www.heliograph.com/trmgs/trmgs4/boer.shtml, (accessed 24 October 2007)
[28] G. H. Le May: British Supremacy in South Africa 1899-1907, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965, p. 106

After the destructive Anglo-Boer War, the period of reconstruction started. In 1903, a customs union was formed including four colonies and Southern Rhodesia.[29] In 1906, Campbell-Bannerman as leader of the victorious Liberal Party rose to power in Britain. His South African policy was to promote a united, self-governing, pro-British South Africa. He believed that it could be achieved with the co-operation of Afrikaners; therefore the Boer republics should be granted self-government. In December 1906 the Transvaal and in June 1907 the Orange Free State were granted responsible government. This was the first step towards a union of all colonies in South Africa.[30] Later, in 1910, political unity was achieved in South Africa and the territories occupied by Europeans were united in a Union under the South African Party led by Afrikaners.

2. Arrival of the First Muslims in South Africa

Islam arrived in South Africa in two major migratory waves led by the Malay and the Indian ethnic groups. They brought Islam to South Africa from their respective homelands in the Indian subcontinent and the Malay Peninsula. The Cape Muslims, also referred to as 'Cape Malays', formed the largest group of practicing Muslims in South Africa until the end of the 19th century. The second largest group of Muslims was the Indians who arrived from the subcontinent in two distinct waves of their own.[31]

From the colonies of Java and Malaysia in 1667, the first group of Muslims arrived to the Cape Colony as slaves of the Dutch East India Company. Most of them were slaves, but there were also some prominent political prisoners. The Cape was in fact, to some extent, a penal colony for the Dutch East Indian Company. Political dissidents from Batavia were exiled to the Colony. Although their numbers were small, these were often influential men and religious leaders. In the Colony, they acquired some followers and wrote some religious works. Of the most important exiles who reached the Colony was the remarkable leader Sheik Yussuf (Tuan Guru), brother of the King of Goa. Sheik Yussuf had led a rising of Muslims in Java against the Dutch.[32] He had a considerable influence on the Cape Malay Muslims, especially in the field of Islam. He had an attractive and imposing personality.[33]

[29] W. Beinart: Twentieth-Century South Africa, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001, pp. 68-69
[30] Davenport, p. 257
[31] E. C. Mandivenga: "The Cape Muslims and the Indian Muslims of South Africa: A Comparative Analysis", Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, Vol.20, Iss. 2, October 2000, p. 347
[32] I. D. Du Plessis: The Cape Malays, Maskew Miller Limited, Cape Town, 1944, pp. 1-4
[33] W. J. De Kock: Dictionary of South African Biography Vol 1, Tafelbery-Uitgewers Ltd., Cape Town, 1976, p. 893

He was revered as a Sheik (saint) who was bestowed by Muslims on great religious leaders.[34] He died at the age of 95 in 1807 and was buried in Tana Baru Cemetery on Signal Hill, Cape Town. It is said that Sheik Yussuf was the founder of the Islamic faith in South Africa.[35] Sheik Yussuf was instrumental in the creation of the first madrasah (Islamic school) and the first mosque at the Cape. Beyond that, he was the person who reconciled the earlier tariqa-centred Islam of the 17th and 18th centuries with the mosque-centred Islam of the 19th and 20th centuries.[36]

Muslims established religious communities in different circumstances of South Africa. Under the Dutch Company rule, they were not allowed to worship publicly. Thus, they practiced the religious rituals in their homes according to Sufi tradition. In 1804, Commander De Mist published the Church ordinance, which declared equal legal protection to all religious societies. However, these religious societies were still required to obtain permission from the Cape Governor for the construction of places of worship. After the Church ordinance, Muslims established mosques and institutions in accordance with their political, social, and economic conditions.[37]

Islam at the Cape suffered a heavy setback between 1700 and 1850 when the power of the Dutch East Indian Company waned. The relations between the Cape Malays and Java and other parts of the Malay Archipelago weakened. Thus, local Muslims who had a thorough knowledge of Islamic traditions were reduced in numbers and even disappeared. As the religion went into decline, religious practices became less important and services less frequent. Having lost intellectual and religious contact with the Far East, new generations of Cape Muslims established relations with the Islamic states outside the Colony. This move was enhanced by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. During the 1870s, a number of Cape Muslims went to Mecca on a pilgrimage. They learned Arabic and returned to the Cape with new religious fervour and a desire once again to spread the Islamic faith.[38]

When labour was required to establish the sugar industry, indentured labour was brought to South Africa by the British Authority from India to Natal in 1860. The British brought

[34] Ibid., p.893
[35] Du Plesis, p. 5
[36] E. J. Mason: "A faith for Ourselves: Slavery, Sufism, and Conversion to Islam at the Cape", South African Historical Journal,Vol. 46, May 2002, p. 12
[37] Wilson, p. 275
[38] Mandivenga, pp. 347-353

indentured labourers from their colony of India to work in the sugar fields. These were Indians of the Hindu religion, Islam and Christianity. Muslim merchants from India soon followed to establish trade relations in Natal. On 16 November 1860, the little steamer S. S. Truro from Madras docked in Durban. The next day the first Indians disembarked on South African soil. There were among them 83 children under the age of 14, and 75 women between 16 and 46 years of age. Boats full of immigrants continued to come at regular intervals, travelling for 30 to 60 days from India to Natal.[39] If migration was confined to the first wave, then Islam may not have spread to other parts of South Africa apart from the Cape region. Starting in 1869, a second wave of Indians from North India came into South Africa as passenger migrants, who were not contract workers but mainly Gujarati, Urdu, and Marathi speaking Muslim immigrants. They came of their own accord with capital in hand to make a living in South Africa as entrepreneurs. They settled in the Transvaal. They opened shops in backward rural towns, mining towns, African tribal areas and a few developed white centres in Natal. They formed the core of the developing Muslim community in South Africa.[40]

Muslims in South Africa can roughly be divided into two major sections: the Cape Malays and the Indians. For both groups Arabic was the spoken language in the Mosque. Although the Malay Muslims had a shafee origin and the Indians had a hanafe origin, they all belonged to the Sunni (orthodox) sect of Islam. An important step in reconstructing religious life among the Muslims was the building of mosques in their environment. Mosques became the centre of Muslim worship and prayer and the centre of community spirit.[41] Muslims established themselves in the midst of a number of other religious, ethnic and racial groups in an environment that did not support an Islamic world-view.[42] Most of the Muslims were urban inhabitants and thus lived in or near big cities of South Africa such as Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth, East London, Kimberley, Pretoria and Johannesburg.

3. Relations between the Ottoman State and the British Empire

During the 19th century, the Ottomans witnessed a chain of reforms which replaced the classical institutions by new ones inspired by European thought and society. The era of modern Ottoman reforms began in the reign of Sultan Selim III (1789-1807). He has been

[39] F. Meer: Portrait of Indian South Africans, Premier Press, Durban, 1969, p. 10
[40] Mandivenga, pp. 347-353
[41] V. Goolam: "Changing Islamic Traditions and Emerging Identities in South Africa", Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, Vol 20, Iss 1, 2000, p. 45
[42] Ibid., p. 43

regarded as the father of Ottoman westernisation and as an exponent of general reform in the state. The new European weapons, sciences, training procedures and uniforms were transferred from Western states.[43]

Besides the accumulating domestic problems, new external problems appeared during the first half of the 19th century. Partially as a result of the French Revolution and partially with the support of European powers, opposition against the Ottoman rule appeared in different places such as Serbia and Greece. On 5 July 1830, the French conquered the sultan's most important North Africa possession, Algeria, and began to spread along the coastline. On the other hand, the Ottoman governor of Egypt, Muhammed Ali, who received little redress for expenditures during his support of the sultan in the Greek revolt, asked to rule Syria. When his request was rejected, he decided to attack the Ottoman territories in order to obtain his compensation. Soon afterwards Ibrahim Pasha, son of Muhammed Ali, took Gaza, Jaffa, Jerussalem, Hafia, and Acre within a short time.[44]

For assistance, Sultan Mahmut called on the Russian Czar Nicolas since neither Britain nor France offered assistance to the Sultan to stop Ibrahim Pasha. The sultan agreed to sign the Treaty of Hünkar Iskelesi with the Czar for his help. Each side offered mutual support in case of hostilities during the next eight years.[45] However, in Britain and France, the treaty was interpreted as granting Russia a special position and the right of intervention in future Ottoman affairs. Therefore, they were determined to defend the Ottomans to keep the Russians out of the Ottoman territories.[46] This support immediately changed the Ottoman's distrust of Britain. The commercial British interest in the Middle East, the end of the Ottoman distrust of Britain and a close relationship between the two empires would ensure British support for the Ottomans when required.[47]

The Tanzimat era (1839-1876) was a period of reform aimed at the modernisation of the Ottoman state and society between 1839-1876. Leading the Tanzimat were Sultan Mahmut`s sons, Abdulmecid I (1839-1861) and Abdulaziz (1861-1876). On 3 November 1839, an

[43] H. İnalcık: The Ottoman Empire: Conquest, Organization and Economy, Collected Studies, Variorum Reprints, London, 1978, pp. XV 49-51
[44] J. S. Shaw and E. K. Shaw: History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Vol 2, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977, pp. 32-34
[45] Ibid., p. 33
[46] Ibid., p. 34
[47] Ibid., p. 50

imperial decree called *Gülhane Imperial Rescript* read by Mustafa Reşid Pasha, commenced the Tanzimat era.[48] Mustafa Reşit Pasha developed the reform program according to his own experience and observations of the current needs of the state. Mustafa Reşit, who served six times as grand vezir and three times as foreign minister, based the Ottoman Empire's survival on the friendship with Britain. Reşit Pasha was a strong supporter of Britain and was in close contact with Palmerson[49] and the famous British ambassador to the Porte[50], Stratford de Redcliffe.[51] Equality before the law and the guarantee of life, honour and property for all Ottoman subjects were the revolutionary ideas in the rescript.[52] With the new decree, it was envisaged that the non-Muslim subjects of the Empire would no longer feel that they were a segregated element in the Empire and therefore would not aspire for independence. On the other hand, it was aimed at preventing the intervention of the Western Powers in internal Ottoman affairs on behalf of non-Muslim subjects. In the new period, the sultan was ruler of all Ottoman citizens, but only caliph of the Muslims.

The dispute over the Holy Places in Palestine set off the Crimean War in the middle of the 19th century. On 4 October 1853, the conflict began without waiting for official declaration. On December 23rd, 1853, the British government sent orders to its fleets to protect the Ottoman flag and territory.[53] Protection of Ottoman independence and integrity, the defence of Ottoman territory in Europe and Asia against Russian aggression was the original war aim laid down by the allies in the Treaty of Constantinople of 12 March 1854. However, in a memorandum of September 1855 Palmerson revealed his true war aim: "to curb the aggressive ambition of Russia. We went to war not so much to keep the sultan and his Muslims in Turkey as to keep the Russians out of Turkey."[54] Russia broke relations with Britain and France and declared war. The conflict was known as the Crimean War.

The war ended with the Treaty of Paris finally signed on 29 March 1856. All sides agreed to evacuate territories taken during the war. The signatories declared the territorial integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire. "The Empire legally entered the European community

[48] İnalcık, p. XV 56
[49] 3rd Viscount Palmerston was a British statesman who served twice as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom in the mid-19th century. He was in government office almost continuously from 1807 until his death in 1865.
[50] Porte or Sublime Porte: The term was used in the context of diplomacy by western states to refer to the Divan (court) of the Ottoman Empire where government policies were established.
[51] Shaw, pp. 59-61
[52] İnalcık, p. XV 58
[53] Shaw, p. 138
[54] W. Baumgart: The Peace of Paris 1856, Translated by Ann Pottinger Saab, ABC-Clio, Oxford, 1981, pp. 9-12

in which she already played a role in fact through treaties with the European powers."[55] All sides declared their full support of the Sultan's Reform Decree. The war and the peace agreement had tremendous impact on the Ottoman State. It changed the nature of Ottoman relations with the European powers and Russia. Relations with Europe, especially Britain, were transformed from relations with an enemy to relations with an ally.[56]

The treasury forced the Ottoman government to take a series of foreign loans from European powers. Despite all the fiscal reforms, economic difficulties continued for the rest of the 19th century. With support of the British government in 1854, the first foreign loan of 3,300,000 *lira* was received from two banks, Bank of Palmer in London and Bank of Goldschmidt in Paris to finance the Ottoman participation in the Crimean War.[57] It is important to emphasize that in the long history of Ottoman relations with Europe the alliance between the Ottoman Empire and Europe was the first of its kind. The friendly relations between the Sultan-Caliph and Europe, especially Britain, in the mid of the 19th century assisted to solve several problems related to the Muslims` status under Christian rule and vice versa.[58] However, as feared, one loan led to another and, by the mid 1870's the Ottoman Empire found itself unable to repay its international loans.

One of the important outcomes of the Crimean War was the ratification of the Reform Edict of 1856. The Reform Edict was drafted by Britain and France and was accepted by the Ottomans as part of the peace arrangement that ended the Crimean War. By granting equality to the Ottoman Christians, the Edict opened a new period in the history of the Ottoman state. Ensuring equality between Muslims and non-Muslims and establishing a political unity on the basis of a common Ottoman citizenship, the Edict transformed religious faith into a personal matter. It aimed at transforming the subjects of the sultan into equal citizens. However, the new regulations were put into practise only during the reign of Abdulaziz (1861-1876).[59]

The Ottoman state was granted some breathing space with the victory in the Crimean War. However, by using non-Muslim subjects, mainly Christians, the European powers and Russia continued to involve the Ottoman state in domestic and foreign affairs. The rise of national

[55] Ibid., p. 189
[56] K. H. Karpat: The Politicization of Islam, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001, pp. 74-75
[57] C. Çakır: Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Maliyesi, Küre Yayınları, Istanbul, 2001, p. 67
[58] Karpat, p. 75
[59] Ibid., p. 76

conscience among the non-Muslim subjects of the Empire led to uprisings in the Ottoman territories. In this period the Ottoman history witnessed crisis after crisis in Lebanon, Egypt, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Crete, and Bulgaria. Finally, nationalism caused the break- down of the Ottoman concept of a nation *'Millet'*[60]. On the other hand, a new sentiment, which considered the Ottomans as protectors against the European powers, became more prominent among the Muslim subjects of the Empire. Except Algeria, other Muslim states in the Ottoman territories replaced patriotic and nationalist sentiments with Islamism and Ottomanism.[61]

Sultan Abdulhamid II took the throne and promised to approve the Constitution and to act only with the advice of his ministers. During the Sultan Abdulhamid reign, the most effective political project was '*pan-Islamism',* which was a call for a return to the Islamic values and traditions. Pan-Islamism was a state ideology and in many ways a new creation. By the late 19th century, the Ottoman State was falling apart and *Ottomanism* which aimed to gather all Ottoman subjects had failed in previous decade. It was clear that, after the war with Russia in 1877-78, the Ottoman Empire lost territories in the Balkans and most of its Christian population. Hence, Sultan Abdulhamid concluded that Islam could become a vehicle for restrengthening the social foundation of the state.[62] The new political project was an attempt to unify and guide the rest of the Islamic world and sustain its independence. Starting with the reign of Abdulhamid II, pan-Islamism began to perform a significant role in shaping the ideology and the foreign policy of the Ottoman state.[63]

The possession of Hijaz (the main Muslim Holy Place) was of great importance to the religious legitimacy of the Ottoman sultans because the Hijaz underpinned their claim to be considered Caliphs and, to some extent, guaranteed the loyalty of the Muslims.[64] In the second half of the 19th century, the Ottoman state became the religious centre of the Islamic world. It was not only because of the control of the Holy Places but also because of a growing

[60] The millet system has a long history in the Middle East, and is closely linked to Islamic rules on the treatment of non-Muslim minorities. The Ottoman term specifically refers to the separate legal courts pertaining to personal law under which minorities were allowed to rule themselves with fairly little interference from the Ottoman government.
[61] İ. Ortaylı: İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı, İletişim Yayınları, Istanbul, 2005, p. 52
[62] H. Gulalp: "Using Islam as Political Ideology", Cultural Dynamics, London, 14:1, 2002, p. 26
[63] M. Kia: "Pan-Islamism in late nineteenth century Iran", Middle Eastern Studies, London, Jan 1996, Vol. 32, p. 23
[64] T. S. Buzpınar: "The Hijaz: Abdulhamid II and Amir Hussein`s Secret Dealings with the British, 1877-80", Middle Eastern Studies, London, Jan 1995, Vol. 31., p. 99

demand for a Muslim political center.[65] In this historical context, Sultan Abdulhamid appeared as a religious leader of the whole Muslim World. The third article of the Ottoman Constitution of 1876 proclaimed the Ottoman sultan as the caliph of the Islamic world.[66] Articles three and four of the constitution designated Islam as the state religion as well as the sultan as the protector of the Islam.[67]

The Russo-Turkish War in 1877-78, the partisan European attitude toward Balkan events in 1875-76, the British occupation of Egypt (1882), and the Cyprus (1878) and French occupation of Tunisia (1881) destroyed the illusion of Europe's friendship. Anti-British and anti-French movements gradually appeared in the Ottoman territory. In the same period in Britain anti-Turkish feelings were increasing as well. Anti-Turkish feelings were fed by an unexpected financial event.[68] For the next five years, since 1875, the Ottoman Government decided to reduce the interest paid to its foreign bondholders, many of whom were the British. Secondly, W.E. Gladstone and his Liberal Party accused the Turks of killing sixty thousand Christians while a large numbers of Muslims were massacred in the Balkans and Russia.[69] Britain chose an openly hostile attitude towards the Ottoman state, when Gladstone came to power in 1880.[70] In retrospect, Sultan Abdulhamid was left with only one option and that was pan-Islamism. He had no alternative but to consider the unity of the Muslim world by emphasising pan-Islamism.[71] "Thus, he expected that a world-wide powerful Muslim opinion in his favour would strengthen his position in his dealings with the European powers."[72]

Sultan Abdulhamid therefore began to appoint religious officials in former Ottoman territories then under foreign rule, in order to maintain his influence among the Muslim populations. The Sultan protested and intervened officially whenever there was misrule or oppression of Muslims. Britain, Russia and France were warned that their Muslim subjects might lead to a united Muslim uprising against them with Ottoman support.[73] Sultan Abdulhamid claimed: *"Everyone knows that a word from the caliph, the head of the Muslims, that is I, would suffice*

[65] Karpat, p. 4
[66] Kia, p. 24
[67] A. Özcan: Pan-Islamism: Indian Muslims, the Ottomans and Britain (1877-1924), E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1997, p. 40
[68] Karpat, p. 141
[69] Ibid., p. 142
[70] Özcan, p. 45
[71] Ibid., p. 46
[72] Ibid., p. 50
[73] Shaw, p. 260

to inflict a great harm to the English authority in India... If Germany, Russia, and France had accepted my help during the Boer War in Transvaal, they could have destroyed the fictitious English castle in India, but they failed to act on time and thus missed the opportunity. That was the best time to ask England to account for its oppression of the Indians and for the violent, stern action undertaken against other nations..."[74] These words, of course, widened the split between the Ottomans and Britain further.

