



## **A Soft Crusade by the German Empire: The Second Orient Journey of Wilhelm II (1898)\***

İrfan ERTAN\*\*

orcid/0000-0003-2472-2852

**Abstract:** This study analyses the journey of Wilhelm II of the German Empire to the Ottoman Empire in 1898, during a very tense time in Europe. We see a policy of isolation for both the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire in the late 19th century because of their policies against European Powers. The Ottoman Empire lost the support of Britain and became an open target for the imperialist powers of the West. She also tried to protect her rights and power in the European policy against internal and external threats. The German Empire wanted to expand her influence and sphere of power to the East and threaten her rivals, especially France and Britain. This journey gave rise to a convergence policy for these empires. This journey consisted of two sections, İstanbul and Syria. In the İstanbul section, Wilhelm II met with Abdülhamid II and gained some privileges from the Ottoman Empire. In the Syria section, Kaiser Wihelm II applied the policy which we call “Soft Crusade” and fronted the Great Powers of Europe. Also, the aims and acquisitions of the two empires will be analysed in this study. This journey will be analysed with that perspective. This research aims to shed light on the acquisitions of the journey, and penetration of the German Empire, and German capital into the Ottoman Empire. Historical and political conditions during this journey show the emergence of twenty years of alliance between the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire.

**Keywords:** The Ottoman Empire, The German Empire, Orient Journey, Soft Crusade, Protector of 300 million Muslims

### **Alman İmparatorluğu'nun “Yumuşak Haçlı Seferi” ve Kayzer II. Wilhelm'in İkinci Doğu Seyahati (1898)**

**Öz:** Bu çalışma, Alman İmparatoru II. Wilhelm'in, Avrupa'da gergin bir zaman olan 1898 yılında Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna yaptığı seyahati incelemektedir. Avrupa güçleri aleyhine izledikleri politikalar nedeniyle, 19. Yüzyıl'ın sonlarında iki imparatorluk için de bir yalnızlaşma politikası görülmektedir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Britanya'nın desteğini kaybetti ve Batının emperyalist güçleri için açık bir hedef haline geldi. Ayrıca, iç ve dış tehditlere karşı Avrupa politikasındaki

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\*\* Doctorate Student, Middle East Technical University, History Department, irfanertan1993@gmail.com.

haklarını ve gücünü korumayı hedefliyordu. Alman İmparatorluğu, nüfuzunu ve güç alanını Doğuya genişletmek ve özellikle Fransa ve İngiltere gibi rakiplerini tehdit etmek istiyordu. Bu seyahat, iki imparatorluk için bir yakınlaşma politikasına yol açtı. Bu seyahat İstanbul ve Suriye ayağı olmak üzere iki bölümden oluşur. Seyahatin İstanbul ayağında II. Abdülhamid ile görüşüp bir takım imtiyazlar alan II. Wilhelm, seyahatin Suriye ayağında ise “Yumuşak Haçlı Seferi” dediğimiz politikasını uygulayarak Avrupa güçlerine meydan okuyacaktır. Ayrıca, bu çalışmada iki imparatorluğun amaçları ve kazanımları analiz edilecektir. Bu seyahat bu bakış açısıyla analiz edilecektir. Araştırma, seyahatin kazanımlarına, Alman İmparatorluğu’nun ve Alman sermayesinin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’na girmesine ışık tutmayı amaçlıyor. Bu seyahatteki tarihsel ve politik koşullar, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Alman İmparatorluğu arasında yirmi yıl süren ittifakın ortaya çıkışını göstermektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Alman İmparatorluğu, Doğu Seyahati, Yumuşak Haçlı Seferi, 300 Milyon Müslümanın Koruyucusu

## Introduction

This study is about the journey of the German Emperor Wilhelm II in 1898 to the Ottoman Empire, which was perhaps one of the most important events of the last ten years of the 19th century for the Ottoman Empire. As it is known, the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire started to move away from the European diplomacy system, especially in the 1890s. Relations between these two empires rose because of necessity. After that journey, the German Empire took the position of the British Empire and France for the Ottoman Empire in an economical way.

While giving information about that journey, I will try to show that this journey is diplomatic and has economic, religious<sup>1</sup>, and international aims against other European Powers. The German Empire started to penetrate the natural sources and some important devices of the Ottoman Empire, which would support and benefit the German Empire while founding their *Weltpolitik* and imperialistic policy, threatening the balance of powers. While Kaiser Wilhelm was trying to gain privileges from the Ottoman Empire, he also wanted to front the European Powers, and become the political leader of the Christian World. So, this journey is a breaking point for the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire. Also, the Ottoman Empire entered the sphere of influence of the German Empire. Because Wilhelm II wanted to gain dominance in the Ottoman lands, I see this journey as a Crusade, but he did not use military power and diplomacy. For this reason, I named this ‘Crusade’ as ‘Soft Crusade’. Also desire to become the leader of the Christian World makes this journey a Soft Crusade.

<sup>1</sup> Because of its religious, economic and political aims I name this journey as ‘Soft Crusade’.

I used Yıldız Archives as my primary source. I used these documents to draw the outline of the journey. These documents could not help me so much in creating a critical approach to the journey. We can say that the most important Ottoman Archival document about the journey is the report of Şakir Pasha. This document is important because of being the witness of the Kaiser's journey in Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon. Despite its importance as a primary source, it almost gives no different information about the journey. I will also use memoirs such as Bernhard von Bülow's, the Foreign Secretary, Theodor Herzl's, the leader of the Zionist Organization. I will also use newspapers from the Ottoman Empire, German Empire, Britain, and the United States. I will use my second sources, most of them are in German, and some of them are in Turkish, mainly to give more detail about the journey.

