

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS.
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MUNZINGER'S OBSERVATIONS ON

THE SUDAN, 1871:

“The Little America of Africa”

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pp. 189-201.

WERNER Munzinger Pasha, a Swiss adventurer and ardent advocate of Egyptian expansionism, was Khedive Ismail's governor of the Eastern Sudan and Eritrea during the 1870s (1). He lived along the Red Sea coast for over twenty years, during which time he served France, England and then Egypt in various diplomatic and commercial capacities and came to appreciate fully the enormous wealth as well as the strategic position of the greater East African transit-Egypt, Sudan, the Somalilands, Abyssinia and Eritrea.

Possessing an active and imaginative mind, Munzinger between 1855 and 1875 wrote many memoranda stressing the vital necessity for Egyptian control of the lands drained by the Blue and White Niles. Munzinger's arguments made a deep impression on the Khedive who had already formulated his ambitious plan for an Egyptian Empire based on the unity of the Nile Valley.

One of Munzinger's historical tracts, *Observations sur la Situation Economique du Soudan*, written in 1871, on doubt stimulated the Khedive to continue his efforts to pacify and control the Sudan even after the failure of Sir Samuel Baker's expedition. (3). It furnished much of the economic basis for Ismail's interest in the Sudan.

In 1871 Ismail, in recognition of Munzinger's service to Egypt in the Red Sea area, appointed him the Egyptian governor of Massawa. (4). In this official capacity Munzinger intensified his political activity, reporting regularly and in detail on the possibilities of Egyptian expansion in East Africa.

One of Munzinger's first official acts was to employ a German botanist, Dr. G. M. Hildebrandt, to travel through East Africa as an “Egyptian correspondent ” and to report directly to him on conditions in Eritrea, Somaliland and Zanzibar. A letter by Dr. Hildebrandt from Aden dated March 9, 1873, was highly informative, and Munzinger reported to Ismail that: (5)

English, American, French, Portuguese and Austrians were openly competing for the prize possessions of Southeast (sic) Africa. The French covet Obok and use as a moral excuse the denunciation of the slave traffic practised by the Cheikh Abu Bakr of Zeila.

The German " correspondent " recommended that Egypt, because of the existing confusion in East Africa, should consolidate her possessions on the Somaliland coast by acquiring the port of Berbera, which could easily be fortified and defended. The Khedive, pleased with Hildebrandt's information, authorised his employment as Munzinger's official agent. (6)

Munzinger used much of Dr. Hildebrandt's data as a basis for his own recommendations to Ismail on the acquisition of Berbera and Aussa. Later these same recommendations influenced the Khedive to order the conquest of Harar by Rauf Pacha, the reconnaissance of Zeila and Tajurah by Mitchell, and the expedition to the Juba river by MacKillop and Long. (7). These military actions were intended to give Egypt the possession of the Somaliland triangle, which Munzinger defined in his *Rapport sur Berbéra*: (8)

Somaliland forms an enormous triangle facing the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden on two sides: an imaginary line from Juba to Tadjourah forms the third side. The movements mentioned above formed part of Ismail's grand design to outflank Abyssinia and thus insure Egyptian control via the East African littoral of the vital Nile waterway.

Munzinger spent the next three years as both administrator and a military officer engaged in the execution of the Khedive's East African plans. In 1872 Ismail ordered his governor-general to initiate the flanking movement on Abyssinia through the land of the people known as the Bogos centering about Keren in Eritrea, Munzinger had previously persuaded the Khedive that the time was propitious for the occupation of this territory which Ismail desired as a strategic hinterland for his Red Sea port of Massawa.

Bogos was then a disputed territory of approximately 10,000 inhabitants lying between Egypt and Abyssinia and claimed by both countries. In June Munzinger left Massawa with a force of twelve hundred Egyptian soldiers and occupied Keren with little opposition. When King John of Abyssinia protested, Ismail asserted that the land of Bogos had belonged to Egypt since the time of Muhammad Ali and now belonged to Egypt by right of occupation.(9).