The most powerful aspect of the Ottoman state during the sultan Abdulhamid reign was its foreign policy which aimed to remain neutral among the European powers. In the period, the Sultan closely followed the economic and political development in the world. News related to the Ottomans was regularly collected from the foreign press and periodically submitted to the sultan.[75] For the same reason, the Ottoman representatives in South Africa collected news related to the Ottoman Empire from South African newspapers such as the Cape Argus[76] and the Transvaal Leader[77], and regularly sent them to the sultan.

It would seem that the brief to Hamidian men was intended to gather information about Muslims around the world. One such special envoy sent to Africa was Muhammed Başala, a notable of Ottoman Tripoli who, having been sent on several secret missions to Morocco and Bornu (Chad), had full knowledge of the area and the nature of the population. He presented the ruler of each major tribe with a flag of the Ottoman Empire and gave information on the power and glory of his Imperial Highness the Caliph. Başala wandered as far as Sokoto (modern-day Nigeria).[78] In the same period, Emin Effendi, an envoy, was sent to the sultan of Zanzibar to establish relations with the Ottoman sultan.[79] In a similar vein, in South Africa, Abu Bakr Effendi and later his sons, especially Achmed Effendi, tried to spread pro-Ottoman attitudes with the financial support of the Ottoman sultans. Via Islamic schools, they gained recognition and acceptance within the Muslim societies throughout South Africa.

The Muslims were not only supporters of the pan-Islamism ideology. To improve the position of Germany, the German Kaiser Wilhelm II. also supported Abdulhamid's pan-Islamism. The

[74] Karpat, p. 233
[75] İslam Ansiklopedisi, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, Vol. 1, Istanbul, 1988, p. 213
[76] The *Cape Argus* is a daily newspaper established in 1856 in Cape Town. In the past it was known simply as 'The Argus.'
[77] *The Transvaal Leader* was a daily newspaper published in the Transvaal.
[78] S. Deringil: "Legitimacy Structures in the Ottoman State: The Reign of Abdulhamid II (1876-1909)", International Journal of East Studies, Iss 23, 1991, pp. 352-353
[79] H. Uğur: Osmanlı Afrikası`nda Bir Sultanlık Zengibar, Küre Yayınları, Istanbul, p. 63

Kaiser believed that to encourage Abdulhamid in his policy would strengthen the German influence in the Muslim communities, particularly in the Middle East. It certainly gave some encouragement and comfort to the sultan. He was quite satisfied with the German support in the last years of his reign. However, although this situation disturbed other European powers, the German support did not change the achievements of pan-Islamic policy.[80]

The age of Abdulhamid ended with the Young Turk Revolution in 1908. Many of the same factors that stimulated pan-Islamism also led to the rise of *Turkish nationalism*.[81] The Committee of Union and Progress (CUP, often known as the *Young Turks*) came to power with the purpose of re-establishing a constitutional order and of granting freedom to all the ethnic entities in the Empire. They aimed to create a Turkish core, regardless of ethnic origins and to make it the backbone of the state for its survival. The Young Turks did not adopt Abdulhamid's pan-Islamic ideology in the first place, at least not until 1913. However, the Balkan wars and changes in the Ottoman Empire returned pan-Islamism as a political force. The support of the Muslims living outside the Empire encouraged the Young Turks to support pan-Islamism during the Balkan wars.[82]

[80] Özcan, p. 62
[81] Shaw, p. 260
[82] Özcan, pp. 168-169

Conclusion

Events in Europe played an important role in the history of South Africa. During the colonial period, South Africa was subjected to various European occupations. After the DEIC`s (the Dutch East Indian Company) control of the Cape Colony, the British colonization commenced. Religious tolerance was extended to non-Christian creeds in the Cape. During the 19th century, immigration of Muslim slaves and labourers from the outside world into the Cape colony followed slave emancipation in 1834 was regarded an important event in terms of the spread of Islam.

In the same period, alliance with Britain during the Crimean War and the Paris Treaty rapidly moved the Ottoman state into the European political, cultural and economic orbit. The century witnessed close friendly relations between Britain and the Ottoman Empire until 1877. As far as the British influence in South Africa was concerned, the Ottomans' relation with Britain became the determining factor in the Ottomans' relations with the South African Muslim communities. However, the war with Russia in 1877-1878 and the British and French colonial attitude towards the Northern Africa possessions of the Ottoman Empire shattered the illusion of Europe's, particularly Britain's friendship. After the Russian war, the state ideology of the Ottomans was pan-Islamism that aimed to unify Muslims of the world. Spreading pan-Islamic propaganda, the Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid, tried to gather support from the Muslim communities all over the world.

CHAPTER 2.

The Ottoman Presence in the Cape Colony

Introduction

During the second half of the 19th century the Ottoman state and the Cape Colony maintained indirect links. These links stemmed from the close relations between Britain and the Ottoman State after the Crimean War. With the Treaty of Paris signed on 29 March 1856, the Ottoman state legally entered the European community. The war and the peace agreement had a tremendous impact on the Ottoman state. These developments changed the nature of the Ottoman relations with the European nations and Russia. On the one hand, Europe, especially Britain, was transformed from an enemy into an ally. The political alliance with Britain paved the way for the appointment of Abu Bakr Effendi as a religious delegate to the Cape Colony in 1862. This chapter examines the establishment of the first contact between the Ottoman state and the Cape Colony as well as the Cape Muslims` request for a scholar. The detail of Abu Bakr Effendi's long journey from Istanbul to the Cape is also discussed in the chapter. However, research in the Cape Archives led to some documents dated 1852, ten years earlier than Abu Bakr Effendi's arrival. The documents reveal an interesting story about Angora goats imported to the Cape Colony from Turkey. In terms of the importance of results of an event occurred in the past, the story of Angora goats deserves to be mentioned in the study. Later, the brief summary of South African grown Turkish tobacco will be offered.

2.1 Angora Goats in 1838

In 1838, Colonel John Henderson, a former British officer, imported the first Angora goats via India from the Ottoman Empire to the Cape. However, the goats were found infertile because the Turks did not want the breed to spread outside Turkey. Luckily, one ewe gave birth to a ram kid during the voyage to the Colony and it was from these two that the first original Angora flocks in the Cape Colony were bred. "When Colonel John Henderson imported the first Angora goats to South Africa from Turkey in 1838 he planted a seed, the fruits of which he could not have foreseen."[1]

The city of Angora (Ankara), now the capital of Turkey, strongly resembles the up-country Karoo district of South Africa, in terms of geographical configuration, pasture, and climate.

[1] D. S. Uys: Cinderella to Princes, The Mohair Board, Port Elizabeth, 1988, p. 3

Not only the height above sea level, but also the hills and mountains especially around Somerset East and Cradock, which are densely filled with forest, are similar. Likewise, the similarity is borne out in the characteristics of abundant veldt, made up of dust, stones, and small dry scrub, of vast treeless flats, dry as bone, and alluvial deposits descended from the hills.[2] In addition to the abovementioned similarities between the natural home of the Angora and their new habitat in South Africa, the energy and the care of South African breeders paved the way for rapid growth of the Mohair industry in the Colony in the 19th century.

The fertile ram kid adapted well to the climate and vegetation of the Eastern Cape. He grew up and was later mated successfully to selected ewes. The original ram had a long life and through careful selection several flocks were raised throughout the Colony. A single ram and ewe could not have had any significant influence on the development of an industry if the second importation of Angora goats did not follow fifteen years after the first one. Attempts were made by the Swellandam Agricultural Society to import more Angora goats from the Ottoman state as early as 1852.[3] The society secretary F. W. Reitz asked for Government assistance in obtaining more Angora goats from the Ottoman state. It was difficult at that time to obtain any Angora goats from the Ottomans because the sultan placed an embargo on all Angora exports for a long time because of Turkish adversity to the spreading of the breed beyond the country. Downing Street enlisted the cooperation of the British Ambassador to Istanbul who authorised the sale of an unlimited number of animals at 85 to 90 piastres[4] for ewes and 150 to 200 piastres for rams. Therefore, the door for the importation of this attractive but little-known commodity was opened. During the second half of the 19th century, the importation of Angora into the Colony continued. The British consular officials in Turkey played an important role in these imports. Agents from South Africa were sent to Turkey for better selection.[5]

The young Angora industry established international trade links within a short time. The first shipment of mohair left the Cape Colony for Britain in 1857 and in 1865 the first Angora goats were exported to Argentina. Angora shows also became commonplace in the Colony.

[2] Men of the Times, the Transvaal Publishing Company, Johannesburg, Cape Town & London, 1906, p. 137
[3] Cape Town Archives, KAB GH Vol. 23/23 Ref. 41; see also GH Vol. 1/231 Ref. 6
[4] Originally a dollar size silver coin, the piastre served as the major unit of currency of French Indochina (Present-day Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos), and Ottoman Turkey. The kuruş, the subvision of the Turkish Lira, is commonly known as the piastre. 1 Lira equals to 100 kuruş.
[5] Uys, pp. 5-6

In Port Elizabeth mohair exports comprised 97% of the total exports of the city in 1865; 94% in 1866 and 83% in 1876.[6]

By 1878 there were already more than 30 different purchasing houses for mohair in Port Elizabeth alone and 97,5% of the mohair was exported through Port Elizabeth, 2,2% through Cape Town, 1,9% through Port Alfred and 0,2% through Mossel Bay to different countries, especially Britain. During the 1880`s the number of Angora goats had risen substantially in the Colony thanks to further importation and a cross-breeding programme. It was reported that there was two and a quarter million Angora goats in the Cape Colony in 1880.[7]

The period between 1882 and 1899 constituted years of expansion for the mohair industry. By 1882 American and British authorities regarded South Africa's mohair as equal to Turkey's finest fleeces. The Zwarte Ruggens Farmers` Association (ZRFA) was formed to represent the interests of wool and mohair producers in 1883. In this period developments in the Cape mohair industry and an embargo on Turkish goat exports encouraged American interest in the importation of Angora goats from South Africa. In April 1894 the Angora Goat Breeders` Association was established. During this time the breeders of the Cape recognised the need for new, improved blood. The Cape Government allocated a sum of money for the private importation of Angoras by the Premier, Cecil John Rhodes. With the visit of Rhodes to the Ottoman Empire a concession was obtained from the sultan for the export of Angoras in 1895. By 1899, the quality of the Cape clip had surpassed that of Turkey. The Cape had also produced 56,3% of the total world production with Turkey producing 40,5%, 3,2% by America and a very small quantity in Australia.[8] It should be emphasised that mohair was an important export commodity for the Ottoman Empire. In 1899 mohair's share of the Empire's total export was 6,7% with a value of 1,037,948 *lira*. However, after 1899 followed a massive decline in the Ottoman mohair industry, the Empire lost its monopoly in Angora goats and the mohair industry.[9]

[6] Ibid., pp. 11-12
[7] Ibid., pp. 21-22
[8] Ibid., pp. 23-34
[9] H. A. Erdem: "Bir Başarı Öyküsü; Güney Afrika`da Tiftik Üretimi", Dış Ticaret Dergisi, Iss.: 13, April 1999 See online version: http://www.dtm.gov.tr/dtmadmin/upload/EAD/TanitimKoordinasyonDb/gafrikasayisi13dergi.doc, (accessed 20 September 2007)

Owing to the superior intelligence and scientific methods of Cape breeders, the South African mohair industry turned from Cinderella to an eventual princess. Today, South African mohair is the purest and finest in the world. For the past few years, China has been the most important single destination for South African mohair. It was from a humble beginning that South Africa has become the leading country by producing 61% of the total world production of mohair at present.[10]

The success of the South African mohair industry reveals the general characteristic behaviour of South African farmers, especially the 1820 settlers. As immigrants from European countries, they experimented with different crops to cultivate and animals to breed to find the best suited to their new circumstances. The tobacco industry in South Africa also led a striking similarity to the mohair industry. Similar to the mohair industry, from a very small beginning tobacco growers and farmers in the Cape opened the doors to an industry previously unknown to them.

2.2 South African Grown Turkish Tobacco

J. F. Theron, a farmer from the Tulbagh district, was the first person formally to apply to the Department of Agriculture for a loan and assistance to grow Turkish tobacco on his plantation in 1909. Later, the De Meillon brothers from Stellenbosch asked for financial support from the Department to cultivate the Turkish tobacco. According to the report of the Department, the De Meillon brothers had already undertaken small experiments on their farm 'Ban Hoek' with Turkish tobacco and the results were excellent. In the same year, a tobacco expert from the Department, Mr. Stella, visited some farms in Stellenbosch to establish a 'Tobacco Experimental Station.'[11] In 1910, at the request of Malan, Minister for Agriculture for the Cape Colony, the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent samples of Turkish tobacco seeds to Cape Town. According to the report of Ludwig Wiener, Ottoman Consul-General to Cape Town, one package 'Samsun' and two packages 'd'Isketche' were received and a promise was given to dispatch a sample 'De Cavalla' in a short time. These samples were requested by the Tobacco Experts for experimental purposes.[12]

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[10] J. L. Rtief: "Presidential Report", The Angora Goat and Mohair Journal, SA Mohair Growers' Association, September 2005, p. 39
See online version of the journal, http://www.mohair.co.za/home/journal.asp?cat=samohair&id=18, (accessed 28 September 2007)

[11] National Archives of South Africa, TAB TAD Vol. 1005 Ref. N780/2

[12] National Archives of South Africa, TAB TAD Vol. 1007 Ref. N784

The Department of Agriculture had been giving attention to Turkish tobacco for some time and encouraged farmers, especially in Stellenbosch, to cultivate Turkish tobacco. The correspondence from the Department of Agriculture indicated that the industry expanded from a very small beginning in a short time. During 1910, the Turkish tobacco crop was already about 70,000 lbs, a great deal of which had been sold to local factories at the auction sale of the Chamber of Commerce at very satisfactory prices. In 1911, South African Turkish tobacco growers were already seeking overseas markets for their production and there were many other farmers who desired to grow Turkish tobacco.[13] In 1917, the production of South African grown Turkish tobacco reached 150,000 lbs. per year and the first samples were sent to England and America for export purposes.[14]

South Africa was not the only country that cultivated Turkish tobacco. Some other European countries also used Turkish seeds for cultivation. However, neither the importation of Angora goat nor the planting of Turkish tobacco seeds supported the development of a regular and mutual economic relation between the Ottoman Empire and South Africa at that time.

2.3 The First Contact: The Cape Muslims` Request for a Muslim Scholar

The Ottomans succeeded in establishing some original ties with the South African Muslim minority. The connection between the Ottomans and South African Muslim population commenced in 1862 with the sending of an *alim* (scholar) to teach and guide the Cape Muslim community. Hence, the rest of the chapter analyses the circumstances that paved the way for the appointment of such a special emissary to the Cape Colony.

Muslims in the Cape Colony established their own official religious schools and mosques at the beginning of 19th century following permission granted by the Batavian government after the British annexation. The Decree of the Commissioner-General J.A. de Mist on 25 July 1804 granted religious freedom to the Muslims together with religious freedom to all other religious groups. It was only since that date that the Muslims were able to practise their religion openly.[15]

[13] TAB TAD Vol. 1008 Ref. N829
[14] SAB IMI Vol. 3 Ref. I5/5
[15] E. I. Jaffer: The Early Muslims in Pretoria: 1881-1899, Unpublished Mini-Dissertation, Rand Afrikaans University, 1991, p. 14

Because of restrictions by the Dutch authorities, Muslims had limited links with outside Muslims, especially *ulema*.[16] As a result, Muslims of the Colony remained illiterate and backward. Under the Dutch East Indian Company, Muslims could not worship publicly, which meant that they relied on Sufi traditions and practised Islam mainly at home. Only in 1798, under British rule was the first mosque permitted. More mosques were established in the 19th century, usually around individual imams. In one case, Malay Muslims were awarded land for a mosque by the state in return for assisting the British fighting the Xhosa in the Battle of the Axe.[17] However, there were some disputes among the Muslim groups and imams mainly about religious issues. Sometimes the police force and the Cape court interfered to settle the disputes. The Government of the Colony perceived the conflicts as destroying the fibre of the society and accepted some Muslim demands for a religious authority to solve the ongoing religious problems.[18]

During the 19th century the Malays became closely identified with life at the Cape and in the second half of the century, South Africa witnessed Islamic revivalist movements which shifted the direction of the Muslims from Indonesia to the Middle East. The local Muslim communities tried to establish new contacts with the outside Muslim world, especially the Ottoman Empire and Mecca. When Muslims were making their way to Mecca for pilgrimage, it appeared that they were transferring inspiration, information, and orientation from the 'centre' to their 'peripheral tradition'.[19] "The influence of Java was on the wane and that of the Ottoman Empire and Arabia was on the rise."[20]

The leaders of the Muslim community discussed their situation and agreed that they needed a scholar *(alim)* urgently because Muslims at the Cape did not know the Islamic prescriptions well. On 16 April 1862, the Cape Muslims officially requested a scholar by handing a petition to the Cape Governor. Their proposal explained their situation and mentioned that their religious books were at that time in Java language. They could not read these books because they have already forgotten the language during the DEIC (The Dutch East India Company) era, though they could read and write in English and the Dutch language. To teach and

[16] The Ulema are Muslim scholars engaged in the several fields of Islamic studies, responsible for interpreting the Islamic Law.
[17] M. I. Lapidus: A History of Islamic Societies, second edition, 2002, p. 760
[18] S. Argun: The life and contribution of the Osmanli scholar, Abu Bakr Effendi, towards Islamic thought and culture in South Africa, (Unpublished MA Dissertation, Rand Afrikaans University), Johannesburg, 2000, p. 2
[19] A. Tayob: Islam in South Africa, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 1999, pp. 33-34
[20] I. D. Du Plessis: Cape Malays, Maskew Miller Limited, Cape Town, 1944, p. 7

explain the Islamic rules they therefore needed a well-trained scholar (religious guide) from Istanbul, then observed as the centre of the Islamic world. The Governor forwarded the petition submitted by the Muslim leaders to the Queen of the British Kingdom with a detailed declaration. Afterwards the matter was referred to the British Parliament. In the Parliament it was agreed to refer it to Musurus Pasha, the Ottoman Ambassador to London. They requested him to write a letter to the Ottoman sultan. Finally, Musurus Pasha referred it to Sultan of the Ottoman Empire.[21]

The Cape Muslims` petition read as follows:

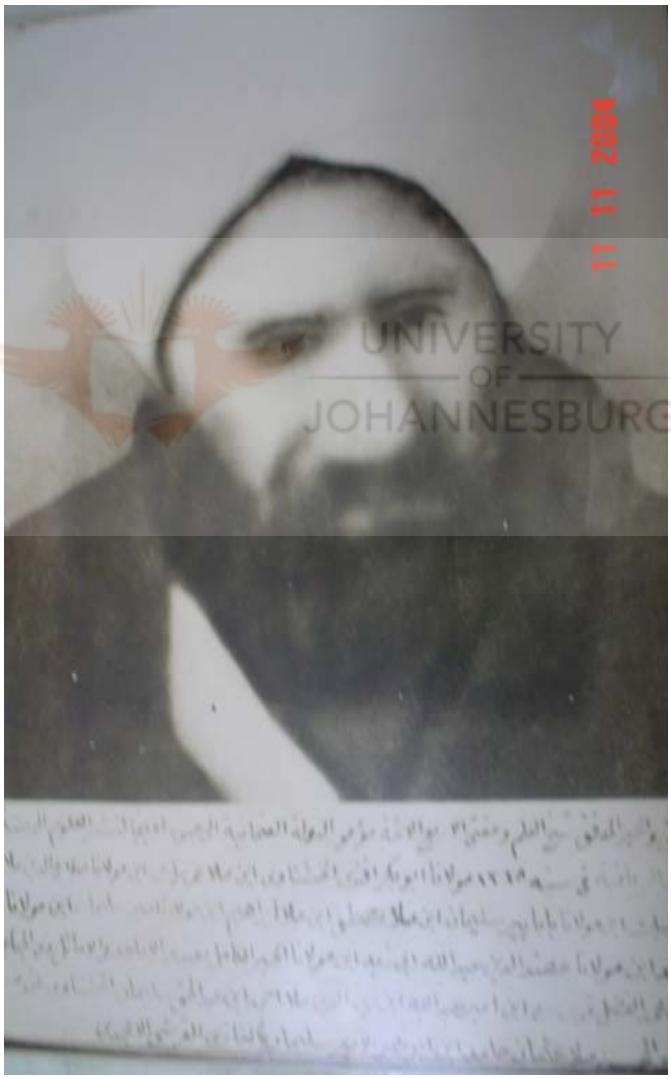
"As it is well known, 85 years ago some of Javanese islands fell into the hands of the Dutch Government. Our fathers were all tied up in chains, enslaved and brought here. We were afflicted with suffering and problems; the Honourable British Empire set us free from slavery of the previous government and gave us liberty. For that, we thank the empire for its help and grace, and in case of necessity, it is incumbent upon us to sacrifice ourselves for its cause. We once again express our thanks and gratitude. It is obvious that each nation has to know and apply its religious and way of life and it is natural that we also ought to observe our way of life and practice. But we forgot our language of origin, the language of Javanese, the books and treaties are all written in that language and therefore we obviously need a teacher to read and teach them. Since the situation is like this it is requested to bring a scholar from a Muslim country in order to teach and train us."[22]

On the request by Sultan Abdulaziz the application of the Cape Muslim leaders was discussed in the Heyet-i Vukela (the Supreme Council of Justice) and it was interpreted as a sign of their loyalty to Sublime Porte. Heyet-i Vukela agreed not only to send some religious sources but also a salaried scholar who was skillful enough to explain and teach them the correct teachings of Islam. Later, the issue was referred to the sultan of the Empire who was the protector of the Islamic world.[23]

[21] O. L. Effendi: Ümidburnu Seyahatnâmesi (in Ottoman Turkish), Istanbul, 1869, pp. 6-12
[22] Ibid, pp. 9-10
[23] The Ottoman Prime Minister's Archive, İrade Hariciye No: 10847

After the approval of the sultan, the process commenced to find a scholar. The investigations made by Ahmed Cevdet Pasha on request of the Foreign Minister Ali Pasha, led to a scholar named Abu Bakr Effendi.[24]

Before the final decision, Effendi had an interview with Meclis-i Vala in Istanbul.[25] Abu Bakr Effendi was interviewed on 17 May 1862 by the High Commission of Foreign Affairs which was impressed by Abu Bakr Effendi's deep knowledge of Islamic sciences, his remarkable sagacity, and distinguished intelligence. On 3 September 1862, the Sultan appointed Abu Bakr Effendi, from among the Shehrozor scholars, to travel to the Cape of Good Hope.[26]



Abu Bakr Effendi`s photo

[24] Effendi, a Turkish title meaning a lord or master, is a title of respect, equivalent to the English 'Sir', in Turkey and some other Eastern countries. It follows the personal name, when it is used, and is generally given to members of the learned professions, and to government officials who have no higher rank, such as Bey or Pasha.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.

2.4 The Journey to Cape of Good Hope

On the 1st of October 1862, Effendi and his brother's son Omer Lutfi Effendi left Istanbul to go to London via Paris. Omer Lutfi Effendi was presented as Effendi's son in the official papers to prevent potential problems on the borders. In their passports, the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested from all officials to show their kindness to Abu Bakr Effendi and Omer Lutfi Effendi until they arrive at their final destination, Cape Town.[27]

It is interesting that we only learn about their journey from Istanbul to Cape Town and about their life in the Colony from a travelogue titled '*Ümitburnu Seyahatnemesi'* (My travelogue to Cape of Good Hope) written by Omer Lutfi Effedi. Taking the necessary books and items Abu Bakr Effendi and Omer Lutfi Effendi embarked the steamship. The son of the famous Grand Vezier Mustafa Reşit Pasha, Mehmet Cemil Pasha appointed to the Paris Embassy was with them during the journey from Istanbul to Paris.[28] Via Korsika, Messina, Sardinia Island and Marcillia, they finally arrived in Paris. With an interpreter appointed by the new Ambassador Mehmet Cemil Pasha, Abu Bakr Effendi and Omer Lutfi Effendi went to London via the Manche Sea. In London, when Abu Bakr Effendi visited the palace, he was told that the Queen had gone to Scotland on holiday. During their stay, Lord Chamberlain showed great interest in Effendi's mission and arranged for an available steamship to Cape Town. After a stay of two months in London they arrived in Liverpool by train on 1 December 1862. Two days later they left Liverpool for their final destination Cape Town.[29]

2.4.1 The Long Journey

Omer Lutfi Effendi gave a fascinating description of their journey in his travelogue, *Ümidburnu Seyahatnemesi* (My travelogue to Cape of Good Hope): "*...from Liverpool we embarked the available steamship which was going to the Cape of Good Hope. It had two poles and its load mostly was coal. With two of us there were another 57 passengers in the steamship. After a long journey along the African coast which took 44 days in the sea without seeing any land we arrived to Cape Town. The British flag was raised on main pole and the Ottoman flag was raised on the other pole. When the ship entered Cape Town harbour, it was greeted by three cannon salutes from the castle. A person named Abdullah, who had been in Mecca for the pilgrimage before, met us in the port. He knew Arabic little. First, we wanted*

[27] A. Uçar: 140 Yıllık Miras Güney Afrika`da Osmanlılar, Tez Yayınları, Istanbul, 2001, p. 75
[28] O. L. Effendi, pp. 12-13
[29] Ibid, pp. 13-53

him to take us to a public bath. When we were having a bath some Muslims heard of our arrival and came together in front of the public bath. The Ottoman Consul-General Mosyo de Roubaix[30] came to the bath and greeted us too. Even though a special coach was despatched for his conveyance Abu Bakr Effendi did the usual thing and elected to walk alongside the coach with the welcoming committee to a house which had been reserved for us. Mosyo de Roubaix assigned Abdullah as an interpreter to us because of his Arabic knowledge."[31]

After the arrival, Abu Bakr Effendi was photographed in the company of a welcoming committee. On this group photograph, many of the Muslims of the Cape, young and old were presented. In actual fact, this is the only photo of him in the possession of the Effendi family.[32]

2.4.2 The Mission of Abu Bakr Effendi

Abu Bakr Effendi's mission to the Cape Colony was explained in a letter dated 25 November 1862 from Ambassador Musurus Pasha to Mosyo de Roubaix, the Ottoman Consul-General to the Cape Colony. In the letter the Ambassador mentioned that he had received some letters from Mosyo de Roubaix on the subject of the differences amongst the Muslim groups at the Cape Colony concerning their forms of public worship. He later stated that considering the difficulty of dealing with such a subject by written communication, it had been thought expedient to send a scholar from Istanbul to the Cape and Her Majesty's Government had informed him that instructions had been sent to His Excellency the Governor to give every protection and assistance to this scholar.[33]

In the letter dated 25 November, 1862 Musurus Pasha wrote: "*I have the honor to introduce to you the bearer, Abou Bekir Effendi, Professor of Theology (Sheikhul-Ilim) whom the Sublim Portegas sent to give such explanations and information in matters of religion as the Mussulmans in your town require, and also to establish a school for teaching the precepts of Islamism.... I therefore hope that Effendi`s presence at Cape Town will be beneficial to the*

[30] See Cape Town Archives, KAB CO Vol. 4069 Ref. 147: Although in the Ottoman archival sources Mosyo de Roubaix was known as the first Ottoman General-Consul to the Colony, an official record from the Cape State Archive, dated 1853, revials that a person named William John Greig had already been recognised as Consul of the Ottoman Empire in the Cape Colony.
[31] O. L. Effendi, pp. 53-58
[32] S. Effendi: On the Trail of Mahdi (Unpublished Book), p. 27
[33] The Ottoman Prime Minister's Archive, HR.MTV 608/5

Mussulman population, and that with his assitance all diffirences will be satisfactorily arranged."[34]

On the 25th of November 1862, Ambassador Musurus Pasha sent another letter to Mosyo de Roubaix which explained that the scholar appointed for the task was Abu Bakr Effendi and his mission was to solve the Islamic problems among the Muslim groups. It was expected from Effendi to teach the correct Islam and to assist the Cape Muslims within the religious content by opening a new Islamic school.[35] Abu Bakr Effendi also explained his mission in the introduction of his famous book Bayan ud-din: "It was with the hope of guiding and helping these people and of teaching them to be good Muslims that I came to these shores from Istanbul, a journey of nearly 15.000 miles, to a strange country so far away, inhabited by people of different habits, and speaking a different language."[36]

The biggest problem Effendi faced in the Colony was the language barrier between him and the Muslims. In order to make himself understood and to explain the essence of Islamic laws in an understandable way, he realised that he had to learn the languages spoken by the majority in the Colony. At the beginning he used an Arabic translator to communicate with people but he soon became fluent in Afrikaans and English. Moreover, he later wrote two Islamic books in Afrikaans with Arabic scripts.

2.5 The Disputes Among the Cape Muslims

An explanation of the disputes within the Muslim groups will provide a better understanding of Effendi's mission to the Colony. Although the Cape Muslims were quite enthusiastic to learn more about Islam and to practice it, they were ignorant of some of the basic tenets of the Islamic faith since they had forgotten their mother tongue. This caused the loss of contact with their religious books and treaties, simply because, they could not read and write in Javanese any more and there were no Islamic sources written in the Dutch language which they began to read, write and speak. Furthermore, there was also no co-ordinating[37]

[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] M. B. Syrier: The Religious Duties of Islam as Taught and Explained by Abu Bakr Effendi, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1971, p. XLV
[37] Du Plessis, p. 13

council of Islamic authority to contain their prevailing quarrels. As a result, each imam in the Colony tended to the interests of his own community.[38]

Many disputes of the Cape Muslims in the 19th century ended up in the Cape Supreme Court. The details of the court cases will not be discussed, but in some cases Abu Bakr Effendi was called by the court to give explanations about Islam. In 1873, for instance, there was a case between the plaintiff, Achmad Saddick, and the defendant, Abdol Rakiep. Suffice to say, Achmad Saddick wanted to remove Abdol Rakiep from the office of imam, because according to him, Abdol Rakiep was instituting hanafe practices at the time of Friday prayers at a shafee mosque. In the court Abu Bakr Effendi stated that there was no essential difference between these two schools of thought and both were sunni/orthodox Islam. He told the authorities that he, himself, was trained by shafee scholars in the Ottoman Empire and further that there was nothing wrong in the way Abdol Rakiep conducted the Friday prayers. As a result, the court upheld Effendi's evidence and ruled in favour of the defendant.[39]

In the Turkish introduction to his first book, Effendi described the Cape Muslims as follows: "I found to my regret that some of these people were very ignorant and so completely degenerate that religion had lost its significance... Indeed they had but little knowledge of the Muslim religious rules and regulations necessary for the proper observance of Islam."[40]

Basically, some cultural rituals and corrupt local Imams in the community constituted the primary origin of the ongoing disputes causing frictions among the Muslims. The abovementioned conditions of the Cape Muslims indicate that they were confused by incorrect interpretations of Islam. In some cases, they mixed Islam with their cultural rituals. Sometimes misinterpretations of the religion created divisions among the Muslims. This resulted in intolerance and hate campaigns among them before the arrival of Abu Bakr Effendi. The employment of poorly educated and ill-trained imams who misused their positions also destroyed the unity and strength of the community. Among the cultural rituals, the Khalifah game, which was rooted in a Hindu dance from Bali, was an appropriate example of un-Islamic practices that created friction amongst the Muslims.[41]

[38] Ibid., p. 13
[39] S. Effendi, pp. 66-67
[40] Syrier, pp. XLV-XLVI
[41] Argun, pp. 44-45

2.5.1 The Cultural Rituals

The early Cape Muslims brought Islam from the Java Islands to the Cape Colony. However, some historians state that this Islam was not orthodox (Sunni), but a mystical, syncretic religion which incorporated local, often Hindu and Buddhist rituals. Habits and mystical beliefs with a lack of religious authority also nurtured disputes and conflict in the Muslim society. Therefore, some of the problems actually emanated from this mystical interpretation of Islam.[42]

Islam at the Cape included practices and rituals which did not form part of the mainstream religion. As it was practised at the Cape, Islam had a strong spiritual, even magical, content, partly influenced by Hinduism. An example of these cultural rituals was the Cape Malay sword dance known as the '*Khalifah'* or '*Ratiep',* which was probably of Hindu origin.[43] It was characterised by piercing the body with sharp skewers or hitting it with sharp swords without causing blood to flow, accompanied by chanting in Arabic and beating of drums. "Some imams condone it as symbolic of the power of the flesh over steel through faith, others disapproved."[44] "The game was causing noise and non-Muslim people of the Colony were disturbed. It had created numerous problems in the Muslim community amongst its proponents and adversaries. At one time the beating of the drums and chanting deep into the night caused a public nuisance, and led to the protests by the burgers which culminated in the Khalifah controversy of 1856."[45] Whites in Cape Town have viewed it as a peculiar, but sometimes annoying, ceremony of colourful and outlandish folk. Two years earlier, in 1854, complaining that the noise disturbed the peace of the city, some had called upon the government to suppress it. Later, even within the Muslim community, the practice fell into increasing disfavour as the 19th century progressed.[46]

2.5.2 Leadership

Class distinctions within the Malay community were primarily determined by the ability of the individual to fulfil religious tasks and to enrich the whole community. The highest social position was held by Imams in the Islamic community. An Imam was the leader of the

[42] Ibid., p. 45
[43] A. Davids: The Mosques of Bo-Kaap, The South African Institute of Arabic and Islamic Research, Cape Town, 1980, p. 33
[44] Du Plessis, p. 37
[45] Ibid., p. 62
[46] E. J. Mason: "A faith for Ourselves: Slavery, Sufism, and Conversion to Islam at the Cape", South African Historical Journal, May 2002, Vol. 46, p. 19

community and his advice was sought not only with reference to religious matters but also in matters affecting the daily life of the Muslims. The Imam's wife held a similar role among the women. The hadjies represented the next social standing. As a sign of distinction they were allowed to wear a black tassel on their fezzes. Those who were able to support the poor or the mosques were greatly respected too.[47]

An important problem among the Cape Muslims, before the arrival of Abu Bakr Effendi, was the competition among the Imams for leadership. "The imam was the most powerful person, having total control over this entire congregation, but at the same time he, also, enjoyed the respect of the entire community. The position also had definite monetary benefits."[48] Imams who enjoyed support and loyalty in their mosques tried to extend their authority to the broader Cape public. They claimed themselves to represent all the Muslim community interests. Their attempts to take leadership of the wider community caused many mosques to go to the courts to settle disputes.[49] Omer Lutfi Effendi wrote in his travelogue about the corrupt Imams: "Each of them divided the Muslims into twenty parties and each party developed some hatred and anger against the others. For each one of them had given a different meaning to the religious books they had brought from Mecca and felt himself more learned than the others and misled his followers."[50]

Omer Lutfi Effendi further explained the corrupt practices of the Imams by citing the following example: "One of those Imams addressed his murids (followers) as 'O my followers! You must give all your fitrahs, your sacrificial meats of adhak feasts and whatever you have as charity, according to these books, to your Imam whom you follow. If you give it to any one other than your Imam, it will not be accepted by Allah.' They seduced those people by such non-sensical words."[51] These words were highly controversial to Islamic understanding because in Islam the Muslims might give their fitrahs or sacrificial meats of adhak feasts and whatever their charity to people in need, whether Muslim or not. Furthermore, there is no such a similar compulsory practice in the religion of Islam.[52]

[47] I. D. Du Plessis and C. A. Luckhoff: The Malay Quarter and Its People, A. A. Balkema, Cape Town, 1953, p. 68
[48] Davids, p. 125
[49] Tayob, pp. 36-37
[50] O. L. Effendi, p. 74
[51] Ibid., p. 75
[52] H. H. Işık: Tam İlmihal- Seadet-i Ebediyye, Işık Kitabevi, Istanbul, 1971, p. 227

2.6 Effendi's Activities in the Cape Colony

Fifteen days after his arrival, Abu Bakr Effendi opened a school for boys, called **'the Ottoman Theological School'**, at the corner of Bree and Wale streets. Within twenty days more than 300 pupils were enrolled. It is important to note Abu Bakr Effendi's immediate focus on the religious education of the Muslim masses. Besides the boys, he taught adults in the evenings. Beginning with the Arabic alphabet, Qur-an and Tajvid, he proceeded to Figh al-Akbar, a theological work, and Multaqa, the famous Hanefi code of Islamic jurisprudence.[53] After teaching the basic rules for recitation he ran hifz classes. He had a few students with good voices and made them huffaz (a person who recitated the Muslim Holy Book, Qur-an). In his book Bayan ud-din Abu Bakr Effendi wrote that: "I then began teaching the Qur-an to those of my followers with some education. In time I succeeded in training some of the more intelligent among them in the Arabic language, and in the essentials necessary for the proper servant of the Muslim religion. After some time and with much patience I could rely on a few of the more advanced pupils to become teachers in their turn. I encouraged them to teach a given number of students their own classes. I also opened a separate school for the ladies."[54]

Abu Bakr Effendi preached to the crowded gatherings and gave Tafsir from the Ruh al-Bayan[55] on Sundays because the Cape Muslims were primarily workers and they were only available on the weekend. Meanwhile, he also educated himself to be better understood by the local people. In a short time, he was able to speak and write Afrikaans and English fluently.[56]

In the latter half of the 19th century, there were small Muslim communities in other parts of the Colony, particularly in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage.[57] A number of the Malay Muslims settled in Johannesburg and Pretoria only towards the end of the 19th century.[58] As a part of his activities, Abu Bakr Effendi travelled a number of cities and towns and preached there too. Moreover, he went to neighbouring Mozambique and Mauritius.[59] In his book, Bayan ud-din, he wrote: "In Mozambique there is a mosque built by the famous Turkish architect Sinan[60]

[53] O. L. Effendi, pp. 58-59
[54] Syrier, p. XLVI
[55] Ten volume Arabic work by İsmail Hakkı Bursevi, the founder of the Hakkiyye Jelveti Sufi order.
[56] Uçar, p. 151
[57] F. R. Bradlow and M. Cairns: The Early Cape Muslims, A. A. Balkema, Cape Town, p. 18
[58] M. A. Paulsen: The Malay Community of Gauteng: Syncretism, Beliefs, Customs and Development, Unpublished MA Dissertation, Rand Afrikaans University, Johannesburg, 2003, p. i
[59] H. Yorulmaz: Ümidburnu Seyahatnâmesi, Ses yayınları, Istanbul, 1994, p. 105
[60] Syrier, p. XLVI

Pasha by the order of Sultan Selim, where the special Friday prayers take place attended by the Muslim community of Mozambique where I was present on many occasions."[61]

Sixty ulema and hadjies came together in 1863 and wrote a letter of appreciation to the Sultan-Caliph of the Ottoman Empire, Abdulaziz.