In this article, thanks to primary and secondary sources, I aim to draw the general outlines of the second journey of Wilhelm II. Before giving information about the second journey, I will briefly mention the first relations with the German Empire and the Ottoman Empire, and later I will mention the first journey in 1889 and draw the general atmosphere before the second journey. In the main part I will mention the second journey of Kaiser Wihelm II to the Ottoman Empire and I will try to show this journey as a 'Soft Crusade'. First, I will mention the first days of the journey in İstanbul and Kaiser's relations with Abdülhamid II and bureaucrats. In this part, I will also mention the privileges which Kaiser gained from the Sultan. Later, I will mention the Kaiser's journey in Syria and his efforts of gaining a base in Syria and challenge to European Powers. That effort will be called a 'Soft Crusade'. After mentioning the journey, I will mention the effects of the journey and compare it with the first journey of the Kaiser.

## **Relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire Before the Journey**

The first journey of Wilhelm to the Ottoman Empire was held in 1889, one year after he acceded to the throne. The relations between the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire date back to earlier times. This situation can also be observed because of the German Empire's efforts to establish a diplomatic and political sphere of influence right after the establishment of the German Empire. While the German Empire began colonisation, almost all the lands outside Europe had been colonized. While Britain and France colonising Africa, South America, and Asia, German Empire tried to introduce colonising race. She could only colonize Persia, China, and the Ottoman Empire.(Ortaylı, 2015, pp. 19-21)

The German Empire first tried to penetrate the Ottoman Empire with military advisors such as Colmar von der Goltz.<sup>2</sup> Then she used her power and influence to achieve the colonization dreams of the German Empire, Wilhelm II, tried to penetrate the Ottoman Empire via political and economic relationships. The journeys of the Kaiser are the consequences of this dream. The second journey is a milestone for the relations between these two empires.

Although that can be seen as only the journey of Wilhelm II to the East, the Ottoman Empire, it changed so many things for the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire. The visit of Wilhelm II takes place during a time of complete diplomatic isolation of the Empire. (Kaynar, 2004, p. 55) The great powers exert strong pressure on the Empire. Two years ago, they almost failed to hand over the sultan. It is in this atmosphere that the Wilhelm II announces his visit of the Empire. "While the Red Sultan is on the ban of Europe, the German Emperor has just given him a hug," writes François Georgeon. (Georgeon, 2003, p. 343) These two powers shaped their foreign policy according to their powers. Ottoman Empire needed other countries to maintain her power, and the German Empire needed a rivalry with other countries to improve her power. In the beginning, an alliance was seen as impossible between these countries, but political maneuvers and the atmosphere changed the situation. The second journey of Wilhelm II is a breaking point for the relationship between these two empires.

### **Effects of the First Journey of Wilhelm II**

The first journey of Wilhelm II was held in 1889, only one year after his coronation. The first visit of Wilhelm II with the Sultan. Bismarck had tried in vain to talk the Kaiser out of this visit. To reassure the Russian government, he, therefore, declared to the Tsar that the reason for the visit to İstanbul was only the desire of the imperial couple from Athens where it wanted to participate in the celebration of the marriage of Wilhelm II's sister to the crown prince of Greece not to return home without seeing İstanbul. Germany had no political interests in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. When the Chancellor Bismarck was dismissed in 1890, the main obstacle to the Kaiser's Turkey policy was gone. (Richter, 1997, p. 55) "Still, Wilhelm's 1889 journey was a harbinger of things to come." (McMeekin, 2010, p. 10) German engagement in the period between 1888 and 1890, which was certainly promoted by the Orient Journey of Wilhelm II in November 1889. The Treaty of Friendship, Trade, and Shipping concluded with Turkey on August 26, 1890, which included, among other things, the granting of the right to preferential treatment and its approval to the Reichstag on December 12, 1890, recommended. In fact, German exports to Turkey increased by 350% between 1888 and 1893. (Schöllgen, 2000, pp. 48-49)

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<sup>2</sup> Before the German Empire, Prussia also penetrated the Ottoman Empire via military advisors. For instance, Helmuth von Moltke was a military advisor between 1835 and 1839 in the Ottoman Empire. He also attended Battle of Nezib between the Ottoman Empire and Egypt in 1839.

Meanwhile, after the first agreements about Anatolian Railways, because of the first journey of Kaiser Wilhelm, Georg von Siemens, the director-general of the Anatolian Railway, was prepared to involve financial groups from other countries in the railway project. Within five years, the German capital had come into possession of railway lines. Almost overnight, Turkey had become an important field of economic German engagement. The railway also served for the transport and sale of German products. The new rail route from the Bosphorus to Ankara and Konya also contributed to the remarkable development of Anatolia. The railway tracks increased agricultural production, schools and hospitals emerged. (Richter, 1997, pp. 55-56)

During his first journey to the Orient in the autumn of 1889, Wilhelm II also discussed the situation of the German Protestants in Palestine with Sultan Abdülhamid II. The Kaiser mentioned the necessity of a church for the Protestants of Jerusalem. (Soy, 2007, p. 120) Also, *Evangelische Jerusalem Stiftung* (Evangelical Jerusalem Foundation) was founded for the purpose of that aim. At the initiative of Kaiserin Auguste Victoria, construction of the Christmas Church in Bethlehem began in 1889 and was inaugurated in 1893. That shows that Kaiser Wilhelm wanted to become the protector of the Protestant World. As we can see in the Second Journey, Kaiser even wanted to become the protector of the Christian World. That was a challenge to Britain, France and Russia, not only in religious way but also in political way. Because the German Empire became an influential actor in the political atmosphere of Europe in that era with such kind of policies of Wilhelm II.

After this journey, the relationship between these two empires gained momentum. The Ottoman Empire started to feel German imperialism with that journey. Also, the German Empire started to penetrate the natural sources and some important devices of the Ottoman Empire, which would support and benefit the German Empire while founding their *Weltpolitik* and imperialistic policy, threatening the balance of powers.