King John could do no more than register his protest for the record, for unaided by the European Powers he was helpless. Khedive Ismail disregarded the Abyssinian protest and annexed the land of the Bogos, Munzinger becoming the military governor of the province. (10)

The acquisition of the land of Bogos was Ismail's first step towards controlling all the land in East Africa lying near the headwaters of the Blue Nile. However, it appears that in 1872 the Khedive did not wish to conquer Abyssinia, but merely desired to insure Egypt's control of the tributaries of the Nile river system. Richard Beardsley, the American Consul-General in Cairo, grasped Ismail's intent when he wrote to the American Secretary of State: (11)

To reach Massowah by rail the territory of Bogos must be crossed; it thus appears that the occupation of Bogos by the Egyptian government looked towards the completion of the railroad system of Egypt rather than to the invasion of Abyssinia, and was a preliminary step towards bringing all the territory tributary to the Upper Nile within the pale of Egyptian authority. . . .

Following the conquest of the land of the Bogos, General Charles Pomeroy Stone, the American Chief of Staff of Ismail's army, dispatched a confidential memorandum to Munzinger in which he stated that in order to complete the Egyptian control of all the territory from the land of Gallas to the Red Sea, the next move should be the acquisition of Aussa.(12). By

occupying Aussa in 1875 Munzinger, achieved this objective and not only prevented French designs on Obok but completed the Egyptian control of the entire Red Sea coast of Eritrea as far as the Gulf of Aden. (13)

Thus Ismail's East African Empire became a reality in 1875-- a reality that was very disturbing to the major European colonial powers. However, the Khedive's leitmotiv was the control of the Blue and White Niles and their tributaries. The occupation of Keren, Harar, Aussa, Zeila and Berbera were a necessary complement to the creation of the Khedive's Central African Empire, centering on Khartoum.

Munzinger's military accomplishments in East Africa and ability to write persuasive memoranda served as a prelude to Ismail's Sudanese campaigns. (14). No one realised the crucial importance of the Sudan more than Munzinger himself, for as early as 1871 he had sent the Khedive his informative *Observations*. (15) Munzinger's memorandum, a composite of historical, geographical, economic and personal arguments for Egyptian control of the Sudan, is as follows:

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

I beg to present some general observations about the economic situation of the Sudan, as the result of my own travels in that country; I cannot but point out that my views are fully confirmed by all those who have written on the same subject.

Whoever has read Burckhardt's travels on the Nile, (16) fifty years ago, cannot but feel very glad that the Sudan has become a dependency of Egypt and regret only that Darfur has not had the same fortune. (17) Then it was a great peril and risk to pass Assouan and the Sudan was as isolated from the world as Waday is now; in our time there is peace and safety from Egypt to the Sobat and from Kordofan to the Red Sea.

Trade and cultivation have largely increased, but that is not enough! With all its manifold and immense resources the Sudan imports and exports not what it ought to do by far. I will try to give an idea of its economic capacities and then examine causes preventing its full natural development.

To give a short resume of what I am going to explain, I will state that in the Sudan there is no dead desert. There is rain enough for any cultivation. There are rivers and torrents easy to be made use of for irrigation and navigation. The population is large and active-- over five millions. (18) The Sudan ought to be *one large cotton field. It is the key to Inner Africa!*

The Sudan between 21 and 10 degrees north latitude lies in the tropics and enjoys in every part very heavy summer rains. I have no statistical data about the quantity, but there is no doubt of its being considerable.

All of the Sudan-- I mean the country south from Korosko (19) --is inhabit able; there is not a tenth of it which could be called barren desert; two-thirds of the surface is cultivable; the rest is all pasturage. The soil everywhere is a rich alluvium, the first and finest deposits of Abyssinia. It must have been in olden times an immense marsh.

The general character of the country is, in consequence, a large plain, interrupted at times by low ridges or isolated granite hills. The southeast and east alone are mountainous, being the continuation of the Abyssinian highland northwards, but even the hills are in no wise inferior to the plains, possessing large plateaux and being all covered with grass and trees. Only a small portion of the cultivable ground is cleared; the rest is covered by virgin forest or prairie, *overrun by immense herds of cattle.*

From the preceding remarks it is evident that the inhabitants of the Sudan are mostly nomads, about 75 per cent, -- but most of them cultivate just enough for their living. I think there is no exaggeration if I estimate the people of all the Egyptian Sudan at five millions at least, not including the White Nile people above the 12th parallel, north latitude.