His Imperial Highness the Sultan of Turkey
May It Please Your Imperial Highness
We undersigned, Imams, Hadjis, and Priests, beg to thank your Imperial Highness for your kindness in sending an Aleem to the Cape of Good Hope, in order truthfully to teach us our Musselman creed, aggreably to the Alcoran, and the delivery of our Prophet Mochammed Moestafa, peace be with him, and many blessings on Your Imperial Highness, in this world, and hereafter.
We herewith acknowledge that we are perfectly satisfied with Aboubeker Effendi. We have long desired to have an Aleem to teach our Musselman creed, and now that we have obtained one we feel grateful to Your Imperial Highness, because the Aleem teaches correctly according to Alcoran, and the delivery of our Prophet, besides teaching our children Arabic, reading and writing and giving them a good education, instructing also those who come to him for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the meaning of galal and garam.
We moreover pray Your Imperial Highness, as we have been so very desirous to have an Aleem at the Cape of Good Hope, and have now got one in the person Aboubeker Effendi, through Your kindness, to allow the Aleem to remain among us, in order to teach our faith.
With profound respect, We remain, Your Imperial Highness`s most grateful servants.[62]

This letter was carried to Istanbul by Mosyo de Roubaix during his official visit. On 20 February 1864, a report titled 'The Turkish Consul-General and The Malays' was published in the Cape Argus on this visit. De Roubaix had several interviews with various Ottoman officials, especially Ali Pasha, then the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the sultan Abdulaziz. Information was sought by the Sultan on the problems Muslims experienced in the Cape Colony.[63] Sultan Abdulaziz sent the sum of 400 *liras* for the construction of a Mosque in Port Elizabeth. Building operations commenced in 1852 and was only completed in 1864[64]

[61] Ibid., p. XLVI
[62] The Ottoman Prime Minister's Archive, HR.MTV 608/22
[63] The Ottoman Prime Minister's Archive, HR.MTV 608/5
[64] The Ottoman Prime Minister's Archive, Y.MTV 214/95

with the financial assistance of the Ottoman sultan.[65] The mosque, called the Grace Street Mosque, was the first mosque in the Colony with a dome and a minaret.[66] The construction plan and drafting of the mosque is preserved in the Ottoman Prime Minister`s Archive in Istanbul.[67]

2.7 The Celebration of the Sultan`s Birthday

On 3 February 1867, the Cape Muslims gathered in various mosques for the first time on the occasion of the anniversary of the birthday of the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, Abdulaziz. The ceremony took place twice in a day, at midday and eight o`clock in the evening. Muslims came from the suburbs and afar to participate in the religious ceremony of prayer and thanksgiving for the sultan. The mosques were decorated with evergreens and flags. The Sultan`s name, Abdulaziz was displayed in front of the chief mosque in Chiappini street in variegated lamps. According to the Cape Argus, this display of gratitude was prompted by various acts of kindness by the Sultan towards the co-religionists of the Muslims resident in the Colony. The Ottoman General-Consul, Mosyo de Roubaix, also officially attended the proceedings at the different mosques. On the occasion Muslim leaders presented Roubaix with a letter which was signed by all the Muslim leaders and requested him to send it to the Sultan. In the letter, after congratulating the sultan on his birthday they expressed their gratefulness for the protection afforded by the Sultan and they promised to celebrate his birthday annually.[68]

Prior to the arrival of Effendi, the Colony did not celebrate the Ottoman sultans' birthday. However, in a couple of years, the Muslims of the Colony started to organise celebration ceremonies on the occasion. This signified their sentimental attachment to the Ottoman Caliphate. Moreover, Abu Bakr Effendi was granted permission by the Sultan to pray for the Ottoman Caliph in Friday prayers. At the Friday sermons that he led in various mosques in the Colony, he called the Sultan's name in the khutba as the Caliph of the age. Thereafter, the practice spread rapidly in the Colony and became part of the Friday sermons.[69]

[65] Ibid.
[66] Bradlow, p.18
[67] The Ottoman Prime Minister's Archive, HR.MTV 608/6
[68] The Ottoman Prime Minister's Archive, HR.MTV 608/22
[69] Uçar, p. 107

Conclusion

It can be said that the Ottoman Empire's presence in South Africa during the second half of the 19th century initially had a religious nature because of the Cape Colony's considerable Muslim population. To solve the disputes, Muslim leaders demanded a scholar from Istanbul via the British Government. Abu Bakr Effendi`s mission was to teach correct Islam and prevent disputes among the Cape Muslims. Abu Bakr Effendi immediately opened up a school for boys in Cape Town. This indicates that he intended to stay in the Colony for a long time. He also visited other Muslim communities outside Cape Town.

Effendi was appointed as an emissary to the Cape Colony at the request of the Cape Muslims through the British Crown. Abu Bakr Effendi's mission to the Cape community paved the way for the transfer of inspiration, information, and orientation from the centre to the periphery. This brought the Cape Muslims into closer contact with the centre of Islam. Muslims in the Colony became conscious of and loyal to the Ottoman Caliph-Sultan and saw him as a religious guide and protector. The celebration of the Sultan's birthday in 1867 is concrete evidence of the Cape Muslim's sentimental attachment to the Ottomans.

CHAPTER 3.

The Relations Between Abu Bakr Effendi and the Cape Muslims

Introduction

This chapter examines the relations between Abu Bakr Effendi and the Cape Muslim community and his establishment of the hanafe school of thought (*madhab*) into a shafee community at the Cape Colony. Effendi attempted to solve the never-ending disputes in the community via his school and his literary works. However, with the establishment of a hanafe sect in the Cape, another religious dispute became apparent within the Muslim community. In this chapter the Effendi family will also be mentioned since family members and Effendi's students made generous contributions to his effort to prevent divisive conduct amongst the Muslims. Among his sons, especially, Achmed Ataullah Effendi rose as a prominent figure after his father's death. He opened an Islamic school in Kimberley and participated in the 1894 elections in the Cape. In this chapter the most important book of Abu Bakr Effendi, Bayan ud-din, and his letters to the Turkish Newspaper Mecmua-i Fünun will be analysed.

3.1 The Cape Muslims and Abu Bakr Effendi: Doctrinal Dispute

There were some serious disputes among the Cape Muslims. On some occasions, the police force and the court intervened to settle the disputes. This, needless to say, caused some serious concerns among the other members of the colony. Early Cape Muslims practised the Muslim faith in the Cape Colony, where their faith was practiced by a minority. When a comunity of believers begin to rely on knowledge of their religion from their forefathers and no longer referred to their original sources, a process of imitation manifested in the community. This situation led to the emergence of some non-Islamic elements in the society.[1] Examples of this type of syncretistic practises were evident among the Muslims of the Cape Colony as mentioned in the previous cahapter. Another main characteristic of the Cape Muslims stemmed from the sense of isolation from the main stream of their culture and homeland. In this context, for them, the urgent need to hold on to their own religion, Islam, often tended to increase sensitivity to minor divergences amongs themselves.[2]

[1] M. A. Paulsen: The Malay Community of Gauteng: Syncretism, Beliefs, Customs and Development, Unpublished MA Dissertation, Rand Afrikaans University, Johannesburg, 2003, p. 59
[2] M. B. Syrier: The Religious Duties of Islam as Taught and Explained by Abu Bakr Effendi, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1971, p. IX

It is usually accepted that the Cape Malays were of the shafee school[3] of Islam. The reason for this is that the shafees were firmly imbedded in the Indonesian archipelago, and it was from there that all Cape Malays originated.[4] Abu Bakr Effendi was a very controversial figure in the Cape Colony. He brought Cape Muslims into closer contact with orthodox/sunni Islam. This introduced further religious friction in the Colony. Abu Bakr Effendi's introduction of the hanafe[5] school of thought into a shafee dominated community led to another religious doctrinal dispute. He, being proficient in the shafee school of thought, was permitted to teach the community in the school of thought familiar to them. It could have been mutually beneficial to both parties. Unfortunately, this difference became profound and a source of another disagreement amongst the Muslims of the Colony despite the all modernising influences of Effendi. For this Effendi was severely criticised by certain members of the Malay community, even to this day.[6]

The difference between the two schools of thought is evident during the performance of the non-obligatory aspects of the daily prayers. In fact, it is to be stated that the differences between the schools of jurisprudence did not concern the major beliefs and practices of Islam; rather they belong to the area of the details of religion. Through careful study, one would be inclined to assert that such differences among schools of jurisprudence reflected the vitality and dynamics of Islam. According to Mia-Brandel, in this case, the Cape Muslims followed the psycho-sociological pattern of other minority civilisations. They tended to forget that these two schools of thought with other two schools were/are considered as orthodox/sunni in Islam.[7] Moreover, they showed fanatic loyalty to a particular madhab. On one occasion Effendi sent a letter to Governor Wodehouse and asked protection against a person named Hadji Abdol Wahab. According to Effendi, Abol Wahab, was ignorant of the Islamic faith, and caused quarrels amongst his pupils and used bad language. Abdol Wahab and some other local Muslims started a disgrace campaign against Effendi and gave orders to pupils not to attend Effendi`s school.[8]

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[3] The Shafee school of thought is one of the four schools of fiqh, or religious law, within Sunni Islam. The shafee school of thought was named after its founder, Abu 'Abd Allah ash-Shafi'i. There are shafees in Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somali and North Yemen, but the main concentration of the shafee madhab is in South East Asia: Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Muslim minorities of mainland South East Asia and the Philippines are exclusively shafee.

[4] N. Levtzion and R. Pouwels: The History of Islam in Africa, David Philip, Cape Town, 1999, p. 334

[5] Hanafe is one of the four schools *(madhabs)* of Fiqh or religious law within Sunni Islam. Founded by Abu Hanifa, (699 - 765), it is considered to be the school most open to modern ideas.

[6] S. Effendi: On the Trail of Mahdi (Unpublished Book), p. 76

[7] Syrier, p. IX

[8] Cape Town Archives, KAB CO Vol. 4129 Ref. E6

Despite the abovementioned disgrace campaign, Abu Bakr Effendi became very popular among the young Muslims of the community. Among his students there were sons of the famous alim Tuan Guru, Sheik Yussuf. The young respected Effendi and considered him the representative of a new way of thinking due to his thorough knowledge of Islamic sciences.[9] Effendi taught his students to claim leadership roles, often against the wishes of the shafee sensibilities.[10]

During the first months of his stay, language presented a barrier between Abu Bakr Effendi and the Cape Muslims. Despite the language barrier, he immediately commenced his duties. He first drew up a memorandum, based upon the laws of Turkey concerning marriage and inheritance that was in accordance with the existing laws in the colony. Written in Turkish, the document was translated by the Belgian Consul-General Henry, resident in Cape Town, and copies of the translation were handed to Mosyo Roubaix and forwarded to the Cape government. Effendi commenced with the duties for which he came to the Colony.[11]

To enhance his understanding of the problems, in 1869, Effendi started writing a book on religious matters. In his first book`s Turkish introduction Abu Bakr Effendi stated: "It was necessary to give them advice and, in many instances, I had to try hard to reform some of their bad habits and practices, which were contrary to the religion of Islam. I experienced difficulty with a minorty, who where reluctant to give up their bad habits and foolish deeds... Some began to realise how the religious disputes they used to have prior to my arrival were futile and unnecessary..."[12] Abu Bakr Effendi certainly knew the solution to all the disputes. He spent most of his time on the education activities and with his students. In one of his letters to a Turkish newspaper he indicated 'ignorance' as the main source of the disputes in the community. To Effendi, the disputes among the Muslims did not actually touch the essence of Islam and were sometimes insignificant, regarding details related to practices; however people needed time to realize it.[13] Abu Bakr Effendi never attempted to open a hanefee mosque during his stay in the Colony. In retrospect, he gave his attention to his

[9] E. Germain: "L`afrique du Sud dans la Politique 'Panislamique' de l`Empire Ottoman", Turcica, Iss. 31, 1999, p. 116
[10] A. Tayob: Islam in South Africa, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 1999, p. 33
[11] The Ottoman Prime Minister's Archive, HR.MTV 608/5
[12] Syrier, p. XLV
[13] H. Yorulmaz: Ümidburnu Seyahatnâmesi, Ses yayınları, Istanbul, 1994, p. 87

Islamic schools. The first hanefee mosque was established by two students of Effendi, Mohammed Dollie and Jongie Siers, in the Cape in 1881, only after the death of Effendi. [14]

As a result of the conflict between the hanefee and shafee sects of Islam at the Cape, the feelings against the Ottomans among the Cape Malay Muslims were slightly reduced. However, the Malays were sentimentally attached to the Ottoman Empire and accepted the Ottoman sultan as a religious leader. The popularity of the sultan Abdulhamid and the frequent use of the word 'Ottoman' among the Muslims proved it. The foundation of a cricket club called 'Ottomans' in the Malay quarter of the Bo-kaap in 1898 could be one of the examples of this.[15]

Hanefe and shafee Muslims joined forces with the Cemetery Riots of 1886, which was probably the most significant expression of civil disobedience of the 19th century Cape Muslims. In 1882 there had been a severe smallpox epidemic in Cape Town; thereof the Cape Municipality decided to close the inner city cemeteries. In terms of the Public Health Act No. 4, it was aggreed to close the Muslim cemetery in Bo-kaap in 1883.[16] This paved the way for the unity of Muslims who opposed the Act as interference in their religion. During the Cemetery Riot of 1886 Achmed Effendi, the eldest son of Abu Bakr Effendi, made a major impression and played an important role in the establishment of the Muslim Cemetery Board. The hanafes accepted Achmed Effendi to present their interests; because of his high education he was equally acceptable to the shafees in the Colony. Ultimately, 'the hanafe-shafee dispute' was resolved with the formation of the Muslim Judicial Council in 1945.[17]

In the Friday sermons in various mosques in the Colony, Abu Bakr Effendi included the Ottoman Sultan's name in the khutba as the Caliph of the age. This practice spread rapidly in the Colony and became part of the Friday sermons.[18] Furthermore, just after the arrival of Abu Bakr Effendi, his influence on the Cape Muslims` dress code was observed besides his influence on the religious practices.

[14] Germain, p. 121
[15] Ibid., pp. 121-122
[16] A. Davids: The Mosques of Bo-Kaap, The South African Institute of Arabic and Islamic Research, Cape Town, p. 62
[17] Ibid., pp. 62-64
[18] A. Uçar: 140 Yıllık Miras Güney Afrika`da Osmanlılar, Tez Yayınları, Istanbul, 2001, p. 107

The Turkish traditional hat, the *Fez,* was introduced to the Cape by Effendi and became a feature of the Cape male Muslims. For general use, the toering (tudong) has been replaced by the fez, red or black, according to the wearer's preference, with a tassel when the wearer is a hadji (has made the pilgrimage to Mecca).[19] The fez was a prominent feature of a male dress in the Ottoman cities and it also became widespread in the Cape Colony. During the First World War, an Australian troopship on its way to Turkey stopped in Cape Town. A few Australian soldiers who were wandering in Cape Town harbour met some Cape Muslims. Since the Muslims were wearing Turkish Fezes, the Australians thought that they were Turks. Therefore, they immediately concluded that the Turks had already occupied the port. This disconcerted them completely.[20]

3.2 Literary Works of Abu Bakr Effendi

Abu Bakr Effendi made a literary contribution to the Afrikaans language by writing the Bayan ud-din (demonstration of religious practice). It was one of the earliest publications of the Afrikaans language. The book's historic interest is enhanced due to the "Afrikaans" text written in Arabic letters.[21] The book puzzled all the Leiden scholars until they discovered it was actually written in a language familiar to theirs, Dutch. It contains 354 octavo pages, written in easy legible hand, and printed by lithography. The purpose of this publication was to provide the Cape Muslims improved access to knowledge of Islam, and to end disagreements on religious issues.[22] Bayan ud-din, written as a textbook for the religious instruction of a group of inhabitants of the Cape Colony, was completed in 1869, and printed in 1877 in Istanbul on the authority of the Ottoman Ministry of Education. According to the decree of the sultan, 1500 copies of Bayan ud-din were printed in the Ottoman Printing House. The copies were distributed as a gift to the Muslim community of the Cape Colony and Mozambique.[23]

Effendi's book closely resembled the most recent authoritative handbook of the hanafe school of thought, Multaqa l-abhur of Muhammed B. Ibrahim ul-Hulabi which throughout the Ottoman Empire was in use as a textbook from 16th century onwards.[24] With three prefaces in

[19] I. D. Du Plessis: The Cape Malays, Maskew Miller Limited, Cape Town, 1944, p. 51
[20] N. Levtzion & at al., p. 339
[21] Syrier, p. VII
[22] I. D. Du Plessis and C. A. Luckhoff: The Malay Quarter and Its People, A. A. Balkema, Cape Town, 1953, pp. 20-21
[23] The Ottoman Prime Minister's Archive, İrade Hariciye, No. 14526
[24] Syrier, p. VII

Turkish, Arabic and Afrikaans, Effendi's book dealt with the Ibadat, worship in Islam. Although Effendi closely followed the traditional pattern of a hanafe law book, he concentrated on certain parts which were of the most urgent concern to the Cape Muslim community at that time and omitted some parts. Effendi gave lengthy explanations of the main differences between hanafe and shafee madhabs.[25] In the Afrikaans introduction, he indicated his intention: "I decided to write a concise explanation of the main points of the Law in the language best known to them (the Cape Muslims), so that instruction should be made easy unto them."[26] The abovementioned book was studied and translated in Afrikaans by Prof. Van Selms in 1956 and into English by Mia-Brandel Syria in 1960.

Effendi's second book, mentioned in the archive documents was called Marasid ud-Din.[27] However, although the Ottoman Ministry of Education granted permission for the publishing of this book, a copy of the book is not obtainable from any of the Turkish or South African libraries. Therefore, it is assumed that the book was never published.

In addition to religious books, from time to time Effendi wrote reports and letters to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and to the Turkish newspaper Mecmua-i Fünun. His letters were regularly published in the newspaper from 1863 to 1880. Through these letters Effendi informed the intellectuals of the Empire about the geography, climate, history, economy and politics of the Cape Colony and customs, culture, habit of the people of the Colony as well as Muslim and non-Muslim relations. In some letters he mentioned about Mozambique, Mauritius, Zanzibar, Pemba islands and also gave details of these locations.[28]

3.3 The Death of Abu Bakr Effendi

Abu Bakr Effendi died on 29 June 1880 at his home in Bree Street, Cape Town at the age of 45 years. He was buried in the oldest existing Muslim cemetery in South Africa, the Tana Baru cemetery at the top of Long Market Street. The cemetery has always been regarded as the most sacred of the Muslim cemeteries of Cape Town and is probably the oldest existing[29]

[25] Ibid., p. VII
[26] Ibid., p. L
[27] Uçar, p. 185
[28] Yorulmaz, pp. 85-111
[29] S. Argun: The life and contribution of the Osmanli scholar, Abu Bakr Effendi, towards Islamic thought and culture in South Africa, (Unpublished MA Dissertation, Rand Afrikaans University), Johannesburg, 2000, p. 72

Muslim cemetery in South Africa. It can be considered that Abu Bakr Effendi's burial in the Tana Baru confirmed of his acceptance and popularity in the Cape Muslim community.[30]

Shukru Effendi, who is currently the eldest member of the Effendi family, explained Abu Bakr Effendi's last moments according to family tradition: "... He was lying sick in bed and espied that death was drawing nigh. He sent for his two sons, my grand father Moghamad Allah-Udden, who was eleven years old at the time and his brother Omar Jalaludin who was nine years old... Their two elder brothers Achmad Attaullah and Hirshaam Miamatullah were overseas. The tradition does not place the whereabouts of their sister Fahima and youngest brother Ghosyn Fauzy... As his two sons came walking through the bedroom door Abu Bakr Effendi made a supreme effort to half lift himself into a sitting position on the bed and removed his turban from his head and threw it at Moghamad Allah-Udeen. This was to be his last act in this world, for as soon as my grandfather caught the turban Abu Bakr Effendi breathed his last breath."[31]

After the death of Abu Bakr Effendi, the Ottoman Government did not send any scholar but preferred to appoint Effendi family members and Effendi's students to the Islamic schools established by Effendi. However, the Ottoman Government continued to appoint Consular representatives regularly to Cape Town and Johannesburg offices until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.