### **European Political Atmosphere Before the Second Journey of Wilhelm II**

On November 19, 1897, Abdülhamid met with Freiherr Marschall Bieberstein, envoy of the German Empire. Bieberstein informed the sultan about; the Kaiser joined the following year at the ceremonial inauguration of the newly built church in Jerusalem. The Sultan noted that he had often had the opportunity to express the true religious meaning and deep understanding of the Kaiser to appreciate the importance of religion and preserve religious sentiment in the army. Abdülhamid II conveyed his warmest thanks to the Kaiser via von Bieberstein for the kind acceptance of his officers in the Prussian army. (Lepsius et al., 1924, pp. 557-558)

With the announcement of the journey, the Ottoman opposition tried to make their voices heard to the German Emperor and the world. Especially the *Mechveret* newspaper complained about the Hamidian regime to the German Emperor and the world. (Z, Y. Guillaume II et Abdul-Hamid. *Mechveret Supplement Français*, 1 November 1897. 1–2) They also criticized Germany's cooperation with the Hamidian regime for its own interests. (*Ganem, Mechveret Supplement Français*, 15 November 1897. 2–3) Not only Ottoman opposition but also German media criticised this journey and the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire. *Badische Landeszeitung* criticised Kaiser because of that journey and charged Abdülhamid with killing Armenians. (Ortaylı, 2015, pp. 88–89)

Also, Britain, France, and Russia followed the journey curiously. That journey had seen as a revival of the Protestant politics, aiming the patronizing them, of Wilhelm IV. (Richter, 1997, p. 146)<sup>3</sup> Some views claimed that Wilhelm had an intention to become the protector of the Ottoman Empire and Muslims. (Kampen, 1968, pp. 134–146) This approach confirms that this journey is a "Soft Crusade". The Zionist weekly *Die Welt* also welcomed the sympathy for the German Emperor in İstanbul: Wilhelm II, as mentioned, had declared himself a patron of the Zionist project, and now the intercession with the Sultan for the Zionist plan announced by him had seemed to him to assume the character of a trusted friendly council. (Richter, 1997, pp. 81–82)

Not only the Kaiser but also the Zionist movement had the same enthusiasm. They believed that the Jewish settlement and state would be found with the alliance with the German Empire. Zionist newspaper *Die Welt* published some news on October 28 1898 and stated that the German Empire would bring a flourish to Palestine. (Polkehn, 1975, p. 79) *The Times* mentions the plan of the building of second Lutheran Church in Jerusalem by Gustavus Adolphus Society. That society had 30.000 marks for their aim. Most of the members of that society were German Orangemen. ('The German Emperor's Journey', *The Times*, 19 October 1898, 5.) French newspapers saw that journey as a beneficial business travel. French journal *Le Figaro* claimed that; "the German Empire and the Austria-Hungary Empire, harmed the European Concert. Also, If Wilhelm II, tried to gain a port in Jerusalem and tried to become the protector of both Protestants and Catholics he took Britain on." (Duo Contre Quator', *Le Figaro*, 20 October 1898, 1.) Also there is a coincidence about the year of that journey. 100 years before that journey, Napoleon had invaded Egypt and had an influence on the birth of Orientalism. Wilhelm II wanted to have an influence in the West with diplomatic way rather than Napoleon's way.

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<sup>3</sup> The Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm IV. endorsed to build a Protestant diocese in Jerusalem together. The establishment of this bishopric influenced the other Christian churches. In response to the founding of the Protestant diocese, the Vatican again occupied the chair of the Latin Patriarch for the first time since the Crusader period, and the Orthodox Church from now on also paid special attention to the selection of its Palestinian clergy to position themselves vis-à-vis the two competing denominations true.

## Kaiser's Days in İstanbul

The first plan of the journey also includes an Egyptian journey, but later, Kaiser canceled the Egyptian journey because of intelligence about an assassination of the Kaiser. Also, the assassination news changed the time of journey and shortened it by almost 1 month. The German press gave so much importance to that attempt and wrote many things about it. Even some newspapers like *Berliner Tageblatt* gave the details of the attempt. (*'Erfreuliche Wendungen', Berliner Tageblatt und Handelszeitung*, 18 October 1898, 1) But when the time came, that plan had changed so much especially because of the cancelation of the Egyptian part of the journey.<sup>4</sup>

The Kaiser and the Kaiserin began their journey on October 12, 1898, from Potsdam. It was planned that the Kaiser and the Kaiserin arrive in İstanbul on October 17. But because of the bad weather conditions, ships were obliged to anchor in Senta. (*B.O.A. Y.PRK.ASK 145/36.; B.O.A. Y.PRK.PT 18/49.*) Abdülhamid II sent a commission to Çanakkale to welcome the royal guests. ('Almanya İmparatoru Hazretlerinin Seyahatleri', *İkdam*, 16 October 1898, p. 1; *B.O.A.Y.PRK.HH 30/72.; Hatıra-i Seyahat*, 1899)

Abdülhamid II was not the only person who waited for the Kaiser for a long time. Theodor Herzl also had waited for Kaiser for a long time. He had sent a letter to Kaiser via von Bülow, Ambassador of Vienna, Philip zu Euleunberg. Herzl thought that; the Sultan could not understand the aspect of help that Zionists can make, but he believed that Kaiser would persuade him. The Kaiser did not doubt that with the financial and human resources of Jews disposal, they would seed in carrying the colonization of Palestine. Herzl said that he made an effort to make the world Zionism a *Terme Reçu* (Household World). The Kaiser also remarked that the Jews would support the colonisation of Palestine if they knew that he was keeping them under his protection and that, therefore, they would not be leaving Germany. Bülow also stated that wealthy Jews did not support that. The last thing Kaiser said was that he was the only person who recognized Abdülhamid as a Sultan and could persuade the Sultan. Kaiser asked Herzl for his request from him, and Herzl told his request: An autonomous community under the protection of the German Empire. (Herzl, 1923, pp. 175–202) According to Bülow; Kaiser's expressions somewhat was a precursor of future Ottoman-German relations. Kaiser and the German Empire exploited the Ottoman Empire for the profit of the German Empire.<sup>5</sup> "Herzl had a chance to share his ideas and wills to the Kaiser, but he only took general answers from the Kaiser, and the Kaiser told him that he would talk about the situation of the Jewish Society with the Sultan." (Stewart, 1974, p. 20) Wilhelm II was on Herzl's side and wanted to recite and enforce the plan of a Chartered Company with his host Abdülhamid II on October 18. The Kaiser twice tried to introduce and endorse the Zionist plans the Sultan already

<sup>4</sup> According to the first plan Kaiser would arrive to Berlin on December 15 but he arrived on November 26.