My estimation is based on a very long experience in nearly all the provinces Taka alone, which is the least peopled district, contains about a million. (20) The people are a conglomeration of Arabs and Negroes. From ancient times the immigration from Arabia has been very large, their descendants keeping generally to the valleys as the Djaln, Shukria, etc.

But now the current comes from Darfur and Waday, whence new settlers pour in daily; these are the so-called Tagruri, a very hard working, vigorous people. There will be *an immense immigration from Central Africa from the south* as soon as the frontiers receive a liberal government. Another important race are the Bedowia-Beshari, Haddendoa, Beni Amer--speaking a quite original Caucasian language.

The Sudanese people are generally a healthy, vigorous, simple, amiable and hospitable race of people; even the Arabs have lost their native fierceness in the Sudan. *The Sudanese are easy to govern* because they have enjoyed for a long period a sort of self-government, which it will be always wise to encourage and to ameliorate. I may mention that now, when there is no war and in absence of great epidemics, the population is rapidly increasing and will do so more when the government ameliorates the sanitary state of the towns; the country being generally not unhealthy.

The Sudan being in the tropics at an elevation of 1,000 to 3,000 feet above the sea and enjoying exuberant vegetation; intermittent fevers are common but generally not very dangerous. Much could be done for the towns by drainage and other sanitary measures. The most salubrious districts are Baraka, Haddendoa, Gedaref, and most parts of Kordofan, Meroe, Sennar and the Nile Valley below Khartoum as far as Dongola. Water is generally good.

A very important feature of the Sudan is the abundance of partly navigable rivers, forming a complete network all over the country, except in Kordofan, which is isolated and void of rivers. Some of them, as the two Niles, flow all the year round and are navigable; others, as the Rechad, Dinder, Atbara flow only during the rainy season for three or four months-- July to October-- and allow navigation only down the river--the current being too strong while ships or rafts going down the river are sold as timber advantageously in Egypt.

Another important feature is that all of these rivers flow through a flat country of plains; have low banks and are, in consequence, very easy to inundate during the rainy season in the summer. There is an immense quantity of water and mud which could be easily utilised. We see from the map that nearly every district has its own torrent: TAKA the Gach and Baraka;

KHARTOUM and BERBER the Nile; SENNAR the Blue Nile, Rachad and Dinder. The soil of Kordofan alone is too light to permit river formation.

If we want to give an idea of the different cantons that the Sudan consists of, we must abandon the official divisions which are well adapted to the government's purposes but do not answer ours. Each of the cantons has very different climates and regions. The homogeneous districts are:

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS

1. The Blue Nile river land—the Sennar and the Nile land from Khartoum to Dongola. All of this country resembles very much that of Upper Egypt; strips of alluvium along the banks, inundation somewhat difficult, but irrigation made easy by water wheels. It is a narrow but well-peopled region, furnishing dura (holens), sesamum and wheat. The higher parts of Sennar-Fazugli and Burta-are rather hilly, rich in timber (acacias and ebony) and in gold mines.

2. . The Delta regions of Gesira and Meroe; the first between the Blue and White Nile; the second between the Nile and the Atbara. They show very rich alluvial soil and the parts are easily inundated but even without inundation they receive enough rain to allow for some cultivation. However they are not made use of for cultivation but are employed as excellent pasturage land and are full of fine cattle. A large portion of these deltas is covered by thick Mimosa forest. Meroe was quite famous in ancient times, but is now quite a wilderness. The Atbara which borders the region on the east has banks too high to allow for inundation, but it can be used for navigation and might perhaps in some places by canals be forced to overflow the lands of Meroe on the right bank and Taka on the left bank.

3. Kordofan is a country in itself, separated from the Nile by a sort of desert. To the south, Kordofan includes the fertile hilly lands of Degelé and Dar Nubia and stretches its immense plains as far as Bahr el Ghazal. Kordofan proper has a light soil and produces only dukha, a sort of millet. It is encircled by large forests of gum of superior quality and by immense prairies to the north and south inhabited by numerous nomads. Gums, hides, ghee and ostrich feathers are its chief export, articles. The southern part of Kordofan is much superior in the quality of the soil, but less peopled.