3.4 Effendi Family in Cape Town

Abu Bakr Effendi married twice during his stay in the Cape Colony. He married Rukea Maker on 8 April 1863, one year after his arrival at the Cape. Rukea was 15 years old when they married. Her natural parents were an English woman and a Cape Muslim man. Effendi and his first wife Rukea used an Arabic-English dictionary to communicate with each other at home. It might be that communication difficulties led to disagreements at home. Later, Effendi divorced her.[32] On 3 December 1864, Abu Bakr Effendi married Tahota Saban Cook, the niece of the famous explorer Captain James Cook (1728-1779) who discovered the Canadian shores. She was the daughter of Elizabeth Cook and Jeremiah Cook.[33] This marriage produced

[30] Ibid., p. 72
[31] S. Effendi, p. 76
[32] Argun, p. 8
[33] Ibid., p. 9

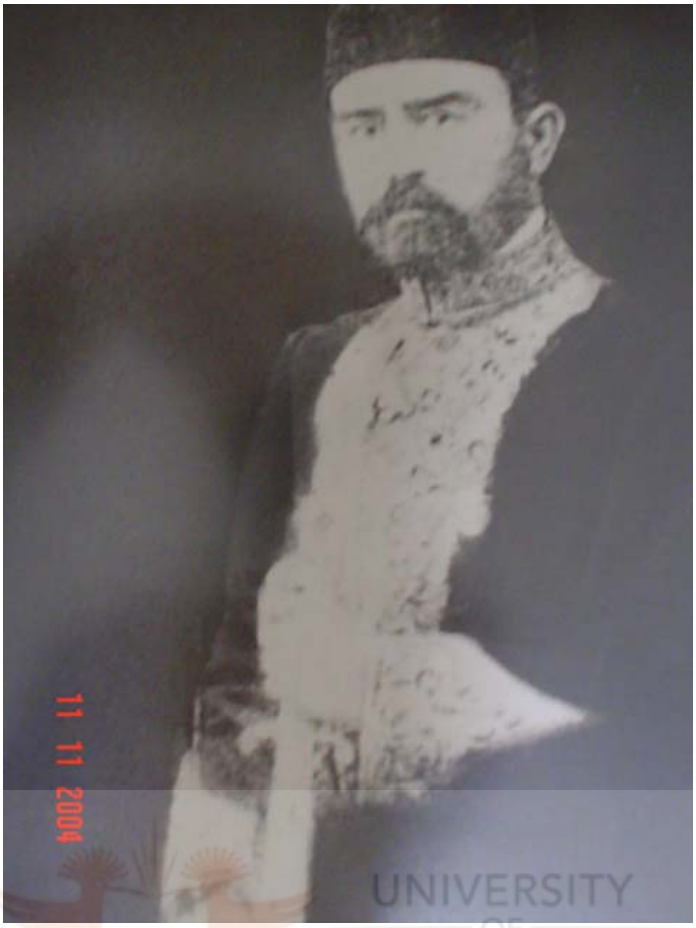
five sons and a daughter, namely Achmed Ataullah, Fehema, Hesham Nimetullah, Mohammed Alauddin, Omer Jalaluddin and Hussein Fawzy.

Tahora Effendi later became principal of the first Islamic school for girls which had been opened by Abu Bakr Effendi in Cape Town. Even Tahora`s sister converted to Islam and became involved in education activities in the latter Islamic school. She married a Muslim scholar by the name of Ahmed Ali Al-Cahar.[34] Of Effendi's sons, Achmed Effendi, became very popular among the Muslims after his father death. He was equally accepted in the hanafe and shafee communities because of his Islamic education and thorough knowledge.[35]

3.4.1 Achmed Ataullah Effendi

He was the eldest son of Abu Bakr Effendi. He was born in Cape Town in 1865 and received his elementary education from his father. In 1876, when he was 11, he accompanied his father to Egypt, Mecca and Turkey. He was placed in an Arabic school in Mecca. Two years later he studied at Al-Azhar[36] in Cairo.[37]

[34] Ibid., p.11
[35] Davids, p. 174
[36] Al-Azhar is considered by most Sunni Muslims to be the most prestigious school of Islamic law, and its scholars are seen as some of the most reputable scholars in the Muslim world.
[37] Ibid, p. 11



Achmed Ataullah Effendi`s photo

In 1881 he returned to the Cape Colony. Three years later, in 1884, he was appointed as a principal to the **'the Ottoman Hamidiye School'** in Kimberley with a salary of 300 liras per annum. Later, during the Anglo-Boer War the school was closed and Achmed Ataullah was appointed to Cape Town as a principal of the Ottoman Theological School, the same position that his father held.[38]

It is interesting to point out that Achmed Effendi learned Urdu as well as English and Afrikaans. This indicates his close relations to the Indian Muslims.[39] He was fully accepted by the hanafes as representative of their interests and because of his education, he was also equally acceptable to the shafees. When laws were passed to close burial grounds, he played an important role in the establishment of the Muslim Cemetery Board to solve the problems[40]

[38] Uçar, p. 193
[39] Germain, p. 12
[40] Davids, p. 174

during the Cemetery Riot of 1886 in Cape Town. With his efforts to settle the riot, he made a major impression among Muslims.[41]

It was during his stay in Kimberley that he declared his intention to stand for a seat in the Cape Parliament. With the Muslim vote of Cape Town, Achmat Effendi would have had a resonable chance in the cumulative system which allowed a voter to exercise his four votes to a single candidate. This disturbed the politicians of the time. Before the election The Constitution Ordinance Amendment Bill which abolished the cumulative vote was introduced and became law on 25 August 1893.[42] Effendi was not discouraged by the debates or passing the legislation and contested in the election in 1894. He was unsuccessful in his attempt to gain a seat in the Cape Parliament. He was the first non-European candidate who attempted to gain election to the Cape Parliament in the history of South Africa.[43] After the political defeat, he stayed in Kimberley for a short time and edited the *'Muslim Journal'* which aimed at the religious education of the Muslims and to spread the idea of Pan-Islamism.[44] Later, he went back to Turkey from where he was sent to Singapore as the Ottoman Consul-General in 1901. On 11 November 1903, he died in a car accident while in the line of duty. His death was deeply felt by the whole community.[45] His tragic death created scepticism about conspiracies within the Muslim community. It was believed that the British assassinated Achmed Effendi for political reasons.[46] However, no evidence could be found supporting these suspicions.

3.4.2 Hisham Niamatullah Effendi

He was Effendi`s second eldest son. For religious training, he was sent overseas from the age of three. He grew up in Turkey and stayed there until his mid-ages. When thirty years after he had returned to the Cape, he was regarded as a qualified *alim* like his father Abu Bakr Effendi. Hisham Niamatullah Effendi made his contribution to the South African religious scene by writing some religious books in Arabic-Afrikaans script and with his effort to solve the hanafe/shafee dispute. In 1894 he prepared a simple text titled '*Siraj al-idah'* on Islamic practices from the hanafe perspective. Later, he published '*Hadha ilm al-hal li`l-sibyan'* on

[41] Ibid., p. 174
[42] Ibid., p. 178
[43] Ibid., pp. 176-177
[44] Germain, p. 123
[45] Uçar, p. 201
[46] Ibid., p. 218

the elementary aspects of the ritual prayer and the annual tax.[47] Besides his literary works, he initiated fund raising campaigns for the Hijaz Railway during the Hamidian era. Sultan Abdulhamid awarded him a forth rank medal.[48] Shukru Effendi refered to these medals in his unpublished book: "According to family traditions my grandfather Allahudden and his brothers in South Africa were present and honoured with medals by the Sublim Porte... Allahudeen was very proud of his medal and always wore it pinned to his jacket`s breast whenever he had to attend an important function or when the occasion demanded it."[49] Hisham Effendi lived in Port Elizabeth during his stay; but when he died, he was buried in Cape Town.[50]

3.4.3 Mohammad Allahudden Effendi

He was the third son of his father Abu Bakr Effendi. He grew up in South Africa and as his other brothers, his education centered on the religious sciences. According to Sukru Effendi, Mohammad Allahudden was rich and carefree. The flamboyant lifestyle, and the funding of his elder brother`s political campaign, eroded his fortune and he was bereft of all his material wealth. Later, he qualified as a tailor in Cape Town.[51]

3.4.4 Omar Jalaludden Effendi

He was born in 1871. The Ottoman archive documents shed more light upon his life. At the end of the 19th century, the economic boom in South Africa led to the development of some urban centers where some Muslim communities established themselves. Those communities frequently sought the Ottoman assistance in practicing their religion. Thus, Muslims in Johannesburg informed the Ottoman Ambassodor to London via the German General-Consul about their need for an Islamic school and scholar in 1907. The German Consul Frank advised the Ottoman Goverment to open an Islamic school for the considerable Muslim population living in Johannesburg and to appoint Omar Jalaludden, son of famous alim Abu Bakr Effendi, as a principal. However, though the Ottoman Ministery of Foreign Affairs found the request necessary, due to the tough financial situation of the Ottoman Government after the Balkan War, it was decided not to open it.[52]

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[47] M. Haron: "The Making, Preservation and Study of South African *Ajami* Mss and Texts", Sudanic Africa, 12, 2001, pp. 1-14
[48] Argun, p. 13
[49] S. Effendi: On the Trail of Mahdi (Unpublished Book), p. 103
[50] Ibid., pp. 96-97
[51] Ibid., p. 101
[52] The Ottoman Prime Minister's Archive, BEO, 233436

Omar Jalaludden worked and eventually retired from the mint in Cape Town. He also provided valuable information to Prof. Van Selms about interesting particulars of his father`s life and the Effendi family. In 1951, at the age of eighty he died in Cape Town.[53]

There is not much information about other children of the Effendi family, Hussein Fawzy and Fehema. After the death of Abu Bakr Effendi, some family members went back to Turkey and some stayed in South Africa. The Effendi surname is still associated with a well-known family in Cape Town.

Conclusion

Abu Bakr Effendi had a unique place in Ottoman history. He was appointed to the Cape Colony with the purpose of guidance in religious matters and Islamic education and he was paid a generous allowance from the Sultan`s treasury. He learned English and Afrikaans, then the spoken languages of the colony, and eventually wrote some books in Afrikaans with Arabic script. He visited neighbouring countries on the request of Muslim communities and sent regular letters to *Mecmua-i fünun* to inform the Ottoman intellectuals. During his stay he only returned to his home country once. After his death in 1880 in the Cape Colony he was buried in the oldest Muslim cemetery, Tana Baru, in Cape Town. It can be considered that Abu Bakr Effendi`s burial in the Tana Baru is evidence of his absorption into the Cape Muslim community. He made a substantial contribution to the development of Islam in South Africa. However, his introduction of hanafe madhab into a shafee community created another religious problem in the Colony. As a result, Effendi has been criticised by a few members of the Muslim community; but this neither decreased his popularity nor reduced the interest of the young in Abu Bakr Effendi's life and works. Other members of Effendi family carried out Abu Bakr Effendi's mission in the Colony after his death. They all aimed to develop Islam in South Africa via different activities. His wife Tahora Effendi was the principal of an Islamic School for girls. Tahora's sister also converted to Islam and was involved in activities related to Islamic Education. Effendi's eldest son, Achmed Effendi had close ties with the Ottoman Government. He also established close relations with the Muslim communities in Kimberley and Cape Town. He participated in elections in 1894 for the Muslims in the Cape Parliament. However, he was not successful. Hisham Niamatullah Effendi played important roles in the fund raising campaigns which were organised to support the Ottoman Empire. He wrote some

[53] Argun, p. 13

religious books to solve the hanafe-shafee dispute. The other sons of Effendi also took part in different Islamic activities during their age.

CHAPTER 4.

Pan-Islamism Ideology amongst the South African Muslims

Introduction

The second half of the 19th century witnessed the politicisation of Islam as a state ideology in the Ottoman Empire. After the 1850s, the Ottoman sultans, particularly Abdulhamid II, tried to obtain the support of the Muslims, outside the Empire. South Africa became an important playground of pan-Islamism as a result of its influence in India and Southern Africa. Towards the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, the Ottoman representatives in South Africa seemed to have neglected the Malay Muslims and focused more on the groups of Indian Muslims who had then just arrived in Natal. This chapter, first, examines how and why the pan-Islamic propaganda took root among the South African Muslims. Later, the Hijaz Railway project and Muslim's financial support for the project will be discussed. The British reaction against the pro-Ottoman/Turkish feelings within its Dominions will be analysed towards the end of the chapter.

4. 1 Pan-Islamism Movement

Ottoman sultans discovered that they could gain political benefit against their European adversaries as chaliphs.[1] Starting with the reign of Abdulhamid II (1878-1909), pan-Islamism began to play a significant role in shaping the ideolgy and the foreign policy of the Ottoman state. Within the Empire, pan-Islamism developed as a state-sponsored ideology in response to the political, social, and economic crises caused by European expansionism. The third article of the Ottoman constution of 1876 proclaimed the Ottoman sultan as the Caliph of all the Muslims in the world.[2]

European states invaded or colonised many former independent cities of Muslim states during the 19th century, especially in Africa. Thus, the Islamic periphery looked toward the Ottomans at the center. Within the Muslim areas occupied by the French, the British, the Dutch, or by the Russians, political hopes and aspirations were directed at the Ottoman Empire. It was not surprising that the occupied Muslim states should look toward Istanbul for political guidance

[1] B. G. Martin: Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth-Century Africa, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1976, p. 3
[2] M. Kia: "Pan-Islamism in Late Nineteenth-Century Iran", Middle Eastern Studies, London, January 1996, Vol.32, Iss. 1, p. 24

and political help. The Ottomans paid little attention to them until the 1850s, after the victory in the Crimean War. Ottoman sultans offered the only location from which the Muslims could seek political support against colonial states.[3] The idea of attaching themselves to the Ottoman rule was growing among the even more distant places such as the Sumatrans of Atjeh and Bornu, on the southern side of the Sahara.[4]

Pan-Islamism (the idea of creating a united Muslim World) was one of the most important ideologies articulated during the second half of the 19th century in response to the growing domination of the Islamic world by European powers. It is generally accepted that pan-Islamism began in the Ottoman Empire during the second half of the 19th century.[5] Abdulhamid used pan-Islamism to solidify his internal absolutist rule and to rally Muslim opinion outside the Empire, thus creating difficulties for European imperial powers in their Muslim colonies.[6] Abdulhamid emphasised the role of Islam inside the Ottoman Empire, and he emerged as the protector of all Muslims around the world, from India to sub-Saharan Africa. He proposed the construction of a new railway to the Holy Places, Mecca and Medina, and sent emissaries to distant countries preaching Islam. "In the final decades of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th century the sultan`s calims on the caliphate and thus on the loyalty of the hundreds of millions of Muslims in the European colonial possesions were a endless concern to the states of Europe. Firstly, the Sutan`s title as caliph provided him with prestige among Muslims and created uncertainty among Europeans. Secondly, the Sultan gained the economic and political support of the Muslims all over the world and caused a permanent threat to European rule over Muslims."[7]

Abdulhamid personally invited influential Muslim figures from remote Islamic places such as India, Sudan, Zanzibar and Java, to strengthen his Caliphal influence and prestige among the external Muslim communities. Furnishing them with financial support, he consulted them about Islamic problems as well as Pan-Islamic ideology.[8] They were exceptionally well treated to ensure that they could support the Sultan in their countries.[9]

[3] Martin, p. 3
[4] Ibid., pp. 4-5
[5] Kia, p. 23
[6] K. H. Karpat: The Politicization of Islam, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001, p. 252
[7] Ibid., p. 252
[8] Ibid., pp. 4-5
[9] A. Özcan: Pan-Islamism: Indian Muslims, the Ottomans and Britain (1877-1924), E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1997, p. 52

Islamic textbooks were also distributed to educational institutions as gifts from the sultan.[10] Abdulhamid did not only expect financial and moral support from the outside Muslim comunities but he also tried to use them as a bargaining argument to influence the British policy. Especially, the Ottomans approach to the Muslims in India was developed in this nature.[11]

India and Russia were major playgrounds of the pan-Islamism ideology during the Hamidian period. South Africa was not seriously considered as a part of the geographical area included in pan-Islamism. In the South African context, Muslims, especially immigrants from India, influenced the idea of Abdulhamid`s pan-Islamism and expressed their sympathy with the sultan, whom they perceived as the religious leader of Islam. According to Eric Germain, South Africa became an important part of the pan-Islamism activities during Abdulhamid`s reign. In South Africa, the Ottoman state consequently shifted its diplomacy from religious involvement to political involvement during the Hamidian era.[12] Indeed, archival records belonging to the Hamidian period support Germain's assessment of pan-Islamic propaganda in South Africa.

Sultan Abdulhamid tried to open up his country to the world and to inform Europe and the U.S.A about Ottoman society. Participating in the trade fairs, the Ottomans attempted to improve their image abroad in the 19th and early 20th century. Following the invitation of the US, the sultan ordered his government to participate in the Chicago World Fair (1893), where they built a model Turkish village with a mosque and covered bazaar selling Ottoman products.[13] The previous year, in 1892, Sir Charles Mills had invited the Ottomans to the 'Kimberley International Exhibition.' Sending a proposal, the Ottoman Ambassador to London strongly advised the sultan to take part in the fair, which was held in September 1892. The reason given was as follows: *"Kimberley is a developing city after the discovery of diamonds in the last 20 years and there is a large Muslim population in the city, of Malay and Indian origin. Muslim organizations in Kimberley request from the exhibition management to invite the Ottomans to join the fair. Our participation in it will be a unique opportunity to*

[10] Ibid., p. 52
[11] Ibid., p. 206
[12] E. Germain: "L`afrique du sud Dans la politique "Panislamique" de L`empire Ottoman", Turcica, Iss. 31, 1999, p. 109
[13] Karpat, p. 174

make the Muslims satisfied and very proud."[14] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs accepted the proposal and agreed to send pictures of the architecturally important buildings and mosques in Istanbul, as well as pictures of the sultans, some hand written books, calligraphic paintings and some trading commodities. These valuable items would be donated to the Muslim organisations after the exhibition. On 30 July 1892, the abovementioned proposal was also accepted and signed by the sultan himself.[15] Unfortunately, available Turkish primary sources do not give any furher information about the Ottomans` participation in the Kimberley International Exhibition.