<sup>5</sup> Bülow did not lean to Jews, for that reason, he didn't mention about that meeting in his memoir.

knew. However, he met with clear resistance. We do not know precisely when the talks took place during the visit to İstanbul. Because of the Kaiser's impatience, it is quite conceivable that the same evening he published the subject at the Sultan's table.(Benner, 2001, p. 251)

The Kaiser and the Kaiserin arrived in İstanbul on October 18, 1898. The Sultan wore a Field Marshall uniform and German Cross Medal. That shows the importance which Sultan Abdülhamid gave to his guests and relations between the Ottoman Empire and German Empire. Kaiser dazzled with his Hussar uniform. He reflected the militaristic views of Germany and *Weltpolitik* of himself after the forced resignation of Bismarck. In addition to the representation of the Kaiser as German head of state, the German business interests were not forgotten, even if they were treated discreetly on the ground. The positively developing relationship between Abdülhamid II and Wilhelm II, played an important role. *The British Pall Mall Gazette* correctly recognized this before the visit: "If Germany concrete concessions which are refused to any other power, it is principally because of the statesman who rules today has succeeded in obtaining the confidence of the sultan by giving him proofs of his friendship during most critical times." (Benner, 2001, pp. 254-256)

The reporter of *Frankfurter Zeitung* claimed that There was no Catholic interest in the journey. Most probably, it was about the sect of the Kaiser and the main aim of that journey. Because the Kaiser was a Protestant, he organised that journey to open the Protestant Church in Jerusalem, Erlöserkirche.(Alkan, 2008, p. 17) Even if Wilhelm II was seen as a religious leader because of his religious education and likened to Charlemagne and seen as almost a god, his main aim was to achieve the requisites of his *Weltpolitik*.(Soy, 2007, p. 120)

The Kaiser and the Kaiserin would go to German Embassy for lunch and visit the German School on the first day of his journey.('Kaiser and Sultan Meet', *The New York Times*, 19 October 1898, 7; 'The German Emperor's Journey', *The Times* 19 October 1898,) While the royal guests walked on the streets and saluted the people, people also salute them with great respect. The exclamations of "Padişahım Çok Yaşa" (Long live Sultan) and "Long live Kaiser" echoed in the streets. The usage is far away from Islam and Islamic usage. That is more like "Long live Queen!" (Deringil, 1999, p. 22)

In the second day of the journey, Kaiser met with Großholic, the director of Eastern Railways and Teutonia Club. That reflects the imperialistic approach of the Kaiser. Also, it is interesting that the Kaiser met with the delegate of Papacy Senior Bonetti.( 'The German Emperor in Constantinople', *The Times*, 20 October 1898, 3; 'Tötonyada', *İkdam*, 23 October 1898, 1898, 3;) It can be understood from that meeting, the Papacy, and the Kaiser was trying to break the ice between the protector of Protestants, the German Empire, and the Catholic World. During the first days of the journey, Kaiser Wilhelm sent a letter to his cousin Russian Tsar Nicholas II, and said that if Nicholas intervened in the Cretan Problem, he would end the conflict and win the graduate both Muslims and Christians. (Goetz, 1920, pp. 58-62) That letter shows that; the Problem of Crete is not only a problem



between the Ottoman Empire and Greece. All of the Great Powers had an interest in that problem, and the emperors even talked about that problem in their personal writings. That also shows that the Kaiser saw the Ottoman not as an ally but as a junior partner in their relationship.

On the last day of the journey in İstanbul, October 22, The Kaiser gets a fountain built known as *Alman Çeşmesi* (German Fountain). The opening of the fountain was planned for September 1, 1900, the 25<sup>th</sup> year of the coronation of Abdülhamid II, but it opened on January 27, 1901, the birthday of Wilhelm II. It was written on the tablet of the fountain: “The clear running water from this fountain is the mark of the brilliant friendship between the two empires.” (Türk, 2012, p. 129) This fountain has been a sign of the relationship between the two empires and this journey.

In addition, one of the most precious acquisitions of the journey were privileges of the building of the dock of Haydarpaşa, operating right of the ferry between Haydarpaşa and Sirkeci and the last privilege was the wiring of the telegraph line between Constanza and İstanbul. We can see the Eastern Policy of the German Empire as a railway policy; the privileges about the railways which were given to the German Empire were so important. Baghdad Railway was a corridor for Germany’s Imperial Policy to expand from Anatolia to Mesopotamia. That project was a menace for Britain. Because when that project would reach out to the Persian Gulf, she lost her supremacy to the German Empire. The German Empire would balance the situation and break the supremacy of Britain after the opening of the Suez Canal. (Reyhan, 2005, pp. 227–228) As for the Baghdad railway company in particular, the German economic penetration of the Ottoman Empire in general also means that it has been increasingly promoted by the German government and the Kaisers, and indeed advanced in certain areas. (Schöllgen, 2000, p. 130)

We can say that the Kaiser prepared everything before the journey via his officers and made formal things about the treaties during the journey and complete details about the colonization process and purposes of the Ottoman Empire. Some intellectuals criticised that type of privileges. For instance, Ahmed Rıza wrote in *Mecheveret* on October 1, 1900, those privileges were not for the sake of the Ottoman Empire; those were for the Great Powers. (Sönmez, 2012, p. 109)

### **A Soft Crusade**

During the second part of the journey, while shipping to Palestine, The Kaiser said that Britain has a hand in the Problems of Armenian and Cretan. (*B.O.A. Y. PRK.UM 43/129.*) That speech was one of the claims of the German Empire’s abandonment of the balance policy and peaceful discourses during the time of Otto von Bismarck and the Realpolitik policy.