4. The river land between the Nile, Dinder and Rechad and that of the Gach (Taka) are perhaps the richest parts of the Sudan. They consist entirely of rich alluvial soil. The first part of the river land between the Nile and the Rachad has been little disturbed. It includes prairies and forests, peopled only by cattle-breeding nomads. Man has done nothing for the region and yet the rains are heavy, the soil is superior and the rivers, being large, carry immense quantities of water which could be brought over the plains without any great exertion.

The case of Gach (Taka) is somewhat different. The same fertility, but much more care is bestowed on it. It is one long valley, 60 miles long and 6 to 15 miles broad, all inundated from July to September. Below Kassala, the capital of this district, it contains more than half a million feddans of alluvium, easy to inundate when all Egypt has only ?---?? millions of feddans to plant cotton. (21) Part of the Gach area has always been cultivated with dura, perhaps one-fourth. There is no ploughing or any work other than sowing and harvesting, all done in four months and producing so much, that the people often do not know where to sell it.

If one desires to enlarge the cultivated area, one simply continues about forty miles higher up the river as far as Elit and in this area together with the country of Algeden and Sabderat, a million feddans could be easily cultivated, all fertile and having rain and inundation at the same time.

This valley is essentially a cotton country and waiting only for a little encouragement to develop its natural resources. Moreover there is all the land between Setit and Gach, Samuel Baker's hunting ground, with immense plains. The valley of the Baraka, which is little inferior to the Gach, and the hill land of Algeden, already produces good cotton without inundation. If we look at the southern frontiers of Taka we find the immense plateau of the Kunamas between Gach and Taccase of a most extraordinary fertility.

5. Gedaref is a sort of oasis, with undulated ground, separated from the Atbara and the Gach by plains covered with forest but deprived of water. The inhabited part of the country is covered with hundreds of villages and highly cultivated with dura and some cotton, all grown by use of rain water only. The Atbara lies too low to be made use of for inundation. This oasis is surrounded by immense forests of gum of the inferior quality known as Sowakry. The production of the district in grain is so extraordinary that all of it can never be used. The cotton is just fair. The cultivable country extends as far as Gallabat with very large settlements of Arabs and Tagruris, all cultivators.

6. The country between the Gach. Atbara and the mountain chains to the Red Sea from 15 to 19 degrees north latitude contains several large torrents. The tributaries of the Baraka, Gach and Atbara bring much water and mud. There are many low areas on their banks, apt to be inundated, but the general aspect of the country is hilly and inviting for cattle breeding which is carried on by the large tribes of the Haddendoa, Beni-Amer and the Besharin.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

It follows from the preceding remarks that the chief products of cultivation in the Sudan are dura, dukha and sesamum. The isolated position of the Sudan is the cause that more is not produced than is necessary for immediate consumption, for the least effort always gives abundance. The greatest amount of cultivation takes place during the summer rainy seasons. Along the banks of the Nile and the Atbara, irrigation is conducted by water, wheels known as sakias.

In Taka there is inundation produced by primitive dam works. Cotton grows anywhere. Its quality depends of course on the quantity of water it receives. The best areas for cotton growing would certainly be where inundation is possible, leaving the rest for grain. There is at present little cotton grown for export. Much is grown and spun and woven in the country.

During the American Secession War, the Sudan and especially Gedaref, sent a great deal of cotton together with seed to Egypt. . . . I now in no wise exaggerate when I state my firm opinion *the Sudan, properly managed, will together with Egypt, produce as much cotton as America*. The province of Taka alone could furnish more than three million Cw and the Red Sea coast is still available which could grow easily 200,000 feddans. I mention here that the Sudan cotton plant, unlike the Egyptian, lives for five years, thus sparing considerable labour. . . .

In the present state of the Sudan, cattle breeding is much more frequent than farming. Cows, sheep, camels, horses are of a very fine breed. A cow or bullock costs no more than two pounds. Sheep have coarse wool, easily shorn, and the camels are the best in the world for riding or carrying. I can, of course, give no estimate of the quantity of *cattle* but they *count by the millions*.

