

RUSTUM

THE ROYAL ARCHIVES OF EGYPT  
AND THE DISTURBANCES IN  
PALESTINE 1834

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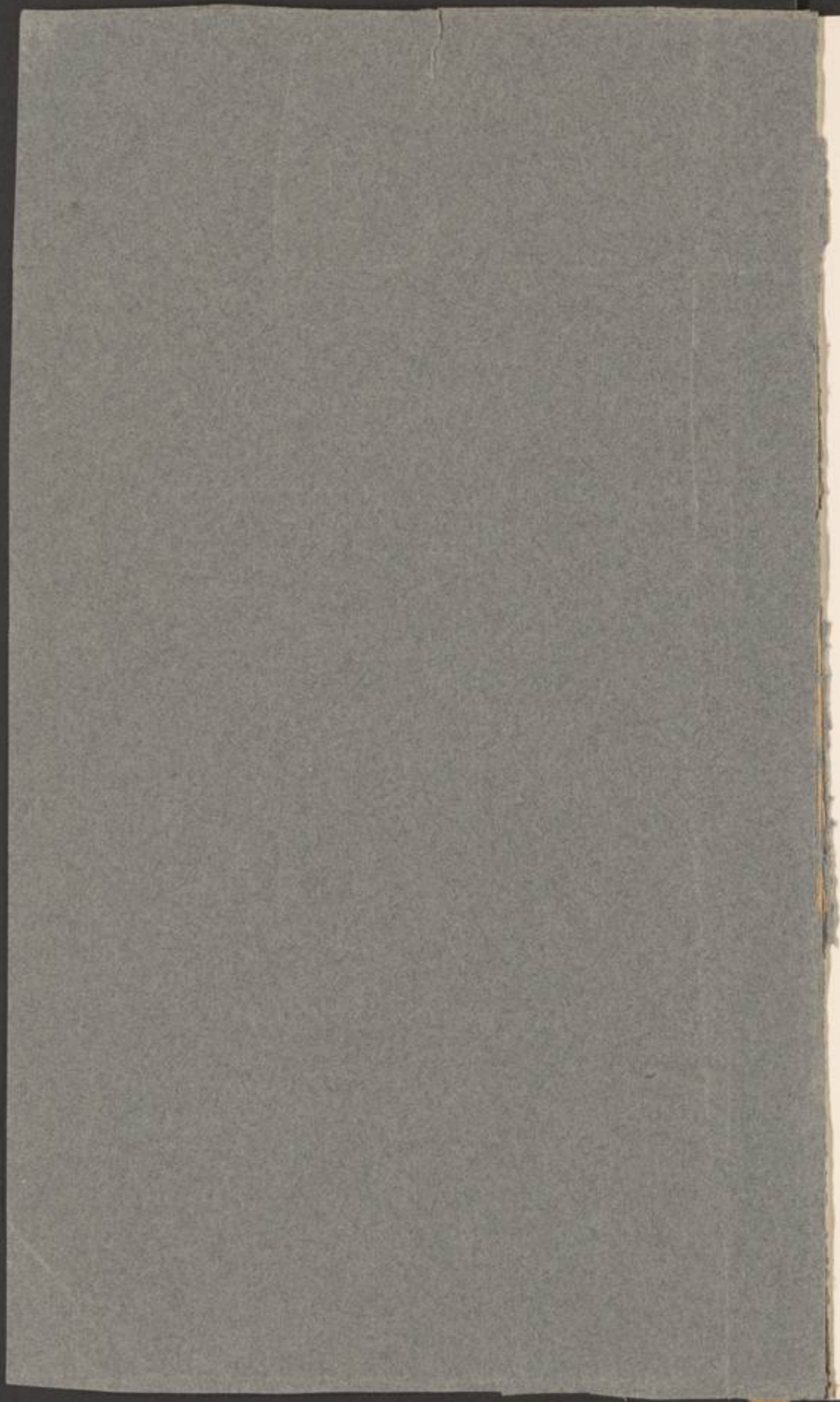
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ASAD J. RUSTUM