Sultan Abdulhamid followed the political, economic, and particularly military and technological developments in the world closely during his reign. He often accepted visitors from outside and sought information via his envoys and consuls. When the dispute between the British government and the Boer republics set off the Boer War, in 1899, only fifteen years before the First World War, the sultan immediately sent Binbaşı Aziz Bey to South Africa to observe and report on the war. The Anglo-Boer War (or the South African War) was in many respects, especially in terms of new use of weaponry, a new kind of war. It was acknowledged that the war taught the British army an important lesson in modern warfare. Without this experience, the outcome of the First World War (1914-1918) might have been very different.[16]

According to Turkish sources, Binbaşı Aziz Bey was sent an allowance of 200 *lira* on 26 February 1900.[17] He stayed in South Africa for six months with representatives of other countries. Research in the South African National Archives led to a photo that was taken in 1900. In the photo it is seen that Aziz Bey stands with war observers from Australia, Germany, Spain, Japan, and U.S.A.[18]

[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] D. Craig: "The Weapos and Battles of the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902)", http://www.heliograph.com/trmgs/trmgs4/boer.shtml, (accessed 24 October 2007)
[17] The Ottoman Prime Minister's Archive, Y. MTV 202/3
[18] National Archives of South Africa, TAB Foto Ref. 32833

The photo in the South African National Archive: Binbaşı Aziz Bey with war observers.[19]

Sultan Abdulhamid supported neither the British nor the Boers during the war. He was aware that a stronger Britain would cause much trouble for the Ottoman Empire in world politics; on the other hand, stronger Boer Republics could bring religious restrictions against the Muslims of South Africa as it happened during the DEIC era. Abdulhamid preferred alternatively to observe the war without supporting any side. A couple of articles evaluating the Boer War were published in the Ottoman newspapers such as *Ikdam Gazetesi* and *Malumat Dergisi*.

On 20 November 1899, under the leadership of Ismail Kemal Bey some Ottoman intellectuals among the Young Turks Movement visited Sir O`Conar, the British Ambassador to Istanbul, and submitted a letter signed by 29 people expressing their sympathy and support for the British Government in the war. While British newspapers such as *Daily Mail*, *Morning Herald* and *Standard* interpreted the incedent as a sign of the support of the young Turkish people towards Britain, the Ottoman Ministery of Foreign Affairs interpreted it as disloyalty to the Ottoman rule and exiled some of the signatories to different places in the Empire.[20] During his exile in London, Ismail Kemal Bey published a book titled[21]

[19] Ibid.
[20] A. Uçar: 140 Yıllık Miras Güney Afrika`da Osmanlılar, Tez Yayınları, Istanbul, 2001, pp. 272-275
[21] Germain, p. 127

'The Transvaal Question from the Muslims Point of View.' In the book, he vehemently defended the British policy towards Southern Africa.[22] Similarly, in March 1902, some officers in the Ottoman army informed the British Ambassador of their desire to go to the Transvaal to fight against the Boers. When this was revealed by the Sultan, they were severely punished in the Military Court. Their ranks were taken away and they were exiled.[23]

A considerable Muslim population and colonial influence of the British Empire constituted important reasons for the Sultan Abdulhamid`s interest in Southern Africa. During Abu Bakr Effendi`s stay in Cape Town, the Ottoman sultans were informed about the politics, economy, geography and religions of the Cape Colony. However, there was a considerable number of Muslims of Indian origin in the British Colony of Natal. When it is compared to the arrival of the Cape Malay Muslims, the arrival of Indian Muslims in Natal was much later and they still had strong links with their motherland, India. It is a well-known fact that the support and sympathy of Muslims in India against the Ottoman rule was strong during the Hamidian era; therefore, the pan-Islamism idea found major support among the Muslims in India and similarly among the South African Indian Muslims.[24] It is a very strong possibility that when they arrive to Natal the Indian Muslims were already familiar with the pan-Islamic ideology of the sultan Abdulhamid.[25] Lieut-Col. Ismail Hakkı investigated the Muslim population in Natal including Zululand. In an official letter, dated 1 October 1906, Ismail Hakkı requested some figures from the Statistical Office regarding the total population of Natal, Muslim population and Sunni (Ortodox) - Shiite (Heterodox) Muslim population. In the report from the Statistical Office, the total population was reported to be 1.108.754, of which the Muslim population as 10.111 without distinction between Ortodox and Heterodox.[26]

In the same year, 1906, the Transvaal government published an ordinance on the registration of its Indian citizens. The Indians held a mass protest meeting in Johannesburg and under Gandhi's leadership took a pledge to defy the ordinance if it would be enacted and to suffer all the penalties resulting from their defiance. In this context, the interest of Indian Muslims towards the Ottoman Empire had some economic motivations. Many Indian Muslim merchants in Transvaal region described themselves as Ottoman subjects of Arabs to avoid

[22] Ibid., p. 127
[23] Uçar, pp. 278-279
[24] See especially, for further details of the relation between the Ottomans and the Indian Muslims in India, A.Özcan: Pan-Islamism: Indian Muslims, the Ottomans and Britain (1877-1924), E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1997
[25] Germain, p. 124
[26] Pietermaritzburg Archives, NAB CSO Vol. 1821 Ref. 1906/7719

'the Asiatic Regulation Act' and to obtain legal status. For that reason, some of the Indian Muslims distinguished themselves from the despised Indian labourers of the first wave immigrants and called themselves Arabs, relying on their religious identification with Islam.[27] Their hopes were disappointed when the Transvaal authorities distinguished between the Jews and Christian originated subjects of the Ottoman Empire and the Muslim Arabs.[28]

In the 25th year of the rule of Abdulhamid, the Muslims in Natal asked for the assistance of Gandhi to send a letter of congratulations to the sultan via Colonial Secretary. On the 14th of August, 1900, M. K. Gandhi informed the Colonial Secretary, about a letter written by the Muslims of Natal on the occasion of Abdulhamid`s silver jubilee. It was requested from the Colonial Secratery to send the letter through the Turkish Ambassador. In the letter that referred to the sultan as Caliph of the faithful, protector of the Holy cities, defender of the Islamic faith, Muslims congratulated the sultan on his 25th year of rule of the Ottomans and spiritual authority over all the Muslims.[29] For Gandhi, of course, it was not a religio-sentimental issue as it was for the Muslims, but it was an opportunity to demonstrate his goodwill towards the Muslims.

4.2 The Hamidia Hijaz Railway (1900-1908)

The most significant infrastructural development of Abdulhamid`s reign was the Hijaz Railway constructed in 1900. Construction of a railway line from Damascus to Mecca financed by Muslim contributions from all over the World was a concrete expression of pan-Islamism policy.[30] The aim of the project can be classified into three major categories: political, economic and religious expectations. First of all, the railway replaced the caravan road from Damascus to Mecca that was followed by pilgrims during the regular pilgrimage season. The duration of a regular caravan voyage from Damascus to Mecca was reduced from 40 days to 72 hours (3 days) after the construction of the railway line. This offered the sultan an important opportunity to spread his pan-Islamism propaganda among thousands of pilgrims.[31] When it is considered that Hijaz had religious significance for all Muslims and thousands of Muslims visited it on the annual haj (pilgrimage) season, the importance of the

[27] C. E. Mandivenga: "The Cape Muslims and the Indian Muslims of South Africa: A Comparative Analysis", Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, Vol.20, Iss. 2, October 2000, p. 347-353
[28] Germain, p. 124
[29] Pietermaritzburg Archives, NAB CSO Vol. 1523 Ref. 1897/4965
[30] Karpat, p. 252
[31] S. T. Buzpinar: "The Hijaz, Abdulhamid II and Amir Hussein`s Secret Dealings with the British 1877-80", Middle Eastern Studies, London, January 1995, Vol. 31, Iss. 1, p. 99

project is understood. Secondly, although it was designed originally to transport pilgrims to Mecca, the railway was also a useful tool to carry Ottoman armies and supplies into Hijaz. It basically enabled the Ottoman Empire to avoid the Suez Canal and to send troops directly to Holy Places if needed. As a result, the military access to Mecca became easier for the Ottomans. From an economic perspective, trade increased rapidly in the areas where the railway stations were built. The security of western Arabia was essential not only for haj practice but also for transportation of commercial commodities. By building a railway line, Abdulhamid ensured the protection of haj routes and Holy cities.[32]

The construction of the railway began on 1 September 1900, although it was announced on 2 May, by the sultan. Izzet al-Abid Pasha, secretary of the sultan, was placed as the head of the project. The construction was in the hands of Heinrich Meissner, a German engineer, who was given the title 'Pasha' for his achievement. Most of the construction work was done by Turks and Arabs. During the construction, nine hundred bridges and ninety-three stations were built. At the same time, the project was considered a symbol of the reconciliation of Islam with science, technology, and modern management.[33] It permitted thousands of Muslims to make the pilgrimage in relative comfort and safety. It also helped to give the Ottoman Empire more effective control over its territories in the Middle East.

4.2.1 The Support of South African Muslims

The sultan was not averse to seeking material assistance from non-Ottomans for the major cornerstone of his pan-Islamic policy, the construction of the Hijaz Railway. This project was deliberately financed exclusively with Muslim capital, a large proportion of which was solicited abroad as pious donations through the efforts of the Ottoman envoys and consuls.[34] The railway was exclusively financed by Muslims donations from inside and outside the Empire. Some Ottoman Christians also made financial contributions to the project. More than 150 committees were established only for this purpose. The Indian Muslims contribution was extensive although they went to pilgrimage by sea. The donations amounted to 417,000 *lira* in 1900; 651,184 *lira* in 1903 and 1,127,894 *lira* in 1908.[35]

[32] U. Gülsoy: Hicaz Demiryolu, Eren Yayınları, Istanbul, 1994, pp. 235-251
[33] Karpat, p. 255
[34] S. Deringil: "Legitimacy Structures in the Ottoman State: The Reign of Abdulhamid II", Int. J. Middle East Studies, 23, 1991, p. 352
[35] Karpat, p. 255

In spite of the Boer War, South African Muslims made a solemn contribution to the railway project. Hisham Nimetullah Effendi, son of Abu Bakr Effendi, was the first person to establish fund raising commissions throughout South Africa to collect financial assisstance for the Hijaz Railway Campaign. The first donation arrived in Istanbul in August 1900 at the beginning of the project. Later, Muslims in Kimberley sent 300 *lira*; pupils of The Ottoman Theological School in Cape Town sent 5,5 *lira*; Hisham Nimetullah Effendi sent 18 *lira*; Head of the Durban Hijaz Railway Donation Commission, Davud Muhammed sent 1600 *lira* to Istanbul.[36]

The inauguration of the railway line, in 1908, coincided with the 33rd anniversary of the Sultan Abdulhamid`s reign and those two events were celebrated simultaneously by the South African Muslims. In every mosque Imams held speeches about the occasion. In Cape Town, children from Islamic schools marched in the city centre. The telegrams of celebration were sent to the sultan. The Hamidia Islamic Society held a meeting in the city hall that was decorated with portraits of Afghan Emirs and the Ottoman sultans as well as banners wishing a long life to the sultan. Osman Ahmed, owner of the Ottoman publishing house in Durban, M. Gandhi, M. Wolfgang Frank, then the Ottoman consul to Johannesburg, were among the guests.[37]

4.2.2 The Ottoman Medals Distributed in South Africa

In order to strengthen their influence, the Ottoman sultans offered pensions and medals to comunitity leaders, foreign dignitaries and their followers in the faraway corners of the Muslim world as a symbol of state honour and gratitude for services to the Empire.[38] In South Africa, also, a considerable number of Ottoman medals were awarded to the Muslims for their contribution to the Hijaz Railway campaign. During the construction period, two people, Osman Ahmed and Hisham Nimetullah, played an important role to distribute the medals. Osman Ahmed, owner of the Ottoman printing house and publisher of the Al-Islam Newspaper[39] in Durban, left his business to his relatives and traveled from Cape Town to Delagoa Bay to collect money and distribute medals on behalf of the sultan. Publishing articles on the Ottoman political aims, he used his newspaper as a political tool during the

[36] Uçar, p. 285
[37] Germain, p. 125
[38] Karpat, p. 228
[39] See NAB CSO Vol. 1873 Ref. 1907/3237; Al-Islam was filled on the 26th April 1907 under the Newspaper Law.

campaign.[40] Al-Islam was published weekly between 1907 and 1910. Osman Ahmed was the owner and co-editor and Goolam Behari was editor of the newspaper. The paper published local and international news in Urdu and in Gujarat.[41] It should be corrected that in the Turkish sources, his newspaper was referred to as 'Es-Selam', but the correct title must have been 'Al-Islam.'

In 1905, in a special ceremony in Durban, Hisham Nimetullah Effendi handed out 66 medals on behalf of the Ottoman sultan.[42] Although there is no source suggesting the exact number of medals distributed in South Africa, the sultan tried to present medals to any person who took part in the campaign as a donor or collector. However, the regulations regarding the wearing of the foreign decorations in South Africa were complicated and required prior authorisation by the British Crown. According to the Colonial Office List it was as follows: *"It is the King`s wish that no subject of His Majesty shall wear the Insignia of any Foreign Order without having previously obtained His Majesty`s permission to do so."*[43] The Royal permission could be obtained in two ways only: by Royal warrant or by private permission through His Majesty`s private secretary. The latter one would enable one to wear it on specific occasions, though the first one would enable one to wear it at all times.

In the National Archives of South Africa, only one record was found depicting a wealthy merchant from Durban, Parsee Rustomjee who applied to the Governor-General for formal permission to wear his Fourth Class of the Order of the Medjidiah which had been granted to him due to his connection with the Ottoman Red Crescent Society. Later, the application was forwarded to the Secratery of the State for Foreign Affairs, London, by the Governor-General, Cape Town. In response, General Botha was asked to supply information or express his opinion about Rustomjee that would assist Sir Edward Grey in considering the application. In a report from the Department of Immigration, Pretoria, it was stated that Rustomjee was one of the best known Indian residents in Natal and he was under Gandhi`s influence as a Vice Chairman of the Natal Indian Association. Moreover, he had been deported from the Transvaal on four occasions as a passive resister and he was no worse or not half as bad as M. K. Gandhi.[44] Some months later, the required permission still was refused because of

[40] Uçar, pp. 300-303
[41] Germain, pp. 129-130
[42] Ibid., p. 127
[43] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 1267 Ref. 34/439, 34/448, 34/441
[44] Ibid.

complicated official procedures. It might be for this reason that wearing the Ottoman decorations did not become a common practice amongst the Muslims of South Africa.

4.3 Protesting Against Italy and Britain

The Muslims of South Africa closely followed the political developments in Europe and the Middle East. They were aware of the economic and political difficulties of the Ottoman state. They were also aware of the Ottoman military power. During the Ottoman-Russia War (1877-1878), fund raising charity functions were organised by the South African Muslims in favour of injured and wounded people in the war.[45] Furthermore, during the Italia-Turkish war and the First World War, the Muslims in South Africa, especially in the Transvaal and Cape Town, protested the wars against the Ottoman Empire. They collected money for the Ottoman Red Crescent Society. Meetings were organised on many occasions in different places. They showed their opposition against the colonial nations in organised protests. The motivation behind their action was the potential Western threat against the religious leader of Islam and the Holy places. In the first half of the 20th century three organisations, the Hamidia Islamic Society, influenced by the Abdulhamid`s Hamidian propoganda, Transvaal Mohammedan Congress and Anjuman Islam, based in Cape Town, were active throughout South Africa.

On 3 October 1911, the *Transvaal Leader* reported that local Muslim's protested against the actions of Italy. As a continuation of the meetings held in India requesting British intervention in hostilities between Turkey and Italy, a mass meeting was held at the headquarters of the Hamidia Islamic Society to protest against the war between Italy and Turkey. From different parts of South Africa delegates attended and many telegrams were received from the various parts of the Transvaal in support of the meeting. According to the newspaper, the Muslims condemned the action of Italy and Britain for being neutral in the war. At the meeting, the following resolution was submitted: *"The Moslems of South Africa protest against the immoral, unjustifable, uncivilised and high-handed action of Italy in respect of Turkey; an action which is contrary to the teachings of Jesus, whom Italy professes to follow; and this mass meeting hopes that Italy will be frustrated in her evil designs, and that Turkey will emerge victorious in her struggle for honour and right."*[46]

[45] Germain, p. 120
[46] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 1511 Ref. 49/120

At the same occasion, the Muslims of the Cape Peninsula held a meeting under the Anjuman Islam. The chairperson of the movement, Adam H. G. Mohammed gave a speech to the large gathering in which he reminded them of the long history of the glory of the Ottoman Empire army. On 6 October 1911, the Cape Argus published an article "The Moslem Meeting, Some Historical Precedents" about the mass meeting. According to the article, Adam Mohammed addressed some people who wished to go to Tripoli to fight against Italy. According to Turkish sources 19 Muslims from Johannesburg officially informed the Ottoman Ministery of Foreign Affairs that they would join the Ottoman forces in Tripolli.[47] At the meeting, on behalf of its Muslim subjects, it was requested from the British Crown to use every effort to avert bloodshed and terminate the dispute between Turkey and Italy in a manner that would uphold the prestige of Islam. In reprospect, Muslims considered Kaiser Wilhelm to be a real friend of Caliph-Sultan.[48] Eventually, a committee was appointed to raise funds for the Ottoman Red Crescent Society in Istanbul to assist the widows and children who were affected by the war.[49]

On 16 February 1912, the Muslims of the Cape Peninsula sent a resolution to the British Ministery of Foreign Affairs, to the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa and to the Grand Vezier of the Ottoman Empire since the Italian forces were approaching the holy city, Mecca. The Italian operations in the Arab peninsula were considered severely offensive to the religious sentiments of the whole Muslim world and affected the piligrim traffic badly. Again, it was requested from the British Government to protect the interests of the large number of Muslims and take effective diplomatic steps to prevent Italy from approaching the holy place. In the same resolution the Muslims congratulated the Ottoman Government on the brave defence of the honour and prestige of Islam against the savage aggression of Italy.[50] On 4 May 1912, the response from the Governor-General`s Office claimed there was no reason to suppose that the Italians had any intention to access the Holy Places.[51]

[47] Uçar, p. 331
[48] The Cape Argus, October 6th, 1911
[49] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 1511 Ref. 49/123
[50] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 1513 Ref. 49/187
[51] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 1513 Ref. 49/205

During the Italian-Turkish war, a group of people voluntarily organised a fund raising campaign to acquire sufficient funds to support the Ottoman Empire. Muslims in Cape Town sent £200 to Ottoman Red Crescent Society via Ohannes Effendi, the Ottoman General-Consul to Johannesburg, on 9 January 1911. In November 1912 Muslims in the Transvaal sent £700 to Istanbul and Muslims in Durban £650.[52]

During the First World War, it was not easy for the South African Muslims to protest against Britain and show their sympathy towards the Ottoman Empire since they were British subjects. This left the Muslims in a dilemma of loyality. On the one hand, they knew that they had to remain loyal to the British authorities for the survival of their community. On the other hand, the preservation of the Ottoman Empire was essential for their religion Islam. The Muslims in South Africa preferred to accommodate these two allegiances together. During the war years, they did not openly support the Ottomans. To use the word 'Ottoman' placed them at risk. In July 1914, just before the Great War, Osman Ahmed changed the name of his printing house from 'the Ottoman Printing House' to 'The Union Printing House.'[53]

In the South African National Archives only two documents indicate Muslim protest meetings against the First World War. On one occasion Muslims gathered under the banner of the Pretoria branch of the Transvaal Mohammedan Congress and they condemned European powers for their attempts to occupy Istanbul and Palestine. They supported a resolution which had been accepted by the All-Indian Muslim League in Bombay on 19 March 1919. The resolution recommended that Holy places (Istanbul and Palestine) remain under the control of the Ottoman Empire.[54] In Johannesburg, the Hamidia Islamic Society accepted the same resolution.[55] Between 1919 and 1923, £875 out of £130,250.00 foreign aid was sent to the Empire from the South African Muslims. All of these funds were used during the Turkish War of Liberation (1919-22) and for the construction of the new Turkish Republic in 1923.[56]

[52] Uçar, pp. 331-332
[53] Germain, p. 130
[54] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 686 Ref. 9/111/20
[55] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 686 Ref. 9/111/19
[56] Uçar, pp. 334-335

4.4 The Reaction of Britain to pro-Turkish Feelings

European powers, especially Britain, took the pan-Islamic movement seriously at the time and treated every Muslim visitor to Istanbul and every Ottoman visitor to the Muslim communities outside the Empire as dangerous spies.[57] British authorities, on some occasions, became suspicious of the Muslims in the British dominions and made major investigations to the 'pan-Islamic danger'. The available documents suggest that sympathy of the Muslims of South Africa towards the Caliph-sultan was on the increase and the British Government was becoming seriously alarmed and wanted to contain it.