There is a great deal of export of hides, but the difficult means of transport forbids the extension of this trade from the remote provinces of the Sudan. The most important natural products of the Sudan are GUM, especially from Gedaref and Kordofan, IVORY, OSTRICH FEATHERS, TIMBER and GOLD.

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

To understand thoroughly the importance of the Sudan, it must not be forgotten that by means of the Nile it is the *door leading to an entire continent* to the South, East and West, being the *natural outlet of trade* for the Nile lands, for half of Abyssinia and the Galla country, and for Darfur and Waday.

As for Abyssinia and Galla, the Red Sea coast may be nearer but the route crosses many mountains so that the long route down the Nile is in reality by far the shortest. (22) The chronic revolution, moreover, under which Abyssinia suffers is not apt to encourage trade and even now a large portion of the commerce comes down to Metamma.

There is the water road by the Blue Nile as far as Roseires and from there a few days' travel brings the merchant to the heart of the Galla country which produces coffee, musk, wax and gold in large quantities. Unfortunately the road from Fazugli on the Blue Nile to the Gallas is closed. The frontier tribes are fighting so much that trade is quite destroyed.

A remarkable instance of this state of affairs is that at Fazugli, a few days' journey from the coffee hills, where 120 lbs. are sold for one dollar, traders buy coffee brought from Metamma by a circuitous road of twenty days at 5 lbs. for one dollar. But in the future, if our boundaries are well looked after, the Northern Galla trade must come down to Roseires and the Southern Galla trade by the navigable Sobat to Khartoum.

It is not necessary to explain here the importance of the White Nile. Speke and Baker have put that beyond doubt.(23) *The natural route of trade will always be Egypt*. I do not think that the government will be obligated to interfere much in those remote parts except to protect the natives against adventurers. The essential thing is to organise and to utilise well what we have already, and to win by justice the confidence of the wild tribes beyond our frontiers.

In résumé, we find the Sudan with an immense area capable of feeding thrice its population and of growing any kind of grain and especially cotton. It is the natural channel of trade for all Central Africa--a *little America*-- promising much but doing little, without any extraordinary export or import; imperfectly developed despite its many navigable rivers.

If we look for the reason for this anomaly there can be not the least doubt that it is because of the lack of a link between Wadi Haifa and Shendy, where cataracts interrupt navigation and the Nile makes two enormous turns to the east and to the west. (24) What the printing press did for civilisation making possible free intercourse and exchange of ideas, so the case of

communication does for the business world. Together they are the arteries of Nations. As long as they are dormant, all the resources of the Sudan or any other country will be dead.

We may try to promote its welfare by a wise administration but the result will always be negligible, whereas when we give to it the proper means of communication, the result is enormous. With communications, the Sudan will become in a short time a second Egypt.

The only way of doing this is, I think, to create a wise combination of railroads with Nile steam navigation. Then a continent long unexplored and never turned to profit, dreaming under the ban of isolation, will awaken and transport her wealth to the doors of Egypt. The execution of this plan would present slight physical difficulties with the exception of the supposed absence of coal fields in the Sudan.

But if coal cannot be found, we must take into consideration that the banks of all the Sudanese rivers are covered by immense forests of excellent wood which it would be easy to bring to the railroad stations in ships or rafts. An economical method of cutting will prevent destruction and at the same time make room for new cotton plantations.

I pause a moment to examine which roads trade will naturally follow: Let us suppose a railway from Wadi Haifa to Metamma opposite Shendy, to be connected afterwards with the great Egyptian railway. But for the present, the water-road from Assousan to Wadi Haifa would answer the same purpose. To reach this line, trade will necessarily take the following routes:

1. Darfur to the Nile by caravan.
2. Kordofan to the Nile, north of Khartoum in the same manner.
3. The White and Blue Nile river country-Sennar, Galla, Amhara, Dinder and Rachad to the Metamma (Shendy)-by water route.
4. Gedaref and Gallabat to the Blue Nile by caravan at Abou Haraz and then down the Nile or by sending rafts and boats down the Atbara during high water. Taka will follow the same route.