Thousands of people poured out to see the arrival of the German Kaiser fleet, like the German colony Haifa assembled in joyful anticipation. (Schneller, 1900, p. 7) It was the first time in 670 years that an emperor of the German nation entered the Holy Land. Friedrich II Hohenstaufen (1194-1250), who had made a crusade to the Holy Land, was the last to land in Acre in 1228. From Mount Carmel, Wilhelm II and his retinue looked down on Haifa with its German colony there. Later a Kaiser Wilhelm monument was built and called the place before Kaiser Wilhelm Square at there. (Carmal, 2000, p. 32) Of course, the Kaiser had political and economic aims in that journey. On October 17, 1898, the newspaper *Le Matin* claimed that the Kaiser wanted to build a naval base in Haifa and that this was the main purpose of the trip. (Carmal, 2000, p. 31) Also, the German Empire wanted to build a colony there and wanted to acquire the location on the Bay of Acre location as a base for its fleet, Haifa was chosen, however, especially for security reasons as a landing place. (Richter, 1997, pp. 120–121) That is proof of Kaiser's aim to colonisation of Syria and challenge to the British Empire and France in the race of colonisation.

An official welcome of the Protestant community of the Templars, the German Catholic community, and the Ottoman city authorities took place on the morning of October 26 in the garden of the German consulate. The Kaiser promised the foreign Germans his protection and pointed to the critical colonisation work of German settlers to increase the fertility and economic-cultural prosperity of Palestine. The fact that the head of the German Empire church treated the Württembergian Free Church of the Templars without reservation strengthened the loyalty of this religious group to the homeland immensely. (Benner, 2001, pp. 275–276) The Kaiser promoted the German Missions during his journey. *Jerusalem Verein, Evangelische Bund, and Deutsche Orient Mission* started their colonisation movements in Palestine in the early 1890s. Those missions began to spread Protestantism in Palestine, other parts of the Ottoman Empire and Russia. (Ortaylı, 2015, pp. 99–100)

The royal guests went to Mount Carnel, where a German- American Mission School was situated. ('The Emperor in Palestine', *The New York Times*, 27 October 1898, 7.) The Kaiser met with the presenters of the German colony after the school visit. Hereupon the evangelical community addressed a word of greeting to the royal guests, which was reciprocated with a cordial counter-desire for prosperity and gracious encouragement to undaunted further evangelical work. (Schneller, 1900, p. 11) That shows that Wilhelm II wanted to penetrate all colonial institutions in the Ottoman Empire. That also can be seen as a challenge to Britain, France and Russia.

The royal guests arrived at Jaffa on October 27. The royal guests spent their time *Hotel du Parc* near the old town of Jaffa and the Jerusalem Hotel of the Templars *Ernst Hardegg*. In this way, Wilhelm II, summoned episcopos of the Evangelical Church of the older provinces of Prussia, held the balance between Templars and Protestants during his visit. Paul Tietz, one of the directors of the German Colony in Jaffa spoke about the difficulties they faced and added that those

difficulties were an important factor in the foundation of four German colonies in Palestine. (Alkan, 2008, p. 30)

*Le Figaro* published an article about the colonisation movement of Wilhelm II and his relationship with Abdülhamid II. In that article author of *Le Figaro* expresses that the German Empire would gain essential bases in the Levant region, and Abdülhamid II granted benevolent protection to the Germans living in his state. Also Abdülhamid II and the Ottoman Empire also benefited Germans living in the East. ('Nouvelles', *Le Figaro*, 30 October 1898, 3)

On October 28, Kaiser went to Jerusalem, the road leading from the coast to the Judean highlands. Now the paths of Wilhelm II and Theodor Herzl crossed again, who had recently disembarked in Jaffa. Herzl was waiting for the Kaiser in the Jewish settlement Mikweh. There is a controversy about the Kaiser's meetings in Jerusalem. Although other sources claimed that; Kaiser Wilhelm met with Theodor Herzl, his Minister Bülow told the opposite of that. (von Bülow, 1930, p. 254) Bülow told about a deputation of Zionists who made a speech to the Kaiser. Wilhelm II was initially enthusiastic about the Zionist idea because, in this way he hoped to free his country from many elements that he did not particularly like. According to the notes of Herzl, he talked with the Kaiser about the situation in Palestine. The other important thing about that conversation is; that a member of Rothchild was there during the meeting. (Herzl, 1923, p. 210) It is interesting that; some German newspapers mentioned that meeting but did not give the name of Herzl and only mentioned a Jewish committee. *Kaiser Wilhelm in Jerusalem', Berliner Tageblatt und Handelszeitung*, 31 October 1898, 1)

Kaiser and Kaisein arrived in Jerusalem on 29 October. The royal guests entered the city by the Jaffa way and use the gate of the Tower of David. That gate was reconstructed because only the city's conqueror could enter from that gate on horseback. While the royal guest entered the city, a military band played the German Anthem. ('Suriye Seyahatinde', *Sabah*, 31 October 1898, 1) The royal guests visited the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, where Jesus was crucified according to Christianity. (*B.O.A. Y. EE. 81/1.*) Here they were received by the Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Armenian clergy, headed by Mgr. Piavi, the Latin Patriarch. ('The German Emperor in Jerusalem', *The Times*, 31 October 1898, 5.) The Kaiser gave them some ranks. (*B.O.A. Y. PRK.PT. 18/76.*) That was a sign of the Kaiser's efforts to claim the protectorate over not only German Christians but also all of the Christian World. The visit of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher made sense from the point of view of the church's political point of view after all the Kaiser honoured the Catholic and the Eastern Church traditions.

According to *Neue Freie Presse* that the Palestinian journey had been undertaken with the express purpose of the dedication of the Church of the Redeemer. Wilhelm II probably wanted a secure position for Protestantism in the Holy Lands. The Zionist *Die Welt* also described the inauguration of the Church of the Redeemer as the purpose of the voyage. The Catholic *Germania* placed Wilhelm II meanwhile in the tradition of great Christian Wilhelm II join the ownership of the Johanniter Hospital in the footsteps of Justinian and Charlemagne. The Catholic

newspaper pointed to the connections of these two emperors with the Holy Land, Justinian had the first pilgrim's hospital built in Jerusalem and Charlemagne received the keys of the Holy Sepulcher from the caliph Harun al Rashid. *Germania* thus offered its Catholic readers an offer to meet the evangelical Kaiser and his journey to the inauguration of a Protestant church to identify. (Richter, 1997, pp. 133–134) We may say that Wilhelm II wanted to take the role of influential emperor of the West and the leader of the Christian World.