During the First World War, some Turkish newspapers were smuggled into South Africa and read in the cafes mainly by Indians, to awaken the religous conscience of the local Muslims.[58] On 10 May 1915, all Turkish newspapers in South Africa were confiscated by the Government. The reason offered was the impossibility of obtaining the services of a reliable person who could assist with the censorship of the Turkish material. After it was confirmed to be entirely anti-Turkish, anti-German and pro-English, an exception was made to permit the Turkish Newspaper 'Meraat-ul Gharb' which was edited by Syrian Christians in the United States of America.[59]

In another case at the beginning of 1917, a question arose about Muslims` general practice of flying a Turkish flag at a mosque in Dundee. The South African government tried to establish whether the practice had a religious origin or was adopted by the Ottoman Government for political purposes. However, in the investigation no reference was found to the Ottoman authorities. It was agreed that the act represented the view of the local Muslims as a sign of their sympathy towards the Ottomans. In a letter from the Department of Defence to the Governor-General, it was suggested that it would hardly be worth interfering in this particular case.[60]

[57] J. S. Shaw and E. K. Shaw: History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Vol 2, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977, p. 260
[58] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 168 Ref. 3/3305
[59] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 535 Ref. 9/11/18
[60] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 686 Ref. 9/111/9

After the First World War, relations between Britain and the Ottoman state were characterised by distrust and suspicion. Particularly Britain was very suspicious. The British authorities developed a kind of 'paranoia' about the activities of the Ottoman consuls in the British dominions.[61] In 1920, a very harmless situation illustrated British officials' suspicion. Just after the war concern arose with of the British government about the extent to which Muslims in South Africa had been in the habit of consulting the Sheikh-ul Islam (Judicial Authority) in Istanbul. The matter was disscussed after Muslims in Claremont consulted the Sheikh-ul Islam for fetwa regarding the monetary currency and the interest rate. In February 1920, the Ottoman Government approached Admiral de Robeck, the British High Commissioner in Istanbul, to transmit two fetwas to the Imam of the Muslim community of Claremont. The request was found to be a matter for careful consideration and was perceived by the British that the Shaikh-ul Islam was seeking to establish his influence among Muslim communities outside Turkey.[62] A major investigation including the Cape Province, the Transvaal, Durban and India was undertaken by the British government. In a letter from the Foreign Office, dated 26 October 1920, it was suggested that the religious authorities in Istanbul maintained sound communication with Muslim communities outside Turkey. Britain further advised the colonial authorities not to encourage such communications with Muslims abroad, especially through the diplomatic channels. Some enquiries were made amongst the Cape Muslims on the question of their recognition of the Shaikh-ul Islam as an arbitrator amongst the Muslims. According to a report from the Criminal Investigation Department, Cape Town, the Malay Muslim community apart from religious matters would not think of consulting the Ottoman authorities on matters of any other nature. There were but few Turkish subjects in Cape Town during that time and to intern them was considered unnecessary. In the same report it was mentioned that: *"...it is a regular practice for them to make their pilgrimage to Mecca. There, of course, they would be brought in direct contact with their Turkish co-religionists and it may very well be that the applicant for advice in this instance has had some of their influence brought to bear upon him, and has come back to South Africa imbued with the idea that the Shaikh-ul Islam is on a par with the Pope of Rome."*[63]

[61] Germain, pp. 131-132
[62] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 162 Ref. 3/3067
[63] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 166 Ref. 3/3217

Another investigation was conducted by the Criminal Investigation Department, Wynberg, regarding the same issue. It was reported that the Muslim community at Claremont was approximately 1500 strong and included Cape Malays, Indians and a few Arabs. There were no Turkish subjects residing in the region at that time. The Muslims of Claremont consulted the Turkish authorities at times but only on matters of religious nature. When disputes on religious matters arose and could not be settled by the local Imams, it would then be transmitted to the authorities in Mecca, and in the event of him being unable to adjudicate the matter, it would be referred to Shaikh-ul Islam in Istanbul whose decision would be final. According to the letter from the South African Police Department to The Secretary for the Interior, there was also no trace of any Turk in Durban. On the Witswaterstand, there were a few Turkish subjects but they were not persons of much standing or influence.[64]

Among the Indian Muslims in the area, a certain degree of sympathy existed for the Ottoman Empire. On the same issue, it was suggested by the India Office, London, that: *"Turkish authorities should not be recognised as a legal authority to make decisions in any dispute, religious or another nature, on territory outside Turkey and no such practice existed in India where all fetwas were issued by local Muslim scholars."*[65] Finally, Admiral de Robeck was instructed to return the two fetwas to the Ottoman Authorities and later in the Peace Treaty between Britain and the Ottoman Empire after the First World War, a clause was included to preclude the Ottoman Government from exercising any sovereignty or jurisdiction over Muslims outside the Ottoman Empire.[66]

After the First World War, Indian Muslims of South Africa with complicity in the central Calipha movement in India supported the Kemalist Revolution Movement in Turkey financially through the Angora Relief Fund Society that was established in Durban in 1922. There were also several conferences organized by Mirza A. A. Baig in Johannesburg on the following matters: 'Turkey', 'Caliphate' and` 'the Indian aspiration.'[67] This was followed by the declaration of the foundation of the new Turkish Republic in 1923. Mustafa Kemal was the first president of the newly established Turkey. He, firstly, initiated political, social, cultural and religious reforms. Among the religious reforms was the termination of the Ottoman Caliphate, which had been the rallying point for the Muslim world for centuries.

[64] Ibid.
[65] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 162 Ref. 3/3067
[66] Ibid.
[67] Germain, p. 133

Formally, the institution of the Caliphate came to an end on 3 March 1924 when the Turkish Parliament arbitrarily declared its abolition. As a result, the Muslims all over the World faced their biggest blow. However, as happened in India, the decision was not anticipated by any South African Muslim and the decision was received with utter disbelief.[68]

Conclusion

South African Muslims attitude towards the Ottoman state was somewhat different. They sympathised with the Ottomans' defeat and supported their victory. The South African Muslims from India, especially influenced by the Islamic movements in India, protested against Britain and displayed strong sympathy towards the Ottoman Empire. During the war between Italy and the Ottoman state in Tripoli and the First World War, Muslims organisations in South Africa organised protest meetings in different cities. Muslim passed resolutions previously accepted by the Muslims in India. Via fund raising organisations, South African Muslims collected money for the Hijaz Railway Project and the Ottoman Red Crescent Society, Istanbul. Gratitude towards the donors to the Railway Fund Committees were thanked by means of the Ottoman medals distributed by the Ottoman representatives in South Africa.

The South African Muslims` effort to support the religious head of Islam, the Sultan-Caliph, continued until the Empire's total collapse in 1923. However, South African Muslims found themselves in a dilemma between their loyalties especially during the Great War. On the one hand, they knew that they had to remain loyal to British authorities for the survival of their Islamic community in a non-Muslim country. On the other hand, the perseverance of the Ottoman Empire was significant for the religion Islam. The Muslims in South Africa preferred to accommodate these two allegiances together and agreed not to show their loyalty openly towards the Ottoman authorities. British authorities, on some occasions, became suspicious of the Muslims in the British dominions and made major investigations into the pro-Turkish feelings within the Muslim communities.

[68] Ibid., pp. 133-134

CHAPTER 5.

The Structure of the Ottoman Consulates in South Africa

Introduction

Beginning from the mid 19th century, the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs made many attempts to open consulates in South Africa. The first Ottoman Consulate in the Cape Colony had been established before the arrival of Abu Bakr Effendi. This clearly indicates that, before the mission of Effendi, the Ottomans had already been aware of the existence of Muslims in the Colony. The Consular (*Şehbender*) reports in South Africa reveal that the Ottomans aimed to offer assistance to the Muslims and to protect their interests by establishing consulates. The Muslims in and around South Africa had requested Ottoman financial and political support. The Ottoman consulates in South Africa continued to maintain their presence until the Great War.

In addition to the structure of the Ottoman Consulates in South Africa, this chapter will describe the last two years of Mehmet Remzi Bey. Up to now, owing to the lack of sources almost nothing has been written about Mehmet Remzi Bey who was the first Turkish diplomat stationed in South Africa. He lived in South Africa for two years with his family during the First World War. Although his life and activities are not well known, the interesting records collected from the South African National Archives reveal his tragic life and that of his family. It also reveals an exchange programme between the Ottoman state and Britain for prisoners of war (POWs) during the Great War.

5.1 The First Consulate in the Cape Colony

The Ottoman Empire's first consular mission in South Africa was established in the Cape Colony in the second half of nineteenth century. In this period British and German officials were appointed to the mission, which initially was an honorary consulate. In a short time, it was upgraded to a consulate-general in response to considerable Cape Muslim population that had come from Indonesia and the Java islands.

Communication between the Cape Colony and the Sublime Porte was channelled through Britain, because of the geographical distance involved and the strong British influence in the

Cape Colony. Consuls of the Ottoman Empire in the Colony maintained frequent communication with the Ottoman Embassy in London.

One of the effective ways of creating strong pro-Ottoman feelings was maintaining a strong presence by the Ottoman consuls outside the Empire. Especially, Sultan Abdulhamid made good use of Ottoman consuls. He personally selected and appointed most of the Ottoman officials during his reign.[1] During the reign of Abdulhamid II, there were Ottoman consuls in major cities Cape Town and Johannesburg. While the Cape Town Consulate had been opened before the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid, the Johannesburg Consulate was opened during his reign. These two consulates directly communicated with the Ottoman Ambassador to London.

Some secondary Turkish resources suggest the existence of another consulate in Durban. Same resources claimed that Osman Ahmed was the Consul to the post. However, the research in the South African Archives did not reveal documentation to support this claim.

According to the Ottoman resources, the first consulate in Cape Town was opened in 1861. Mosyo de Roubaix, a well-known figure among the Cape Malay Muslims, was the first person appointed to the post. However, an official record from the Cape State Archive, dated 1853, reveals that a person named William John Greig had already been recognised as Consul of the Ottoman Empire in the Cape Colony. This document actually suggests that the Ottomans had attempted to establish links with the Cape Colony before 1861 by means of the appointment of William J. Greig as a Consul. However, available sources suggest no further explanation for William J. Greig position in the Colony. However, after a while, Mosyo de Roubaix was appointed officially to this consular mission.[2]

5.1.1 Mosyo de Roubaix

Mosyo de Roubaix was an important figure in the Cape Colony. He was a judge in the Cape Court and had close relations with the Cape Malay community. On the suggestion of the Ottoman Ambassador in London, De Roubaix was appointed to the post of Consular on 19 March 1863.[3] The Ottoman sultan sent him a beautifully painted gold snuff-box as a present.[4]

[1] A. Özcan: Pan-Islamism: Indian Muslims, the Ottomans and Britain (1877-1924), E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1997, p. 54
[2] Cape Town Archives, KAB GH Vol. 1/295 Ref. 38
[3] Cape Town Archives, KAB GH Vol. 1/295 Ref. 38
[4] The Ottoman Prime Minister's Archive, HR MTV 608/22

In the same year, he went to Istanbul on an official visit. He had several interviews with various Ottoman officials, especially Ali Pasha, then the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Sultan Abdulaziz. He submitted to the Sultan a letter of appreciation written by Muslim leaders in Cape Town. The Sultan sought information about the problems of Muslims in the Cape Colony.[5] The detail of his visit to Istanbul was published in the Cape Argus under the title of 'The Turkish Consul-General and The Malays.'[6] A Medjidia was given to him by the sultan as a sign of his service to the Muslim community in the Cape.

Muslims in the Colony often requested help from the Ottoman consulate. On some occasions they asked for financial help for their new business or their marriage or they requested money from the sultan for construction of a mosque. They sometimes asked for political assisitance from the Ottoman government. On a specific occasion, some Muslim businessmen who were brought by the British to the colony from Zanzibar Island as slaves, requested in political involvement of the Ottoman sultan in their case. On their way from Mombasa to Zangibar, the British destroyed the craft and took their valuable property. To return to their motherland, Mohammed Ali enslaved unfairly by the British with 19 people, first petitioned the Ottoman Consul to ask political and financial assistance. According to the reports, Mosyo de Roubaix, then the consul, helped them to raise the money needed for their voyage from Cape Town to Zanzibar Island.[7]

Consular reports of 1866 mention a depression in the Colony which created large scale unemployment and distress among all classes. In his report, De Roubaix stated that there were many pressing calls from the Muslims throughout the Colony and even though he used the financial sources of the Consulate, he required more financial assistance from the Empire to respond to the Muslims suffering from the economic depression.[8] The consular reports of De Roubaix indicate that the aim of the Ottoman consulate was to offer assistance to the Muslims in the Colony as well as Muslims living in the neighbouring countries such as Mozambique, Madagascar and Zangibar. On the other hand, it also served another purpose: to spread pro-Ottoman sentiments within the Muslim communities.

[5] The Ottoman Prime Minister's Archive, HR.MTV 608/5
[6] Ibid.
[7] The Ottoman Prime Minister's Archive, HR MTV 608/16
[8] The Ottoman Prime Minister's Archive, HR MTV 608/22

It was believed that during his occupation as a Consul-General, De Roubaix controlled the Muslim vote in the Cape Colony.[9] De Roubaix occupied the position until 1871. Later, the vice-consul Louis Goldman was appointed to the post.[10] The Consulate in Cape Town remained operational until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1923. However, after 1890 the Consulate in Johannesburg became more prominent because of the Indian Muslims' support for pan-Islamism initiatives of the Empire.

5.2 The Consulate in Johannesburg

Two years after the discovery of gold deposits on the Witwatersrand in 1886, the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs presented a proposal to the Sultan to open a consulate in rapidly expanding Johannesburg. The proposal indicated that in the northern region called Transvaal there was considerable number of Ottoman subjects engaged in trading activities and suggested that one of them, Henri Bettelheim, a diamond dealer, be named honorary consul.[11] On 13 October 1888, the proposal was accepted by Sultan Abdulhamid and the consulate was officially established.[12] Major Henri Bettelheim was granted an exequatur by the government of the South African Republic, but it was withdrawn on 3 January 1896, when it emerged that Bettelheim was a member of the Reform Committee, which had inspired the Jameson Raid in 1895.[13]

Because of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), the Ottoman Consulate functioned for only a short period in the Transvaal. During the war period, the German Consulate handled the affairs of the Ottoman Empire.[14]

In 1909 Tevfik Pasha enquired about the re-establishment of the Ottoman consulate in Johannesburg and proposed a candidate, Hans Elhouri Issa Effendi, a Syrian of about forty-eight years of age from Beirut. The Detective Department of Ministery of Interior found Issa Effendi not a fit person for the post and recommended that a fresh selection be made. According to the report, Issa Effendi's father was an influential official of the Ottoman government at Beirut. The first enquiry to the Prime Minister's office in Pretoria, dated 29

[9] E. Germain: "L`afrique du sud Dans la politique "Panislamique" de L`empire Ottoman", Turcica, Iss. 31, 1999, pp. 117-118
[10] Cape Town Archives, KAB GH Vol. 1/331 Ref. 16
[11] The Ottoman Prime Minister's Archive, İrade-i Hariciye No: 19905
[12] Ibid.
[13] T. Wheeler: Turkey and South Africa: Development of Relations 1860-2005, South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) Reports, Report number 47, 2005, p. 4
[14] The Ottoman Prime Minister's Archive, HR. MTV 422/41

December 1909, had cited the considerable number of Ottoman subjects in the Transvaal as the rationale for re-establishing a Turkish consulate in Johannesburg. The Transvaal government had made no objection to the re-establishment of the consulate itself.[15] As a result, on 26 October 1910, Downing Street informed the South African government about the appointment of Ohannes Effendi Medjakian, the former Consul of the Ottoman Empire at Tagaurol, to Johannesburg.[16] Ohannes Effendi was an Armenian who formerly had been occupied in Sirbia.[17] On 7 September 1912, a medal (Reshad) was conferred on him by the Sultan V.Mehmed for his loyalty and effort.[18]

5.3 The First Turkish Diplomat: Mehmet Remzi Bey

At the beginning of 1895 a letter from the Colonial Office informed Downing Street that certain Muslim British subjects residing in Cape Town were advocating the appointment of a "Muslim Turk" as Consul-General for Turkey at the Cape Colony and had requested the British government to forward their petition to the Porte through its ambassador in Istanbul.[19] The request, however, was found undesirable by the British government owing to the unbecoming character of its references to the current Ottoman Consul-General at Cape Town.[20] On many subsequent occasions South African Muslims, who perceived the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph as a spiritual leader and protector against the Western world, advocated the appointment of a Muslim Turk as consul. Their efforts to establish a link with the empire, which was percieved as the leader of the Islamic civilization, were not realised until 1914, when Mehmet Remzi Bey was appointed to Johannesburg as the Ottoman Consul-General.