If a railway is established great care must be taken to organise the land and water transport of these different regions. A complete service, a connecting **railway**, river steamers and camel transport should be created. To build railways without providing for its feeders would be like having Universities without primary schools.

Drawing nearer to the Sudan in such a manner would be most beneficial to the Egyptian government. In the past, the Sudan was governed by military men; in the future, the governor-general will be chiefly concerned with agriculture, public works and education, which will be a decided improvement. If the Sudan becomes easily accessible, industrious men will not be afraid of going to a country where prosperity awaits them, and where the government n protect them. Thus *the Sudan will become a regular province of Egypt* and not a hopeless and useless outpost which it is now.

For the Inner Sudan, the consequences will be endless. The distance will be shortened by months. I say months because it is not only the distance itself which forbids trade but the difficulties in finding at ten different places camels and guides to proceed with. The progress southwards will become much easier when the beginning is from Khartoum instead of Cairo.

How could a racehorse brought from afar in a hurry, he raced with advantage? The racehorse is civilisation and it will sooner or later run all over Africa, but it must have a solid base in the Sudan before it starts for Central Africa.

The trans-Atlantic (sic) railway has attracted the admiration of all the civilised world. The railway from the Nile to the Nile, bridging over the desert of Nubia between Egypt and the Sudan will bring Khartoum to a few days distance from Cairo, will not be less admirable and perhaps more profitable. I cannot but fervently hope that His Royal Highness will not hesitate to add all the reforms effected in Egypt in the *peaceful conquest* of the Sudan.

W. Munzinger, C.N.
Governor of Massaoua.

July 31, 1871.

There is no doubt that Munzinger's account of the economic wealth of the Sudan and of the strategic necessity for Egyptian control encouraged the continuance of the Sudan Quest even after Sir Samuel Baker's fiasco. It led, indirectly, to the appointment and mission of Colonel Charles Gordon in the Equatorial Provinces. It gave Ismail a keen insight into the riches of the Sudan and provided the Egyptian *raison d'être* for the economic and political unity of the Nile Valley.

It led Ismail to take extreme measures in order to pacify and control the Sudan during the third quarter of the 19th century, which incidentally, contributed to his own deposition as Khedive. Munzinger's *Observations* provide a convincing argument that the Sudan holds the "key to Inner Africa," and in his own words, would become in time the "Little America of Africa." *The Observations* have a decided twentieth century appeal.

(Unfortunately for Munzinger's dreams modern scientific investigation has shown that the fertility of much of the Sudan is more apparent than real. Whilst many of his ideas now seem somewhat ludicrous, his plea for development through public works, education, etc., rather than by military occupation has been answered by the regime which followed that of the Egyptians.-Ed).

Footnotes.

(1) *Polais d'Abdin, Periode Ismail, Archives Européennes*, "Correspondance Munzinger," dossier No. 73/5. Hereinafter cited as *Correspondance Munzinger*.

(2) Munzinger's opus, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, (Schaffhausen, 1864) was the result of ten years' study in the Eastern Sudan and along the Red Sea coast. The work was later translated into Italian and reprinted by the government press at Rome in 1890. According to Attilo Mori in his brief biography of Munzinger in the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XXIV, *cp-cs*, *Ostafrikanische Studien* furnished the primary guide book for the later Italian occupation of Eritrea.

(3) *Correspondance Munzinger*.

(4) An enlightening report on the weaknesses of the Abyssinian dynasty was sent to Ismail on January 14, 1869 while Munzinger was still acting as Agent for both Egypt and France at Massawa. See *Correspondance Munzinger*. Ismail appointed Munzinger governor of Massawa on April 6, 1871. Archives du Palais d'Abdin, doss. 73/1.