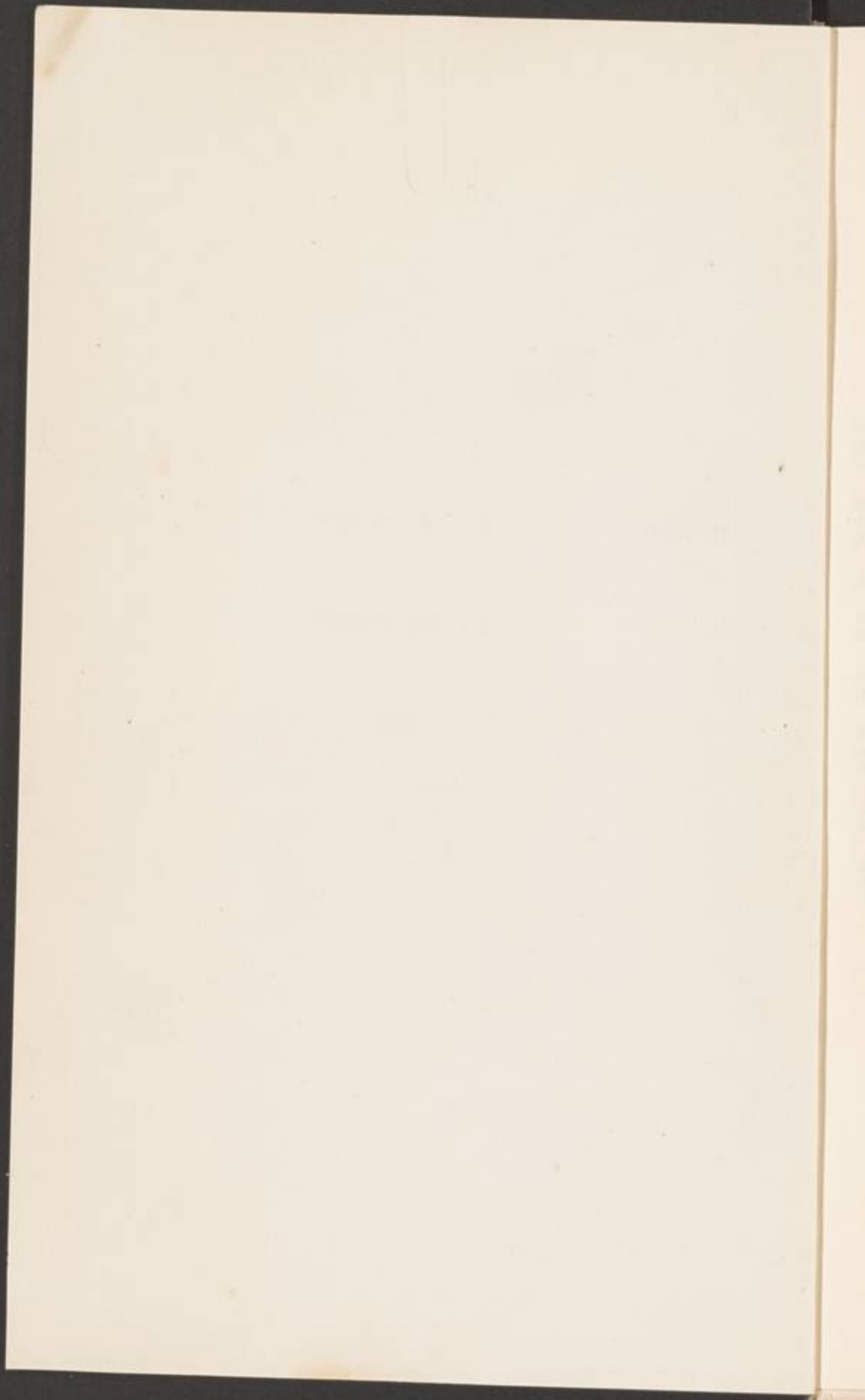
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1834

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**THE ROYAL ARCHIVES OF EGYPT  
AND  
THE DISTURBANCES IN PALESTINE**

1834 |

BY  
*ibrahim*  
**ASAD J. RUSTUM**

PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL HISTORY  
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## PREFATORY NOTE

Like my previous report, "The Royal Archives of Egypt and the Causes of the Egyptian Expedition to Syria", this paper is intended to present the point of view of Cairo on the events of 1834. "If it arouses scientific criticism, and thus helps to uncover the truth", this paper will have served its purpose.

My first duty is to thank His Egyptian Majesty, King Farouk the First, for having allowed me to continue my studies at Abdin Palace. I have also to record my indebtedness to H. E. Ali Mahir Pasha, Chief of His Majesty's Cabinet, Joseph Gelat Bey, Georges Guindi Effendi, and other officials of the Palace for their great kindness and help.

It is likewise my pleasant duty to acknowledge helpful suggestions from Professor William J. Van Dyck of the American University of Beirut, and Rev. Paul Erdman of the American Mission Press.

A. J. R.

American University of Beirut,  
Beirut, Jan. 8, 1938.

THE HISTORY OF THE

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## THE DISTURBANCES IN PALESTINE

1834

### A. Causes :

1. The Religious Background
2. Political Dissatisfaction
3. Were the Sublime Porte and Russia Responsible for the Revolt ?
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THE HISTORY OF THE

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## I. THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

It would be a mistake to assume with Professor Muhammad Sabry of Cairo that Ibrahim Pasha was admired and was regarded everywhere in Syria-Palestine, in 1831, as a saviour.<sup>1</sup> The Royal Archives of Egypt would not even allow us to say with Ambassador Charles-Roux that the Arab Moslems of the day showed "symptoms of partiality" in favour of Mehemet Ali Pasha or his son Ibrahim.<sup>2</sup> On the contrary, there is abundant evidence in these archives to show that Ibrahim Pasha was regarded with antipathy in almost all circles in Syria and Palestine. In one of his longest letters to his father, dated Rabi II, 9, 1248 A.H., Ibrahim Pasha says definitely and emphatically that the inhabitants of Syria, Palestine, and Adana had accepted his rule unwillingly and under stress of circumstances.<sup>3</sup> While yet engaged in the conquest of Palestine, and before Acre had fallen into his hands, Ibrahim Pasha complained more than once of the insincerity and duplicity of the inhabitants of Nablus and Jerusalem. Similar charges appear elsewhere in the archives against the residents of Damascus and Aleppo. The Christians and certain of the Druses of Mount Leba-

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(1) M. Sabry, *l'Empire égyptien sous Mohammed-Ali*, Paris, 1930, p. 198.

(2) F. Charles-Roux, *l'Égypte de 1801 à 1882 (Histoire de la Nation égyptienne VI)*, Paris, 1936, p. 155.

(3) Ibrahim Pasha to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 238, No. 72, Rabi II, 9, 1248 A.H.

non alone deserved his confidence and gained his good will.

Should we now search the same archives for a clear and specific explanation of this general antipathy to Egyptian rule in Syria-Palestine between 1831 and 1834 we would certainly be disappointed. Indirect information, however, is available. Many of the proclamations of Sultan Mahmud II to his subjects concerning his first struggle with the Pasha of Egypt are still preserved. They all emphasize the theological illegitimacy of the actions of Mehemet Ali Pasha, and call upon the faithful to abide by the famous verse in the Quran,

“O true believers, obey God and obey the Apostle, and those who are in authority among you; and if ye differ in anything refer it unto God and the Apostle, if ye believe in God and the last day : this is better, and a fairer method of determination.”<sup>4</sup>

In his appeal for the support of the public in Jerusalem,

(4) Wherry, E. M., A Comprehensive Commentary on the Quran : Comprising Sale's Translation and Preliminary Discourse etc. (London, 1896), Vol. II, p. 89.