Six months before the outbreak of the Great War in November 1914, Mehmet Remzi Bey, formerly occupied in Tahran, was appointed as a Consul-General.[21] On 28 August, the article on the appointment of Remzi Bey was published in the *Goverment Gazette*.[22] With a telegram from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor-General, Pretoria, it was requested that £64,9 be paid to the Turkish Consul-General Remzi Bey as his salary.[23]

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[15] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GOV Vol. 1197 Ref. 20/12/09
[16] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 1013 Ref. 20/45
[17] Agos Gazetesi, "Osmanlı'da Ermeniler IV. Devir 1853-1913", http://www.agos.com.tr/tr/arshiv/osmanlidaermeniler/dorduncudevir.html, (accessed 15 October 2007)
[18] A. Uçar: 140 Yıllık Miras Güney Afrika`da Osmanlılar, Tez Yayınları, Istanbul, 2001, p. 313
[19] Cape Town Archives, KAB GH Vol. 1/459 Ref. 25
[20] Cape Town Archives, KAB GH Vol. 23/40 Ref. 143
[21] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 1021 Ref. 20/512
[22] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 1021 Ref. 20/532
[23] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 533 Ref. 9/10/12

In the same telegram it was said that the equivalent was going to be paid to the High Commissioner in London by the Ottoman Ambassador.[24]

The Ottoman Empire joined the Central Powers in October 1914, because of the secret Turco-German Alliance signed on 2 August 1914, which threatened Russia's Caucasian territories and Britain's communications with India and the East via the Suez Channel. With the outbreak of the war in November the Ottoman state and Britain found themselves on opposing sides in the war. In the same month, a British subject, Ludwing Weiner resigned his position as Turkish Consul at Cape Town, notifying both Remzi Bey and the secretary of the Governor-General by telegram: *"As it appears that a state of war now exists between Turkey and England, I consider it my duty as a British subject to resign my position as Turkish Consul at Cape Town."*[25]

Three days after Weiner's resignation, on 7 November, the Secretary of State for the Colonies told the South African Governor-General in a telegram, that in view of the detention of British Consular officers and British subjects in the Ottoman Empire, the British Government expected that all Ottoman subjects, including Consular representatives, would also be detained in South Africa.[26] The same day Mehmet Remzi Bey, although unaware of the British government's decision on detention, wrote to the South African government: *"In pursuance of instructions received from the Imperial Ottoman Ambassador at London, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that I am handing over the Ottoman interests to the United States Consul in this city (Johannesburg)."*[27] From the same letter it was apparent that he intended to go to Istanbul via Cape Town in a few days with his wife Madam Helena and their infant child. He requested safe transit through the territory of the Union and a booking on any available steamer sailing to Europe.[28]

The response, which came two days later, was that Remzi Bey's letter no.67 of November was receiving attention. On 13 November, without waiting for the government's answer to his first letter, Remzi Bey asked in an urgent telegram whether there was any objection to his contemplated departure on Sunday morning, 15 November. Following a message that a

[24] Ibid.
[25] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 533 Ref. 9/10/13
[26] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 612 Ref. 9/64/22
[27] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 533 Ref. 9/10/14
[28] Ibid.

response would be sent as soon as possible, a second telegram from the secretary to the Governor-General on the same day stated that it had been decided that subjects of the Ottoman Empire were not to be allowed to leave the Union of South Africa.[29] Another telegram informed the American consul that there was no objection to his taking charge of the interests of Ottoman subjects in the Union, but the government was of the opinion that the Ottoman consular offices should be closed.[30]

On 25 November two notices from the Greek Consul-General and French Consul-General were published in the *Rand Daily Mail*. Ottoman subjects who were Greek or Syrian Orthodox were instructed to contact the Greek Consulate in Johannesburg for certificates affording them the protection of the Greek Consul-General during the present state of war with the Ottoman state, and Ottoman subjects who were Catholic Syrians, Maronites or Armenians were told to call the Consul-General of France for protection.[31]

5.3.1 Negotiations between the Ottoman Empire and Britain

The Ottoman and British forces came face to face in Mesopotamia at the beginning of the Great War. For the British, the region owed its importance to the discovery of oil on the Karun River, one hundred miles north of the Persian Gulf, early in the century. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company was immediately formed and this company supplied 75% of oil used by the British Navy in 1914. On 6 November 1914, a naval sloop and a few marines captured Fort Fao, but the expeditionary force eventually totalled over a quarter of a million men as the British aimed to control the Basra vilayet (extending nearly to Kut) in order to secure the oil fields and then to advance to Baghdad to control the Mesopotamian region.[32]

On 4 February 1915, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs informed the Governor-General in Cape Town that the Turkish consular officers, including Remzi Bey, would be released on condition that British consular officers in Turkey were released. Asked whether he had any objection to the release of Remzi Bey, the Governor-General had none, and the American ambassadors in London and Istanbul were enlisted to mediate between the two countries.[33]

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[29] Ibid.
[30] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 533 Ref. 9/10/15
[31] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 533 Ref. 9/10/16
[32] A. H. Burne: Mesopotamia: The Last Phase, Gale & Polden Ltd., London, 1936, pp. 1-2
[33] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 533 Ref. 9/10/14

On 3 June 1915, Amara was captured by the 6th Division of the British Indian Army under General Townshend. His commander, General Nixion, ordered General Townshend to continue his advance up the Tigris River in order to prevent the Turks from transferring troops between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. The battle of Es-Sinn on 27 September led to the capture of Kut, nearly half way to Baghdad. However, the Turkish force had been reinforced by two first class Anatolian divisions.[34] In spite of valiant, but costly efforts, Kut – and nearly 10,000 prisoners – fell into Turkish hands on 19 April 1916.[35]

The British Goverment first proposed to the Ottoman Goverment to exchange Ottoman officials at Amara for British women and children in Baghdad. The Ottoman Goverment informed Walter Hines Page, the American Ambassador to London, that it consented to the liberation of the women and boys under fifteen in Baghdat for twenty five Ottoman officials at Amara. The Sublime Porte further declared his willingness to permit repatriation of all British women and all boys under the age of fifteen in Turkey on condition that another twenty five officials at Amara and the four Ottoman Consulor officials stationed at Bombay, Malta, Manchester and Johannesburg be released. On 23 October 1915, the Secretary of the State for Foreign Affairs notified the United States Ambassador that the British Goverment was prepared to release twenty five Turkish officials from Amara as soon as the British women and boys under fifteen from Baghdat had been handed over to the General Officer commanding the British troops, then in contact with the Ottoman Forces on the Tigris. Further, the British Goverment agreed, in principle, to the release of twenty five other Turkish officials from Amara together with Basri Bey, Djemaleddin Effendi and Mehmet Remzi Bey in exchange for all of the remaining British women and children in Turkey. It was declared that Rassim Effendi could not be traced, but if he were in the British Empire, he would also be released.[36]

At the end of 1915 another proposal submitted to the Sublime Porte by the British government included conditions for the exchange of British and Turkish military prisoners of war. On a numerical basis, wounded were to be exchanged for wounded, unwounded for unwounded, officers for officers, and enlisted men for enlisted men. With the considerable increase of British prisoners after the fall of Kut, however, it was suggested that the arrangement was

[34] Burne, pp. 1-2
[35] Ibid, pp. 2-3
[36] SAB GG Vol. 533 Ref. 9/10/14

made on the basis of hierarchy and not by equal numbers.[37] As a result of delays, this arrangement was not concluded until 1918.

On 8 February 1916, Downing Street informed the Governor-General of South Africa that with respect to the repatriation of Mehmet Remzi Bey as part of an exchange of British and Turkish subjects, the general officer commanding the British force in Mesopotamia had successfully advocated postponing the exchange program.[38] However, one week later the American consul in Johannesburg informed the Government of the sudden death of Mehmet Remzi Bey, former General Consul of the Ottoman Empire.[39]

5.3.2 The Body of Mehmet Remzi Bey

On 17 April the American consul received a telegram from the Secretary of State for the Colonies indicating that the Ottoman government desired that the body of Remzi Bey be shipped to Istanbul. When American General-Consul Edwin N. Gunsaulus contacted the South African government about immediate exhumation of the remains of Mehmet Remzi Bey, his report stated that Remzi Bey had died at his residence in Johannesburg on 14 February 1916 as certified by Dr. Pershouse, the attending physician. Remzi Bey had died of a cerebral hemorrhage about two hours after he was stricken, without regaining consciousness. The deceased, who was of Muslim faith, was buried according to Muslim rites at 5 p.m. on the afternoon of 15 February in grave 8099 in the Muslim section of the Braamfontein Cemetery, Johannesburg. He was survived by a wife and child residing in Johannesburg. His widow wanted the body of her husband conveyed to Istanbul. According to the last paragraph, "... he was in apparently perfect health up to the time he was stricken with any disease of an infectious nature."[40] Then permission to ship the body was requested from the government.

[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 533 Ref. 9/10/14; see also GG Vol. 1023 Ref. 20/646
[40] National Archives of South Africa, SAB JUS Vol. 234 Ref. 3/302/16


The grave of Mehmet Remzi Bey in Braamfontein Cemetery.

On 19 April the Secretary for the Transvaal Province informed the Department of Justice that certain conditions were necessary to receive the desired permission:

a) The consent of the cemetary authorities must first be obtained.
b) The remains must be enclosed in a suitable shell or casket.
c) The operation must be so performed as not to cause offence or danger to health.
d) Any requirements that the Police may see fit to impose for the protection of public health must be conformed to.[41]

The Minute (623), dated 1 May 1916 and signed by Louis Botha, stated that the American consul had applied urgently for the shipping to Istanbul of the body of Remzi Bey and the ministers had no objection to the matter. The following day a telegram was sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies asking whether the British government could see any objection or had any special instructions as to the route to be taken.[42] Eventually the Secretary of State replied that he had no objection but the Admiralty thought the journey could not be undertaken via the Suez Canal, owing to the state of war at the time, and requested the sailing date and the name of the vessel.

Six months after the death of Remzi Bey, the Department of the Interior informed the Acting Secretary, in a letter, dated July 6, that the American General-Consul was in communication

[41] National Archives of South Africa, SAB JUS Vol. 234 Ref. 3/302/16
[42] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 1024 Ref. 20/674

with Washington and should it be decided to undertake the exhumation, he would report the name of the vessel and sailing date.[43] Unfortunately, the financial problems of both the bereaved family and the Ottoman government during the war years prevented the body of Mehmet Remzi Bey from ever being carried to Istanbul.[44] His grave remained in the Muslim section of Braamfontein graveyard, which is in Johannesburg city center.

Some years after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the Turkish Ambassador to London sent a note dated 16 April 1928 to the British government enquiring about the condition of Madame Helena, widow of Mehmet Remzi Bey. The resulting report from the Department of the Prime Minister and External Affairs was the only archival source describing her life. It stated that she had a business at 122 Adderley Street, Cape Town, since 1923, under the name of "Madam Grace". In September 1925 she had married one George Alexander Sothern, manager of the Sothern Cross Assurance Company. Both these people were well known in Cape Town and appeared to be in very good health.[45] Unfortunately, there is nothing more in the Cape Archives concerning the rest of the life of Madame Helena and her family.

5.4 Postwar Events

The Ottoman state entered the First World War on the side of Germany. At the end of the war the Treaty of Sèvres was signed between the major Allied powers and the defeated Ottoman Empire. The Treaty of Sèvres imposed by the Allies on the Ottoman Empire after World War I had virtually destroyed Turkey as a national state. However, the Kemalist Revolution movement did not recognize the treaty. The War of Independence was initiated from Eastern Anatolia by Mustafa Kemal in response to conditions imposed on the Ottoman state in the treaty. After the nationalist victory over the Greeks and the overthrow of the sultan, the new Turkish Government was in a position to request a new peace treaty from the signatories of the Sèvres. Accordingly, the signatories of the Treaty of Sèvres and delegates of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) met at Lausanne, Switzerland. After lengthy negotiations a new peace treaty, the Lausanne Treaty, was signed in on 24 July, 1923. In this context, South Africa played a brief, but unusual, role in the history of Turkish international relations. Tom Wheeler records an incident affecting Turkey that represented the first instance in which the

[43] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 1024 Ref. 20/679
[44] Uçar, p. 314
[45] National Archives of South Africa, SAB GG Vol. 1192 Ref. 28/599

Prime Minister of South Africa made a decision on foreign relations that was diametrically opposed to the wishes of the Imperial Government in London.

The British Dominions were part of the British Empire, of which the basis was defined by the 1921 Imperial Conference as a 'united understanding and common action in foreign policy'. In the Conference, Britain raised the question of military support by the Dominions to assist in its efforts elsewhere in the world. For the Union of South Africa, this was a very delicate issue. Not only was the opposition National Party violently opposed to the dispatch of a South African contingent overseas, but the Union Defense Force had also withered from a strength of 254 666 during the First World War, to a meagre 39 667.[46] A year after the conference, a series of events proved that it was simply not practical and possible to formulate one common policy for all the British Dominions. In September 1922, this solidarity was put to its first test when Turkey tried to drive the Greeks out of Asia Minor.

France and Italy withdrew their troops from Chanakkale strait[47] which left Britain in the area to act alone as guarantor of the Treaty of Sèvres. Britain immediately asked the Dominions for reinforcements; however, the Union of South Africa and Canada were not prepared to act in agreement with Britain without parliamentary sanction. As a result of the demobilisation and rationalisation in the Union Defence Force in 1919 and 1920, South Africa found herself to be without the military infrastructure to comply with the Imperial authorities. Prime Minister Jan C. Smuts also did not want to risk a repeat of the Rebellion, which had broken out in September 1914 on precisely this issue. In the end, lacking substantial international support, both from within and outside the Empire, Britain backed down and Greece suffered a humiliating defeat. South Africa not only failed to support Britain with an undertaking to send troops but also, as a party to the Treaty of Lausanne, subsequently became a guarantor of the sovereignty and borders of the new Turkish Republic.[48]

After Lausanne, Turkey obtained full sovereign rights over all its territory, and foreign zones of influence and capitulations were abolished. Outside the Zone of the Straits, no limitation was imposed on the Turkish military establishment. In return, Turkey renounced all claims on

[46] I. vd Waag: "The Union Defence Force between the Two World Wars, 1919-1939", http://academic.sun.ac.za/mil/mil_history/244_udf.htm, (accessed 16 October 2007)
[47] Chanakkale strait or Dardanelles is 60 km long and from 1.6 to 6.4 km wide, connecting the Aegean Sea with the Sea of Marmara and separating the Gallipoli peninsula of European Turkey from Asian Turkey. It is one of the most important strategic areas in terms of transportation and military.
[48] Wheeler, p. 6

former Turkish territories outside its new boundaries. South Africa played no further role in this regard.

Conclusion

Via appointing official representatives, the Ottoman sultans established relations with the Muslim communities throughout South Africa. In this way, they aimed to establish pro-Ottoman loyalties amongst the Muslims and support them politically and financially when it was needed. First in Cape Town and later in Johannesburg consulates of the Empire were opened and they remained operational until the Great War.

Among the Ottoman consuls was the first Turkish diplomat Mehmet Remzi Bey. Turkish sources stated that he performed his duty as a Consul-General for two years in Johannesburg. However, it should be corrected that although he stayed in Johannesburg with his family for two years he was a consul only for six months because the Ottoman Consul Offices were closed in November 1914 due to the First World War. The interests of the Empire were handed over to the United States Consulate. Mehmet Remzi Bey could not leave South Africa as a result of the detention decision by the British Government in its Dominions regarding the Ottoman subjects. With his family, he stayed in Johannesburg until 1916 and became a part of the negotiations on including POWs between the Ottoman state and Britain. His sudden death came one week after the cancellation of the exchange programme for the prisoners of war and four Ottoman consular officials. Even though the Ottoman Government wanted to take the necessary steps to transport his body to Istanbul owing to the difficult conditions of war this did not succeed for Remzi Bey.

Later, South Africa had an unusual place in the history of Turkish international relations. After the Turkish War of Independence, as a party to the Treaty of Lausanne, South Africa failed to support Britain with an undertaking to send troops to Chanakkale strait and subsequently became a guarantor of the sovereignty and borders of the new Turkish Republic.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This study points to some general conclusions on the emergence of relations between South Africa and Turkey. The Muslims of South Africa had a keen interest in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire. It was a natural outcome of their Islamic world-view which created strong social and emotional ties between its adherents. On every occasion, especially from the second half of the 19th century to the collapse of the Empire in 1923, the Muslims of South Africa felt sorrow and happiness at the Ottoman's woes and successes as a result of the emerging links to the Ottomans. South African Muslims had a certain awareness and loyalty to the Ottoman Caliph-Sultan and saw him as a religious guide and protector of the prestige of Islam. On some occasions, however, Muslims found themselves in a dilemma between the Ottomans and Britain. This created a temporary crisis of loyalty for the Muslims and became very apparent during the First World War. The Ottomans were their brethren and the British were their rulers. In such circumstances, they preferred to remain calm and not to support the Ottomans openly. To remain neutral was in the best of their interests.

When the religious and political factors paved the way for such a strong sentimental attachment, it can be said that the Ottoman Empire's presence in South Africa originally had a religious nature. To solve the disputes amongst Muslims, their leaders demanded a scholar from Istanbul via the British Government. Abu Bakr Effendi's mission was to teach correct Islam and prevent the disputes among the Cape Muslims. He was appointed as an emissary to the Cape Colony at the request of the Cape Muslims through the British Crown. His mission, to some extent, paved the way for establishing the first connection between the central and peripheral Islam in South Africa.

With the deterioration of Britain-Ottoman diplomatic relations in the 1870's, a transformation began in terms of the nature of contacts between the Ottomans and South African Muslims. In the new period, the Ottomans utilised pan-Islamism as a state ideology and gained support from the Muslims outside the Empire. South African Muslims, especially of Indian origin became part of pan-Islamic propaganda. On every occasion, they demonstrated their loyalty to the Ottoman sultan. Sultan Abdulhamid II sought information about the Muslims all over the world. A network of influence in South Africa linking India and the Southern region of Africa emerged. This included one of the critical British Dominions as a main source of the Ottoman interest.

The Ottomans' approach to South African Muslims might be categorised in two different strategies. Firstly, the Ottomans aimed to gain financial and moral support from the Muslims. Secondly, the Ottomans tried to use the Muslims in the Cape as a bargaining factor to change the British policy towards the Ottoman Empire. Thus, it was expected that a powerful Muslim public opinion in favour of the sultan would strengthen the position of the sultan in the eyes of Britain. Under the circumstances, the Muslims of South Africa supported the Ottomans financially and morally and through public protest they attempted to put pressure on Britain, especially during the Turkish-Italy war. They organised numerous meetings throughout South Africa to demonstrate their support towards the Ottomans. However, it should be emphasised that South African Muslims were interested in the Ottoman state not because of their humanitarian feelings but because of their common heritage of Islam. The Ottoman Empire, the guardian of the Holy places, was weakening and consequently the sanctity of the Holy places was endangered easily. Therefore, they were concerned about the religious sincerity and belief of the rulers of the Ottoman Empire. Their primary focus of concern was the security of the Holy places.

Britain was always sensitive because of pro-Ottoman/Turkish feelings in the South African Muslim communities after 1870's. The British sought the influence of the Ottoman sultans on the Muslims on every occasion. The British foreign policy towards the Ottoman Empire became very anti-Ottoman, especially during the Hamidian era. Mutual distrust and suspicion characterised the conduct between of the two countries. In the same period, Britain shifted her traditional policy of supporting the Ottomans and later chose an openly hostile attitude. This isolation finally paved the way for the development of a 'pan-Islamic' idea in the Empire. However, Britain immediately framed its policy to counter a potential pan-Islamic danger created by the Ottomans. The local authorities were instructed to be cautious of pan-Islamic propaganda and not to tolerate it. Some major investigations were made by the British to identify the Ottoman influence in the Colonies, India and South Africa. Even, very harmless situations might have given rise to the British paranoia as it happened in 1920.

South African Muslims did in fact their best to support the Ottoman sultans, politically and financially; but the abolition of the Caliphate was incomprehensible to them. As a matter of fact, the final dissolution of the Caliphate was a shocking decision taken by the Turks. South African Muslims did not anticipate the decision. It was not a coincidence that from the 1920s

onward the Muslims of South Africa lost not only their relations but also their interests in the Turkish Republic, as the successor to the Ottoman Empire.

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