- (5) *Correspondance Munzinger*. Munzinger to Ismail, Kassala, April 26, 1873. Munzinger had previously reported in November 1872 that the French had established a coaling station at Obok, then the south-east tip of Eritrea. France claimed Obok since March 11, 1862 when the native chieftain of Obok had signed a treaty with the government giving the French the territorial concession.
- (6) *Correspondance Munzinger*. Ismail to Munzinger, Constantinople, June 18, 1873. Ismail's exact words in his own handwriting were " je vous laisse libre de choisir l'un ou l'autre cas, comme de fixer la somme que vous jugerez convenable soit pour l'engagement du Docteur comme Correspondent ou comme employé du gouvernement." Munzinger commissioned Dr. Hildebrandt as a " correspondent " at a salary of 30 pounds per month.
- (7) Both Mitchell and Long were American officers who entered the Khedivial army after the Civil War.
- (8) *Correspondance Munzinger*. Munzinger to Ismail, Massawa, 1873.
- (9) *Palais d'Abdin, Correspondance PolitiqueH Egypte, Archives Europeennes*. Roustan a de Rémusat, Cairo, September 9, 1872.
- (10) General Stone, Ismail's American chief of Staff, divided the newly acquired territory of Bogos into four administrative provinces; Keren, Sawakin, Raheita and Kassala. Munzinger was appointed governor-general and including Massawa, the area comprised roughly the present territory of Eritrea. Munzinger controlled both the civil and military forces, administering the five provinces along the lines that General Stone had fashioned for the Empire of Ismail. For details see *Palais d'Abdin, Periode Ismail, Archives Européennes*, doss. 73/1, Stone to the Minister of War, February 9, 1873.
- (11) *United States Consular Reports*, volume 7: EGYPT. Beardsley to Fish, dispatch No. 46, December 12, 1872.
- (12) *Palais d'Abdin, Periode Ismail, Archives Europeennes*, doss. 73/1. Stone to Munzinger, Cairo, November 30, 1872.
- (13) See page 2, footnote No. 5.
- (14) In April, 1873 Munzinger became the Egyptian governor of all the Eastern Sudan. He later lost his life fighting for Egypt in the disastrous Abyssinian campaign of 1875-76.
- (15) *Correspondance Munzinger*. Munzinger dispatched four reports to Khedive Ismail in 1871. Besides his *Observations sur la Situation Economique du Soudan*, July 31, 1871, he wrote *Quelques Observations sur le Mohafizi Massoua*, May 25, 1871; *Quelques Observations sur un Aqueduc a Massoua*, May 27, 1871 and *Rapport sur Tokar et sa Cote*, September 18, 1871.
- (16) See John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*. (London, 1819)
- (17) The American Colonels Purdy, Prout and Mason of the Egyptian General Staff under General Stone as well as Romolo Gessi under orders of Colonel Gordon thoroughly explored Darfur and Kordofan and annexed these regions for Egypt between 1874 and 1876. See resume submitted by Stone to Ismail, Cairo, October 16, 1876, doss. 72/1, *Palais d'Abdin, Periode Ismail, Archives Européennes*.
- (18) Egypt's population in 1870 was approximately the same.
- (19) Korosko lies on the Nile just south of the Tropic of Cancer.
- (20) Taka was a Sudanese Province due east of Khartum, its lands being drained by the Atbara and Gash rivers, Kassala was its capital city. Muhammad Mukhtar of the Egyptian General Staff travelled throughout Taka between 1878 and 1880.
- (21) Munzinger left this space blank as he had no statistics for Egypt proper. The approximate figure was four and one-half million feddans of cultivable land.
- (22) This statement reveals clearly the *raison d'être* of Ismail's brilliant plan for outflanking Abyssinia by consolidating his empire along the Somaliland triangle and the Eastern Sudan.

Then by opening a route to the Indian Ocean from the head-waters of the Nile through Kenya, the Nile river valley would enjoy two commercial outlets---one in the Nile delta at Alexandria and the other on the Indian Ocean at either Mombassa or Juba.

(23) See Sir Samuel White Baker, *The Albert Nyanza, Great Basin of the Nile and Explorations of the Nile Sources*. (London, Macmillan, 1866) 2 vols; and John Hanning Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the source of the Nile*. (Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1863).

(24) The 2nd cataract is just south of Wadi Halfa; the 5th is just north of Shendy. According to some historians, the Nile altered its bed thousands of years before the Christian era from its original straight course from Abu Hamed to Koosko to its present detour to the west. If this be true, there must be an alluvial bed somewhere in the Nubian desert and the discovery of such soil there would transform the whole area and history of the Lower Sudan.