« يا ايها الذين آمنوا أطيعوا الله وأطيعوا الرسول وأولى الامر منكم فان تنازعتم في شئ فردوه الى الله والرسول إن كنتم تؤمنون بالله واليوم الآخر ذلك خير واحسن تأويلًا » سورة النساء ٦٣

See also Qaim-maqam to Uthman Pasha, Abd. case 231, No. 63, Middle of Rajab, 1247 A.H.; Mahmud II to Muhammad Pasha of Aleppo, Abd. case 232, No. 160, End of Shawwal, 1247 A.H.

Abdullah Pasha touched the same cord several times.<sup>5</sup> Then, again, when he tried to win Mustafa Barbar to the side of the Sublime Porte, the Pasha of Acre reminded him of his connections with the family of the Prophet and of the religious traditions of the house in which he had been reared.<sup>6</sup> Osman Pasha, Commanding Officer of the Turkish army in Latakiah, was happy to report that the Moslems from Nablus and Tripoli who were serving on Ibrahim's side had refused to fire on the troops of the Sultan and had discharged their musketry in the air.<sup>7</sup>

Mehemet Ali Pasha, on the other hand, had admitted the efficacy of such religious arguments four years before the opening of his first campaign against the Sultan. Addressing a British consular agent in 1827 he said, "Such are the religious prejudices of these people, that they all desert a pasha when once under the interdiction of the Head of the Church. To oppose the Sultan with effect, a pasha must be strong enough to command public opinion,

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(5) Abdullah Pasha to Notables of Jerusalem, Jumada I, 29, 1247 A.H. Rustum, A. J., *A Corpus of Arabic Documents Relating to the History of Syria under Mehemet Ali Pasha* (Beirut, 1930), Vol. I, No. 23.

(6) Abdullah Pasha to Mustafa Agha Barbar, Abd. case 235, No. 106, undated—

« وحيث انتم لله الحمد اهل ديانته وتقوى وعلى الخصوص من اعضاء الرسول صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وسلم »

(7) Qaim-maqam Ahmad Khulusi to Muhammad Pasha of Aleppo, Abd. case 233, No. 51, Dhu-l-Qida 19, 1247 A.H. See also Army Bulletin; Abd. case 233, End of Dhu-l-Qida, 1247 A.H.

and that is not an easy matter." The troops of Mehemet Ali Pasha, like those of the rebel pasha in Kurdistan, might fall away from him "like sand off pilgrims' feet."<sup>8</sup>

Moreover, in the course of the years 1831 to 1833 Ibrahim Pasha avoided all points of theological and religious dispute. When very early in his first campaign, he was approached by the governor of Jaffa to look into the dispute over the religious donations in Hebron, Ibrahim Pasha put the question aside, saying that it was untimely.<sup>9</sup> Upon entering Damascus for the first time, in 1832, he flogged the imam of the big mosque for his hesitation to mention the Sultan's name in public prayers.<sup>10</sup> When, once or twice, he tried to win some of the Turkish generals to the side of his father, Ibrahim posed as the defender of Islam, and called upon them to join hands with him for the same purpose.<sup>11</sup> While the War against the Sultan was still in progress, Ibrahim Pasha did not dare weaken

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(8) Salt, Memorandum, January 20, 1827, enc. in despatch of February 10, 1827 (F.O. 78-160)—quoted by Dodwell, H., *The Founder of Modern Egypt. A Study of Mohammad Ali* (Cambridge, 1931), p. 107, note 3.

(9) Army Bulletin, Jumada II, 24, 1247 A.H.

(10) Anonymous, *Mudhakkarat Tarikhiyyah*, Arabic Manuscript 28424, American University of Beirut.

(11) Mehemet Ali Pasha to Ibrahim Pasha, Abd. case 3, doc. 185, Muharram 4, 1248 A.H.

Ibrahim Pasha to Allush Pasha, Abd. case 236, doc. 66, an undated preliminary draft.

Army Bulletin, Abd. case 236, doc. 119, Safar 20, 1248 A.H.

his forces in Crete, so long as "Moslems" continued to live on this island.<sup>12</sup>

Shaykh Abd-al-Latif Fathallah, a very prominent theologian in Beyrout at the time of the Egyptian occupation, regretted very much that the Egyptian Administration of the day had inaugurated certain sanitary reforms. In one of his letters to Sayyid Umar Beyhum, Head of the Egyptian Administrative Council in Beyrout, he says, "There is no doubt that extreme severity is being exercised because of the measures taken for the isolation of the plague. The dead are required to be buried within the premises of the Quarantine Station between two layers of quick lime, one beneath and one above the body, after which the lime is slaked with water. Such a procedure is contrary to the teachings of Islam as regards disrespect to the deceased, burning his body with lime, and thereby, subjecting him to torture. All these measures grieve us so deeply, wherefore, we repeat the words of the Holy Book, "There is no power nor might except in God, the Exalted and Great."<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, the Royal Archives of Egypt preserve the names of a relatively large number of Moslem theologians from Palestine and Syria who were either imprisoned or banished for their active opposition to the Egyptian Administration. Most prominent among such dignitaries, and deserving special attention on the part of Ibrahim

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(12) Ibrahim Pasha to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 240, doc. 148; Jumada II, 21, 1248 A.H.

(13) Manuscript Room, American University of Beirut, case 1254, Rabi I, 8, 1254 A.H.

Pasha, were Shaykh Abdullah-al-Budayri of Jerusalem, and Shaykh Said-al-Sadi of Acre.<sup>14</sup>

Equally important in this respect is the correspondence between Mehemet Ali Pasha and his son regarding the latter's temporary residence in the monastery in Jaffa. In a reply to a letter in which his conduct in this respect had been censured by his father, Ibrahim Pasha says, "I am fully aware of the correctness and propriety of your remarks regarding my stay at the monastery and its (evil) effects on Moslem public opinion. The extreme heat in Jaffa, however, compelled me to reside at the monastery, as I could find no other place in town equally exposed to the passage of fresh air."<sup>15</sup>

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(14) Muhammad Sharif Pasha to [Sami Bey], Abd. case 250 doc. 306, Shaban 27, 1250 A.H.