The Kaiser not only tried to become the patron of Protestants in the Holy Lands, he also wanted to gain the support of the German Catholics in these lands, especially in Jerusalem. From the early days of 1898 von Bülow and Marschall tried to acquire land on Mount Zion, where Christians believed the Virgin Mary had died, which is also known as *La Dormition de la Sainte Vierge* for the German Catholics. Although the landowners did not want to sell this land, the Sultan bought it there and gifted it to the Kaiser. (Gummer, 2010, p. 241) With that important gift and policies of the Kaiser to gain the support of the German Catholics, France lost her prestige among the Catholics in the Ottoman Empire. Also, the effect and influence of the German Empire increased among the Catholics in the Ottoman Empire. (Yorulmaz, 2014, pp. 135–136) The Ambassador of Britain in Jerusalem wrote a report. According to that report, The journey of the Kaiser, the respect of the Ottoman Empire to him, and the privileges given to the German Empire would increase the prestige of the German Empire and help expand the German influence in Palestine. (Ortaylı, 2015, p. 97)

In the early hours of the morning on October 31, the royal guests went to *Die Erlöserkirche* (Church of the Redeemer). (Sabah, 2 November 1898, 1.) The Kaiser opened the new church. (*İkdam*, 2 November 1898, p. 1)<sup>6</sup> The dedication of the new church was the most important action of the Kaiser in the holy city. He was dressed as a crusader in full military regalia, flanked by the Knights of Order of St. John as he proceeded to the church entrance. (*'Kaiser Wilhelm in Jerusalem', Berliner Tageblatt Und Handelszeitung*, 2 November 1898, p. 1) The service followed a hierarchical ritual of court protocol, while Wilhelm was being presented with a key to the neo-Romanesque church. (*Das Deutsche Kaiserpaar Im Heiligen Lands Im Herbst 1898*, 1899, pp. 235–239) That day is the reformation day for Protestant Christians. The Kaiser became Supreme Governor of the Evangelical Church of Prussia with that opening. (*Das Deutsche Kaiserpaar Im Heiligen Lands Im Herbst 1898*, 1899, p. 203)

Wilhelm II acquired the property and handed it to the German Association of the Holy Land for use by German Catholics. (Hohenzollern, 1922, p. 181) The German Community and the Kaiser intended to buy the tomb of Mary. (*B.O.A. Y.A. RES*, 96/9, n.d.; *B.O.A. Y.PRK.UM*, 43/93, n.d.; Soy, 2007, p. 132)<sup>7</sup> That land was bought from the Ottoman Empire and gifted to the Kaiser. (*'Die Pälastinareise Des*

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<sup>6</sup> İkdam only briefly mentioned that event, the newspaper didn't mentioned about the opening in detail.

<sup>7</sup>The construction of that church had begun in October 10, 1900. The plans of that church were drawn by Heinrich Reinhard, architect of Cologne Bishopric. That church was seemed like to Aachen Cathedral. Its construction was finished in 1910. Princes and princesses of Prussia and Bavaria. The Protestants and Catholics celebrated that opening enthusiastically.

*Deutschen Kaiserpaares', Berliner Tageblatt Und Handelszeitung*, 1 November 1898, 2.) *Die Kölnische Zeitung* published a telegram about the royal guests' entrance to the Tomb of David. The newspaper also mentioned the expectation which was given to the royal guests. According to that news, the Imam of the tomb said that; all doors are open to the friend of the Sultan, Kaiser. ('The German Emperor in Jerusalem', *The Times*, 3 November 1898, 3) The sultan himself bought the property (the price of 100,000 marks paid the Kaiser) and transferred it to Wilhelm II, who also paid the very substantial costs of transfer and registration fees so that there could be no question of a gift from the sultan. (Carmal, 2000, p. 37) The Kaiser also gained the right of the protectorate of Catholic Christians in the Ottoman Empire, which was given to France in 1740. (Schöllgen, 2000, p. 108)

In the morning of November 7, the Imperial couple travelled by rail through Lebanon to Damascus. (Benner, 2001, pp. 317–319) Approximately between 300.000- 400.000 people met the Kaiser. Kaiser almost went to raptures for that action of the citizens of Damascus. While holding the hands of Şakir Pasha, he said that; It's necessary to show Berliners that; How to meet a Kaiser. (*B.O.A. Y. EE. 81/1.*)

According to *Frankfurter Zeitung*; The Kaiser gains the sympathy of the Sultan and 300 Million Muslims. (Alkan, 2008, pp. 38–39) After that speech, Kaiser also made a speech and mentioned his sympathy for the Ottoman Empire and Muslims. He also claimed that: He was not only the protector of the Protestants and Catholics but also the protector of 300 Million Muslims. (von Bülow, 1930, p. 258) These words, however, have become the most well-known phrase in the eastern policy of Germany. For a short time, the diplomats hesitated and wondered whether these words should not be deleted or watered down. But it is also an opportunity to score a point. (Kaynar, 2004, p. 58) When Abdülhamid II heard that very satisfied from the speech of the Kaiser. The speech of the Kaiser also showed that The German Empire and the Ottoman Empire become eternal allies and friends. But only 20 years after that speech both of the empires had collapsed.

The reaction of the European press is immediate. With this speech, Germany breaks simply with the tradition of European firms, who have always tried to find a joint position on the Question of the East and puts itself without concessions on the side of the Sultan. The speech means the identification with the secular power of the Sultan, and with his religious authority as a Sultan-Caliph, that is to say an authority that also deals with Muslims beyond the Ottoman borders on Muslims under French, Russian and British domination. (Kaynar, 2004, p. 58) The critiques in Germany did not only think of the displeasure of those powers that ruled over Muslims when he read the speech; he also thought that he had to remind him that the story showed Sultan Saladin in a different way than the Kaiser's Fantasy saw him. (Kampen, 1968, p. 143) "Here, in one of the most notorious in a career marked by many notorious speeches, the Kaiser paid a gushing tribute to the medieval hero of Islam as one of the most chivalrous rulers of all times, the great Sultan Saladin a knight without fear or fault." (McMeekin, 2010, p. 14)

With this approach Wilhelm II shows his soft power. It is inevitable that colonizing with soft power is always easier and more stable than colonizing using

the hard power of the states and empires. Because with soft power, natural sources and privileges from the country on which are used that power on and gain her friendship and sympathy of her subjects are gained. The German Empire achieved that situation very successfully upon the Ottoman Empire and her subjects until the end of World War I.