See also Abd. case 251 doc. 244, doc. 308; Abd. case 252, doc. 304.

(15) Ibrahim Pasha to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 249, doc. 49.

It is important to note, in this connection, that the Royal Archives of Egypt do not seem to contain any reference, whatsoever, to the charges made by some of the inhabitants of Nablus against the personal conduct of Ibrahim Pasha. Assuming that such charges ought to be seriously considered, Prof. Henry Dodwell incorporates them into the text of his history. On page 156 of his "Study of Mohammed Ali" he says, "There is no doubt that the revolt had been encouraged by agents from Constantinople, whose preaching might be reasonably inferred from an incident that occurred at Nablus. There a Turk mounted the minar of the mosque, and cried aloud: 'Does the Muslim religion exist no longer? Is it dead? Are we not Turks? Let every man who loves the Prophet take up



Thus, it would seem that the prestige which the Pasha of Egypt had gained throughout the Moslem World, as a result of his successful wars against the Wahhabis in Arabia and against the rebellious Greeks in the Morea, had disappeared by 1832. In these two wars, Mehemet Ali Pasha had posed as the champion of Islam against its internal and external foes. When, however, he dared throw off the mask in 1831 and declare himself openly against legitimate authority in Islam—The Caliph of Constantinople—Mehemet Ali Pasha exposed himself to bitter criticism in theological circles throughout Syria-Palestine and other Moslem lands. To the ordinary Moslems of the day, Mehemet Ali Pasha was not only undermining the authority of the Sultan of Constantinople, but he was also helping Europe in its age old schemes for the partition of the Caliphate, and was thus precipitating the demolition of the whole fabric of Islam. Very conservative circles deprecated almost all the reforms of the Pasha of Egypt; by adopting European customs in a general way, by enforcing quarantine regulations, by tolerating dissection in his newly established medical school, and by announcing a policy of equality between Moslems and non-Moslems, the Pasha had turned away from the true precepts of Islam and deserved reproach.

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arms against that man without faith, the giaour, Ibrahim Pasha ! That drunkard who always drinks spirits and wine, who eats pork and every dirt that comes from the sea, the same as the Christians do, who lives in the convents with priests and prays with them, but never goes to the mosque'." It is needless to state, in this connection, that the mere appearance of such charges in a consular report is not a sufficient indication of their truth.

Egyptians and Syrians, in a very general way, did not begin to see Mehemet Ali Pasha in his true light as a reformer until many years after his death. Like many other reformers, the Great Pasha and his son Ibrahim were certainly several decades ahead of their epoch.

## II. POLITICAL DISSATISFACTION

In the course of the three years preceding the disturbances in Palestine, 1831-1834, Ibrahim Pasha authorized certain changes in the administration of the country which did not fail to estrange from the Egyptian Government some important elements of the population. Decades of Turkish misrule and political confusion had raised a number of families to feudal rank and privilege. At the time of the Egyptian conquest the Abu-Gosh of the hills of Jerusalem, the Madis of Ijzim on the coast, and the Kassims, Jarrars, Tukans and Abd-al-Hadis of Nablus, had all become virtual rulers of separate districts. Outwardly Ibrahim showed them respect and actually left many of them in power. Inwardly, however, he loathed them. To one of his functionaries, some of these notables at least, seemed to be as bad as brigands.<sup>16</sup> As Ibrahim was modern in his general outlook, and, as privileges of this kind disagreed with his taste and conflicted with his modern concepts of government, political friction of a serious kind actually arose in Palestine between Ibrahim and practically all feudal lords.

Typical of this friction is the Abu-Gosh affair. The family of Abu-Gosh had ruled supreme over all the stretch

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(16) A functionary of the Diwan to Ibrahim Pasha, Abd. case 238, doc. 252, Rabi II, 1, 1248 A.H.

« متخذين الشفاوة واللصوصية ديناً لهم »

of land between the maritime plain of Ramlah and the gates of the Holy City. From Qaryat-al-Inab, their headquarters, they had threatened and controlled the main road for pilgrims from Jaffa to Jerusalem. In return for the protection which this family had accorded to pilgrims passing through their territory, they had exacted a toll from almost all Christian and Jewish wayfarers. Ibrahim, in his statesmanlike manner, prohibited this practice early in 1832; and thus took away from the Abu-Gosh family a considerable income. By estranging the Abu-Gosh feudal lords in this way, the Pasha naturally became unpopular wherever their tenants and supporters existed.<sup>17</sup>

In the district of Nablus, the Abd-al-Hadis and Tukans, had been struggling for political supremacy. Not very long before the outbreak of hostilities, Abdullah Pasha had decided in favour of the Tukans, had lent them local aid and protection, and had actually attracted to his fortress one of their leaders, Mustafa Bey.<sup>18</sup> The Abd-

(17) Rustom, A. J., *Corpus*, op. cit., I, p. 36. Ibrahim Pasha to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 232, doc. 137, Shawwal 22, 1247 A.H.

See also Army Bulletin, Abd. case 231, doc. 34; case 232, doc. 35.

« انا نشاهد بعض حركات من الشيخ المدعو ابو غوش وذلك بسبب مسألة الخمر  
ولكنه لا يستطيع عمل شيء »

Consult, likewise, Cadalvène et Barrault, *Histoire de la guerre de Mehemet-Ali contre la Porte Ottomane* etc. (Paris, 1837), pp. 76-78; Baron d'Armagnac, *Nezib et Beyrout*, (Paris, 1844), pp. 107-110.

(18) Ibrahim Pasha to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 231, doc. 41, Rajab 3, 1247 A.H.

See also Army Bulletin, Abd. case 231, doc. 17, Jumada II, 14-15, 1247 A.H.

al-Hadis had naturally been alienated from his cause, and had been forced to seek support in Cairo. Received, it would seem, with open arms by Mehemet Ali Pasha and his son Ibrahim, the Abd-al-Hadis had hurried to place their services at the disposal of the Egyptians the moment they made their appearance on the southern frontier of Palestine. In return, Ibrahim Pasha took their leader, Shaykh Husayn Abd-al-Hadi, into his confidence very soon after the siege of Acre had begun.<sup>19</sup> In disappointment and distress, the Tukans had sent one of their number, Asad Bey, to Cairo to solicit protection and favour. Mehemet Ali Pasha had actually recommended Asad Bey to Ibrahim Pasha in the hope of nourishing sedition in the camp of Abdullah Pasha. As Asad Bey, however, had insisted on the governorship of Nablus, Ibrahim Pasha had refused to listen to his case, and Asad

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(19) Salih [Agha] to [Sami Bey], Abd. case 231, doc. 23, Jumada II, 18, 1247 A.H.

Army Bulletin, Abd. case 231, doc. 25, Jumada II, 18, 1247 A.H.

Army Bulletin, Abd. case 231, doc. 28, Jumada II, 20, 1247 A.H.

Army Bulletin, Abd. case 231, doc. 124, Shaban, 20, 1247 A.H.

Note particularly, Ibrahim Pasha to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 232, doc. 2, Ramadan, 2, 1247 A.H.

« ان لمايخ نابلس عدواً لدوداً يدعى طوقان زاده اسمع بك »  
« قد تبين ان اهالي السنجاقين المذكورين ( القدس ونابلس ) غير مخلصين وانهم  
على جانب كبير من النفاق والمكر »

Bey had gone back to Cairo disappointed and sullen.<sup>23</sup>

Added to these elements of opposition were a number of former employees of Abdullah Pasha who had lost their positions and their prestige with the fall of St. Jean d'Acre into the hands of the Egyptians in 1832. Some of these partisans of Abdullah had actually been forced to leave Palestine with their former master.<sup>21</sup> Many, however, had remained in the country.<sup>22</sup> Of the latter, the most turbulent and mischievous seem to have been Shaykh Masud-al-Madi, and Asad Bey Khudr who, as we shall see, were destined to meet their end at the very threshold of the gate of St. Jean d'Acre.

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(20) Ibrahim Pasha to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 232, doc. 39, Ramadan 15, 1247 A.H.

« سيدي وولي نعمتي : انه حسب ارادتكم السنيه اردنا ان نبعث عبدكم الحخير اسعد بك طوقان زاده للاعتاب الخديوية عن طريق البحر فامتنع الموما اليه عن الذهاب من البحر وطلب السفر من البر وحيث انه قطع الامل عن تولى حكومة جبل نابلس التي كان طامعاً فيها فمن المرجح انه ينوي الفرار الى دمشق الشام كما لاحظ ذلك سعادة الامير بشير وسائر الاصدقاء والانصار بدليل اصرار الموما اليه على السفر من البر فاتنا نرى من اللازم حسب الاقتضا ارسال الموما اليه جبراً رغم اققه من البحر وفي النهاية على كل الامر لسيدي ١٥ رمضان سنة ٢٦  
سلام علي ابراهيم »

(21) Sami Bey to Ibrahim Pasha, Abd. case 240, doc. 8, Jumada II, 2, 1248 A.H.

(22) Muhammad Munib to Sami Bey, Abd. case 249, doc. 278, Jumada I, 9, 1250 A.H.

Muhammad Sharif Pasha to Amir Bashir II, Abd. case 250, doc. 309, Ramadan 1, 1250 A.H.

Rustum, A. J., Corpus, op. cit., II, pp. 138, 139.

“To our highly honoured and respected son—our present deputy in Acre—Shaykh Sulayman. May God, Most High, guard and protect him. At the date of this writing, His Excellency our highly privileged and exalted Seraskier has ordered that all former officials of the palace administration of ‘Abdullah Pasha be not allowed to remain in the happy provinces which are now within the area of his sublime administration. They must seek residence outside the above-mentioned provinces. In case, however, they desire to go to Cairo, assemble them and ship them together to Alexandria. As for Shaykh Sa‘id al-Sa‘di, who resides at present in Az-Zeeb, he is to be put under arrest and sent to Alexandria. You are further requested to write a letter concerning him to Zaki Effendi of the Khedivial Council in that region and thus inform him that Shaykh Sa‘id al-Sa‘di is exiled from this land to the land of Egypt. At this same date of writing His Excellency has issued an order to you to put to death the governor of Jaffa—As‘ad Bey al-Khadr. Now, if by the time his noble order reaches you, you have not already executed Shaykh ‘Isa-l-Madi, governor of Safad, you are to kill him, together with the governor of Jaffa, at the portal of the city gate; as a punishment for their crimes and a warning to others. And if by the time you receive this message Shaykh Mas‘ud al-Madi has reached you, you are to kill him at the portal of city gate. It is necessary thus to inform you of His Excellency’s noble commands. Upon receipt of this letter it is accordingly necessary that you forthwith make it impossible for all members of ‘Abdullah Pasha’s staff to continue in any of the Happy Provinces, and should ship them together to Cairo via

Alexandria in case they prefer to go there. As for the governors of Jaffa and Safad, see that you do not neglect to execute them. In like manner, in case Mas'ud al-Madi has arrived, enforce the noble order and put him to death at the portal of the town gate.

Also, allow no difficulty to prevent the arrest of Shaykh Sa'id al-Sa'di and his despatch to Alexandria, as stated in the order of the Seraskier. No further emphasis do you need in regard to these matters. May God preserve you.

Husayn 'Abd ul-Hadi,  
Governor of the Province of Sidon  
Plain of Nablus, Rabi I, 12, 250.<sup>23</sup>

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(23) Husayn Abd-al-Hadi to his son Sulayman, Rustum, A.J., Corpus, op. cit., II, p. 138.