The reinforcement of friendship was intended to safeguard German interests in the Ottoman Empire. Less than two months later, the concession was rewarded with a concession to build a port and railway station on the east side of the Bosphorus. France, England, and Russia, however, probably felt Wilhelm's statement was a provocation directed directly to their address. After all, most of those three hundred million Muslims were directly or indirectly under the influence of these grandfathers.(Verroen, 2005, p. 21) The Kaiser's Damascus speech was just one step of a determined program. It was said that there was affection between the Kaiser and the Sultan; the Orient journey provided an excellent opportunity for both sides to demonstrate and deepen this affection.(Yorulmaz, 2014, pp. 142-143)

Etienne Lamy saw the royal speech of Damascus as the most serious a Christian prince has ever addressed Islam. According to his views; Wilhelm II was not content to affirm his alliance with the sultan, to address a salute to the seven hundred thousand soldiers who became the auxiliary troops of German fate in the event of war, to thirty million Turks who, during the time of peace, become the tributaries of German commerce, and tribute and vows of the Kaiser were solemnly offered to three hundred million Muslims who populate the world which meant encouraging pan-Islamism. (Richter, 1997, p. 90) So, with this alliance, Wilhelm II not only wanted to make the Ottoman Empire a political and economic but also a military ally in case of a war against the British Empire, France, and Russia.

On one of the last days of the journey of the Kaiser, *Berliner Tageblatt* published news about the importance of the journey and influence of the German Empire upon the Ottoman Empire thanks to that journey by making a quotation from an Italian journal called *Don Chisciotte*. In that news: Incidentally, *Don Chisciotte* also devotes a lengthy consideration to the relationship between Germany and Turkey and emphasizes how Germany understood all its interests alone, and while the others argued about the hypothetical inheritance of the so-called sick man, Germany was clever and practical He had been able to give his care and to make himself indispensable to him. The Journey was merely the culmination of that colossal work. (*Berliner Tageblatt Und Handelszeitung*, 7 November 1898, 1.)

While the royal guests continued their journey in Damascus, the newspapers continued to publish news about that journey. *The Kolonialzeitung* regarded not only Syria and northern Mesopotamia as territories for German immigration, but also the country on either side of the Anatolian Railway. According to the *Kolonialzeitung*, Asia Minor, especially the area between Eskişehir and Ankara provided space and livelihood for many Thousand German settlers. The magazine already saw flourishing colonization by German peasants along the German line

from Haydarpaşa to Baghdad.(Richter, 1997, p. 198) When we look at the documents of *Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft* (The German-Orient Society), we can easily say that the German Kaiser and colonialist societies bet their boost on the privileges which they would gain during the journey of the Kaiser.('Sitzung Des Vorstandes Am 15. Mai 1898', 1898, pp. 1-5)

Wilhelm II and his entourage began the return journey on November 12, 1898, in Beirut. On the morning of November 26, Wilhelm II and Auguste Victoria arrived in Potsdam, and the Orient journey of Wilhelm II finished.

### **Effects of the Journey**

One of the most important acquisitions of the German Empire and the Kaiser from the Ottoman Empire was the renewing of arm trade contracts, which was interrupted by the resignation of Colmar von der Goltz in 1895. The importance of that arms trade is the entering of the Ottoman Empire into the sphere of the German Empire also with militarily. Because the arms trade would become one of the backbones of the German Empire with the new *Weltpolitik*. The Kaiser became the facilitator of the arms trade during this journey and the Ottoman Empire resumed to make arm trade with Krupp Company. With these agreements, Krupp Company became, one of the most important companies which contributed to the Ottoman – German relations.

Not only arm trade but also other aspects of the trade between the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire sharply increased after this journey. We can easily see that increase especially in the iron and steel trade. The German Empire also increased her iron and steel production, not only for arm trade but also she used that iron and steel during the construction of new railway projects, especially Baghdad Railway project.(Yorulmaz, 2014, pp. 147-148)

With that journey, by acquiring the Dormition for the Catholic Germans, favoring greater or absolute supremacy of papal over national or diocesan authority in the Roman Catholic Church, minded the Jesuits and their Allies in the Vatican bitter disappointment and embarrassment embarrassing and finally thrown the previous French protectorate over the Oriental Christians over the pile. But also, the economic interests would win through the trip. German industry and German trade are opening huge horizons. The retrospective effect of the journey will hopefully be asserted to the banks of the Euphrates.(Benner, 2001, p. 332) The journey can be considered a disappointment for the Zionists. Because they could not obtain the things they had desired and ensured that they would gain whatever they wanted thanks to the Kaiser.

The Ottoman- German relations were not only a trade partnership or military alliance is also a cultural and an archeological partnership. This partnership sharply increased during the reigns of Abdülhamid II and Wilhelm II. Berlin Museums began to brim with archeological relics which were exacted from

the lands of the Ottoman Empire. The Railway projects in the Ottoman Empire also increased migration and tourism. So, that project helped the recreate these lands. (Fuhrmann, 2009, p. 145)

Although the German advisors and the German Empire, used their military advisors and gave importance to the arms trade, they actually wanted to use the policy of 'peaceful imperialism'.(Fuhrmann, 2009, p. 143) Thanks to this method, they wanted to achieve their imperialistic policies in the Ottoman Empire in peaceful ways and gained the sympathy of the Ottoman Empire. They also aimed to gain a base in the Orient against their rivals, Britain, France, and Russia.