### III. WERE THE SUBLIME PORTE AND RUSSIA RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DISTURBANCES ?

But for a long letter from Ibrahim Pasha to his father in which reference is made to the evil intentions of the Sublime Porte, the first part of this question would have been readily answered in the negative. Writing from Tripoli on the seventh of Muharram, 1251 A.H. (May 6, 1835) Ibrahim Pasha says, "Apart from these circumstances, and having observed the Turks try to instigate the inhabitants of these lands to rise (against us) we made the untimely call for independence and thus lost completely the confidence of the Turks (Sublime Porte) in us."<sup>24</sup>

As Professor Muhammad Sabry is of the opinion that the principal cause of the disturbances in Palestine was the instigation of the Sublime Porte, and as he bases his conclusion chiefly on this letter of Ibrahim, it is necessary to reproduce his own translation of the same original in the interests of the truth. On page 282 of his work *l'Empire égyptien sous Mohamed-Ali* he quotes as follows: "A part ces circonstances, ayant la certitude que la Porte avait fomenté les troubles de Syrie, vous avez demandé l'indépendance alors que le moment n'était pas favorable;

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(24) Ibrahim Pasha to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 251, doc. 7, Muharram 7, 1251 A.H.

ce qui a achevé de compromettre les relations turco-égyptiennes." The attention of the reader is called to two important differences in translation. In the first place, the word Syria does not exist in the original; and its exact rendering should be "these lands". In the second place the word "certitude" is very much more than a free rendering of the original.

Now, if it is remembered that Ibrahim Pasha wrote this letter to his father from Tripoli, and that disturbances of a serious political nature, in which the Sublime Porte seems to have been implicated, actually occurred in the regions of Tripoli and Latakiah simultaneously with those of Palestine—if all this is remembered, then the words of Ibrahim Pasha "these lands" should not be taken to mean Palestine alone. When he wrote this letter, Ibrahim Pasha may have had in mind either Palestine, or Tripoli and Latakiah, or both Palestine and Tripoli-Latakiah.<sup>25</sup>

To be fair to Professor Sabry and to the truth, the reader should turn to page 283 of the same work where Professor Sabry quotes at length from a letter written by Boghos Bey and addressed to Prokesch-Osten on September 3, 1834. In this letter, Boghos Bey, Mehemet Ali's Minister for Foreign Affairs, pleads for the separation of Egypt from the rest of the Empire, and bases Mehemet Ali's claim for independence on the Porte's determination to bring to an end the whole career of the Pasha of Egypt.

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(25) Rustum, A.J., *Les Compagnes d'Ibrahim Pacha en Syrie et en Asie Mineure*, (Cairo, 1927), I, pp. 41-42.

Cattani, R., *Les Règne de Mohammed Aly d'après les Archives Russes en Égypte* (Cairo, 1928), II, p. 53. *Temperl...*

To prove these evil intentions of the Porte, Boghos Bey holds the Government of Constantinople directly responsible for the disturbances in Palestine.

No student of methodology, however, can overlook the fact that Boghos Bey, in this particular testimony, may have wished to deceive Vienna and London in order to persuade them to recognize the independence of his master. It is needless to say that most official documents come under this category. Then, it must be remembered that Boghos Bey naturally viewed, with considerable antipathy, Constantinople, its Government, and its Provincial Agents. In other words, the testimony of Boghos Bey in this particular connection is lacking in good faith and is, therefore, unreliable.

The categorical affirmation of Professor Henry Dodwell of the University of London need not detain us very long. In his book, the *Maker of Modern Egypt*, Professor Dodwell says, "There was no doubt that the revolt had been encouraged by agents from Constantinople, whose preaching might be reasonably inferred from an incident that occurred at Nablus. There a Turk mounted the minar of the mosque, and cried aloud: "Does the Muslim religion exist no longer? Is it dead? Are we not Turks? Let every man who loves the Prophet take up arms against that man without faith, the Giaour Ibrahim Pasha!"<sup>26</sup>

As historical errors owe their origin, sometimes, to inexact interpretations of a text, it behooves us to note

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(26) Dodwell, H., *The Founder of Modern Egypt*, op. cit., p. 156.

the following : In the first place, the words quoted above are really Colonel Campbell's version of the announcement in Nablus, and not the exact words of the muezzin himself. In the second place, Colonel Campbell, his consular colleagues, and most Europeans in the Levant, in those days, used the word "Turk" interchangeably with the word "Moslem."<sup>27</sup> In the third place, the context of the passage is distinctly favourable to our interpretation of the term "Turk". Note the reference to the Moslem religion, to the Prophet, and to the religious infidelity of Ibrahim. Should we, in spite of all this, take the word Turk in its literal meaning, we should go against the whole trend of Oriental thought in those days.<sup>28</sup>

Bearing on the same subject, moreover, is a letter from Ibrahim Pasha to Sami Bey, dated Rabi II, 21, 1250 A. H. It reads as follows : "In a recent communication from His Highness the Khedive, reference is made to the report which was given by certain loyal friends regarding the preparations by land and sea which were undertaken by the Ottomans as soon as they heard of the disturbances. It was also reported that when the Ottomans learned of the cessation of trouble in these lands they desisted from sending the troops and the ships which they had collected." Ibrahim Pasha, then, proceeds to blame Sami Bey

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(27) For the meaning of the word "Turk", in this connection, consult the Oxford Dictionary and Larousse Illustré.

(28) For a fuller treatment of this phase of the subject, see our previous report, "The Royal Archives of Egypt and the Causes of the Egyptian Expedition to Syria", pp. 83-96.

for his failure to communicate such news in due time.<sup>29</sup> Finally, an anonymous confidential report, written very likely by one of the more important Egyptian officials in Jaffa at the time of the disturbances and forwarded to Mehemet Ali's Headquarters in Cairo, takes up the causes of the troubles in Palestine and makes no reference whatsoever to the instigations of the Porte.<sup>30</sup>

Under these circumstances, and at the present stage of our knowledge of the Royal Archives of Egypt, it is difficult to hold the Sublime Porte responsible for the disturbances in Palestine. Mehemet Ali Pasha and his son Ibrahim Pasha may have feared or even suspected the evil intentions of the Government of Constantinople in this respect, but there is not sufficient reliable evidence to prove that the Porte actually interfered in the internal affairs of Palestine in 1834 in order to provoke political and military trouble.

To turn now to the second part of the title of this chapter, we would begin the discussion by a quotation from the recent work of Pierre Crabitès entitled, "Ibrahim of Egypt".

"While Ibrahim was doing his utmost to bring order out of chaos, the Russians were intriguing against him. They began their work before the ink was dry upon the treaty of Kutahiah. As early as 15 July, 1833, the British Ambassador at Constantinople felt constrained to address a personal note to Colonel Campbell dealing with

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(29) Ibrahim Pasha to Sami Bey, Abd. case 249, doc. 224, Rabi II, 21, 1250 A.H.

(30) Abd. case 249, doc. 45, Muharram 25, 1250 A.H.

the situation created by this breach of faith. Russian interference in Syrian affairs, brought out in the British Ambassador's note, assumed a most insidious form. It took the shape of inciting both the Orthodox Christian and the Muslim inhabitants of Syria to revolt. The Tsar's agents obviously did not deal with the Muhammadan intrigue. They left that to the Turks.<sup>31</sup>

As Judge Crabitès bases his opinion in this matter on a letter written by Lord Ponsonby and addressed to Colonel Campbell, it is necessary to reproduce the whole text of this communication. The letter reads as follows :

“Sir : I am about to make a communication to you in the use of which I must particularly request you to act with the most extreme caution and prudence, bearing always in mind that what I tell you may be erroneous, and in the second that if it be correct, there is the most pressing necessity for such a management of what may be done as shall not tend to favouring the game of our adversaries.

“What I have to tell you is that there are grounds to fear the Russians have set on, or have encouraged the Sultan to meditate the attack upon Mehemet Ali of which I before spoke to you. The power of the Sultan to attack Mehemet is nil, except he obtain it from Russia, but it may well be the policy of St. Petersburg to excite him to the attack now that, under the New Treaty, the Russians have the right to aid the Sultan against all his enemies. There can be no doubt Mehemet Ali will have

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(31) Crabitès, Pierre, *Ibrahim of Egypt*, (London, 1935), pp. 186-187, 189-190.

a copy of the Treaty I mentioned, and therefore I say no more respecting it.

“Every consideration of political prudence which I am capable of entertaining concurs in showing that the best interests of Mehemet Ali will be consulted by his doing all in his power to avoid a war at this moment. Russia is prepared on the side of Syria. Russia may come back to Constantinople with fleets and armies as the Ally of the Sultan. England and France are not as yet in force to resist them. Such a blow might be struck of fearful importance before their power could be brought to bear directly on the aggressor. A little time will produce the settlement of the question here, in some way or another, and Mehemet must see how much he is to gain by delay of hostilities, if it should unhappily be that peace can not be eventually preserved.

“The way in which, as I believe, the Sultan will endeavour to pick a quarrel with Mehemet Ali, should he in fact aim at producing a war, is this. He will make such demands by the Defterdar about to be dispatched to the Pasha, for pecuniary supplies, either as arrears or compensations for losses incurred during the War, as the Pasha will not grant. I must here guard myself against being supposed to make the mission of the Defterdar the certain sign of the supposed intention of the Sultan. That mission may have no other object than its avowed one, to get money, but if it be otherwise I have to recommend to you to use your influence with the Pasha to make him evade rather than refuse the demands. He well knows how to train on a matter of the sort for a long time.

"The Pasha will receive from some of his friends here a recommendation to write letters, one to the French Ambassador, one to myself, one to the Porte, saying, that knowing of the Treaty lately concluded between the Sultan and Russia, he feels that it is, in part at least, directed against him. You will perceive that to follow this advice would be to play the game of Russia, if my experience of Russia could be well founded. Therefore you will no doubt judge it right to dissuade the Pasha from acting in the way suggested to him.

"Our evident policy is to keep all things quiet at present to gain time to be prepared for the worst.

"I have the honour to be

"Sir

"Your most obedient humble servant

"Ponsonby."<sup>32</sup>

Should we now turn to the Royal Archives of Egypt for the years 1833, 1834, and 1835, we shall find them absolutely silent on the malevolent activities of the agents of the Tsar in Palestine and Syria. Neither Ibrahim Pasha nor his officials seem to have registered any charges against Russian agents in this respect. To be sure, Ibrahim Pasha did refer, in some of his letters, to his fear of the treaty of alliance between Russia and the Sultan,<sup>33</sup>

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(32) The Campbell Correspondence, Ms. National Library of Egypt, pp. 98-101.

(33) Ibrahim Pasha to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 251, doc. 7, Muharram 7, 1251 A.H.



but the Archives of Egypt do not seem to preserve any accusation against the agents of the Tsar that would justify the conclusion reached by Judge Crabites.

In addition, Ponsonby himself admits in the preamble to the letter that this information may be erroneous: "I am about to make a communication to you in the use of which I must particularly request you to act with the most extreme caution and prudence, bearing always in mind, that what I tell you may be erroneous."

Between the silence of the Royal Archives of Egypt and the acknowledgment on the part of Ponsonby that his information may be erroneous, there is ample ground for pause and reflection. There does not seem to be, therefore, sufficient reason to hold either the Sublime Porte or the Court of St. Petersburg directly responsible for the disturbances in Palestine.

[The text on this page is extremely faint and illegible. It appears to be a multi-paragraph document, possibly a letter or a report, but the specific content cannot be discerned.]