In both the first and the second Orient journey of the Kaiser, German entrepreneurs gained privileges and made some important agreements and took important promises from the Ottoman Sultan and from the government. Also, the Baghdad Railway project is the result of the Orient Journey of the Kaiser. So that journey is so successful. (Yorulmaz, 2014, p. 143)

In 1898, the German entrepreneurs began to project railways; they wanted to reach British India.(McMeekin, 2010, pp. 153–154) Just after the journey of the Kaiser, Deutsche Bank gained the privilege of the construction of Haydar Paşa Station. The Haydar Paşa railway was a crucial step for the Baghdad Railway, and the German entrepreneurs wanted to secure it. (Deren, 2004, pp. 78–80) In January 1902, Deutsche Bank was allowed to set up the Baghdad railway line between Konya and Basra. In 1904, Wilhelm included the Prussian State Bank in the project.(McMeekin, 2010, p. 42; Verroen, 2005, p. 19)

Even though the Ottoman Empire did not have an aim like flattery, almost all ranks of the Ottoman Empire knew about the importance of the German Empire and the alliance between these two empires. They also knew that the German Empire was the only hope for the Ottoman Empire to save and rescue herself from the Western imperialist powers, especially Britain, France, and Russia. For that reason, they show their interest and affection to the Kaiser and the German Empire turgidly.

### **Differences from the First Journey**

While the first journey of Wilhelm II is limited to İstanbul, on the second journey Wilhelm II, also went to Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon. That makes this journey not only a pilgrimage for the Kaiser but also a challenge to European Powers. Because in this journey, Wilhelm II declared not only his protectorate on Muslims, but also Christians. With the declaration of the protectorate on Christians, Wilhelm II, steal these powers' thunder. Because during that Era, Russia was the protector of the Orthodox, the British Empire was the protector of Protestant Church. By doing this Wilhelm II and the German Empire aimed to outdo the positions of these European Powers and wanted to establish his political, religious and economic power by gaining the sympathy of Muslims and Christians.



When we look at the consequences of the first and the second journey of Wilhelm II, we see some differences. Although the first journey started the German influence and expansion in the Ottoman Empire in economic, military, and political ways, the second journey strengthened the German Empire's position in the Ottoman Empire. Also, with the second journey of Wilhelm II, The German Empire bid defiance to other European Powers, especially the British Empire, the Russian Empire, and France.

Although, the Ottoman Empire had partnership in some areas, such as economic and military areas with the German Empire, until the second journey of Wilhelm II, the main partners of the Ottoman Empire was the British Empire and France. So, we may say that while the first journey of Wilhelm II's started the penetration of the German Empire into the Ottoman Empire, the second journey make the German Empire as the senior partner of the Ottoman Empire, and after that journey, the Ottoman Empire started to articulate to the German Empire and gave privileges to the German Empire in economic, military and almost all other areas.

The Kaiser gained many things with his two journeys. With the first one; the Ottoman Empire ordered weapons from the *Krupp* Company, with the second one; his Empire and Companies gained economic privileges in the Ottoman Empire. Also, the second benefit of that journey is the ordering of Krupp Weapons by the Ottoman Empire. Krupp also benefited from the current upswing in which the German economy had been incautious possession of the concession for the construction of the Anatolian Railway by *Deutsche Bank* since the equally cautious Bismarck acquisition, even during the agreements which Colmar von der Goltz signed.

## Conclusion

The journey of the Kaiser can be considered as the beginning of a new era not only for the Ottoman Empire, but also for the German Empire. These two empires became absolute allies and they linked to each other. As the time going by that relationship turned into almost a Catholic marriage, drawing apart from each other became impossible. Because both of them support each other more effectively, while they were moving away from the European Diplomacy. So, I claim that they made that alliance to get rid of from isolationism and pressures of the other European powers.

In effect, the Kaiser's journey served as 'a new and memorable starting-point' in the *Drang nach Osten* (Drive to the East) policy. The Orient journey, as a 'romantic incident' of an export-oriented expansionist strategy, provided a guaranteed and facilitated market for German products especially the trade which was supported and guaranteed by the government. (Yorulmaz, 2014, pp. 142-143)

Consequences of the journey also was the sign of the condition of these two empires. On the one hand, the Ottoman Empire were trying to prevent her collapse and find an ally and saviour from her bad situation on the other hand, the German Empire wanted to rise and transformed into a world power under the rule of Wilhelm II. While, the German Empire support the Ottoman Empire against internal, especially about Armenian Problem, and external problems, she started to penetrate into the sources and materials of the Ottoman Empire. We can see this relation as a mutual win-win relation. Both of the powers needed each other to continue their policy.

Also, The Ottoman subject felt the effect of the German influence in the Empire. Some German authors mentioned in their travelogues, about Orient cities like, Ankara, Eskişehir instead of French influenced port cities like, İzmir or other Greek dominated Ottoman coastal cities. The authors thought that, thanks to that influence in the Orient, they can more easily achieve their aim and gain sympathy of the Ottoman Empire and the subject. The other acquisition of the Ottoman Empire, which she gained after that journey is the German support in internal and external diplomacy. The German authorities adopted the policy of von der Goltz. With that policy, the German Empire increased their support to the Ottoman Empire and reduce, even came to an end their cultural, economical and academic support to Greek Kingdom. They also even reduced their support to Greek subject of the Ottoman Empire.(Fuhrmann, 2009, pp. 142-143)

The extension of the Anatolian Railway was dilated. Siemens did not succeed in gaining English capital for participation in this company. On the other hand, the Imperial Ottoman Bank, which was dominated by French capital, agreed to cooperate. The majority of the capital of 60% was to be raised by Deutsche Bank, the remaining 40% had to be taken over by the French group. On May 29, 1899, the Anatolian Railway Company filed a concession application for the construction of the Baghdad Railway at the gate. The sultan gave the preconference on November 25, 1899. But it would take a few more years before construction began. (Richter, 1997, p. 122)

General view of the journey is the desire of the Kaiser to penetrate the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East to challenge his enemies. But, he also had to do it, so he was obliged to do this to survive. Because he and his empire harmed the Concert of Europe and became alone. Finally, most historians saw the German Military Advisors as a turning point in the relations between these two empires. Although it is true, this journey is more important. Because of this journey, the Ottoman Empire and the German Empire become exactly allies and a fellow travelers during the first two decades of the 20th century. This journey also should be viewed from this aspect.

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