#### IV. CERTAIN OTHER CAUSES OF COMPLAINT

To clinch some arguments set forth in the two preceding chapters of this report, and in order to introduce the reader to certain other presumed causes of complaint, it is useful to reproduce the whole text of a report drawn up at the British Consulate in Alexandria, and dated, April 15, 1834. As this report was formed in writing only fifteen days before the outbreak of the disturbances in Palestine, and as it exhibits through its entire length a sense of fair play and impartial treatment, it is worthy of our serious attention. It was initialed by Patrick Campbell, and was based largely on information given by Consul John Farren of Syria-Palestine. Worthy of study in this connection is the change in opinion, with changing circumstances, of Consul Farren himself who had another chance to express himself on the same subject four years later when he drew up his famous letter to Lord Lindsay, July 5, 1838. The report in question reads as follows :

“Notes on the Commercial, Agricultural, and Political State of Syria—15th April, 1834.

“What Mr. Consul General Farren states in his despatch No. 6 of 26th June last is correct.

“SILK : Ibrahim Pasha has wished to make a monopoly of the silk in Syria. So soon as Mehemet Ali

heard of this circumstance he sent to Ibrahim to request him to revoke the order, which he has done. The produce of silk this year has not been bad and the price has not exceeded 160 piasters per oke. It is admitted that the price of 155 piasters established by Ibrahim Pasha, when he had fixed the monopoly was a fair price, and every one would willingly have sold their silk to the Government, had it not been for the abuses committed by the Government Agents as well in the classification of silks as in the tare and waste. The lowest price paid for silk this year in Syria has been 120 piasters per oke. The monopoly of silk has however as I have said been abolished and is now quite free.

“AGRICULTURE : There is still a quantity of land uncultivated in Syria. Ibrahim Pasha has established a seraf (Money Agency) with 1000 purses (500,000 piasters) in each of the towns of Aleppo, Adana, and Damascus in order to supply money to the land holders who may require an advance, and as he wishes to encourage agriculture he has issued regulations to that effect to the different governors. In regard to the advance of money the following plan is adopted : In Adana the person who wishes to borrow applies to Council composed of some of the notables of that town who decide on the sum to be advanced. In Aleppo the applicant gives security, but before the cession of Syria to Mehemet Ali the people were obliged, in order to pay their taxes, to borrow at the rate of 50 per cent for 14 months, and in order to prevent this the Government established these serafs. The interest charged by the Government is however too

great, being 20 per cent per anum. I have not been able to procure copies of these regulations.

“Before the Government of Syria fell into the hands of Ibrahim Pasha, that is in the year in 1831, the harvest was nearly 20 per cent less than in 1832. The towns and villages in the provinces of Hamus and Hama had been much devastated by the Turkish Armies. These losses were nearly recovered even before the peace, and the country has begun to assume a new and prosperous appearance and form. The people having been stimulated to agriculture the produce has been increased, and the harvest of 1833 is considerably more than that of 1832. In proof of this it may be stated that before the present Government grain was obliged to be yearly imported into Syria, and even in 1832 Ibrahim Pasha was under the necessity of causing some to be imported for his soldiers.

“The lands pay as formerly a certain annual tax per feddan. The tax varies; some pay as high as 300 piasters per feddan, but there are others which do not pay any thing except the tithe which has always been paid under every rule, but the lands of some of the villages are entirely arable, while others have gardens, vines, olives etc. etc. Each village has therefore been taxed according to the value of its produce. Nothing however has been increased in regard to agricultural taxes by Ibrahim Pasha.

“SOAP : A tax on soap was established at Beyrout by Abdullah Pasha of 50 piasters the quintal of Syria (of 500 rottles) which at the average price of 700 piasters the quintal makes about 7 per cent. This tax has been continued by Ibrahim Pasha.

“ALKALI (Saude) WEED IN MANUFACTURE OF SOAP : The Saude is a monopoly and the quantity is annually at least 7500 quintals. This however has been an acknowledged monopoly in Syria. The reason is that the Arabs who bring in the Saude and many of whom live in tents, are exempted from all taxes in order to encourage them to collect and bring it in. The Saude is bought by the Government at an old established price and sold last year at 70 piasters the quintal, and this year it is expected to produce 160 piasters per quintal. In 1831, 500 quintals were brought by the Arabs to Hamus and 200 quintals to Adana. In 1832 there were brought to Hamus 900 quintals, to Adana more than 2000, and to Kaza about 1300 quintals.

“COTTON : A duty of one piaster has been laid on each oke of cotton in the province of Adana, but not in any part of Syria. The commerce of cotton is however perfectly free.

“BEDOUINS : Before the time of the present Government certain villages exposed to the incursions of the Bedouins paid to these a certain sum to be under their safeguard. This was called by them “to be allied or to become relations to them.” Ibrahim Pasha has prohibited the payment of this tax to these Bedouins. These villages were those to the east of Adana and Aleppo, some of which have suffered much from this kind of brigandage. Ibrahim Pasha wishing to put a stop to this has given orders to the Egyptian Bedouins in Syria with his army, to protect these villages and to pursue the brigands until

they are reduced to order and consent to remain quiet and to till the ground, and he expects to succeed.

“THE PRINCIPAL TURKS IN SYRIA who under the former governments were specially protected at the expense of the people over whom they exercised every kind of vexation have now lost that power and are necessarily inimical to Ibrahim Pasha who will not permit them to oppress the people of the country, and who has deprived them of many improper privileges which they formerly enjoyed. The Pasha has however directed that a pension be given to such of them as have been deprived of situations which they formerly held.

“FERDE: This tax has been established in Syria and has also tended to incense the discontent of the principal people who have been obliged to pay it. A custom had existed in Syria for the principal people to make an annual present at Ramadan to the Governors of Aleppo, Damascus, etc. These presents when lately offered were refused by order of Ibrahim Pasha as being contrary to every good system of government, and the chief Turks being obliged to pay the Ferde have thought their consequence and dignity wounded. The revenue of Damascus has been augmented from 6000 purses to 11000 purses. The Custom House of Damascus which before only produced 1000 purses per annum has been farmed during last year at 2000 purses.

“Under the former Pashas, the Governors, Military Chiefs, and almost all the employees oppressed the people, and under different pretexts demanded money or presents; when any person had any affair or difference with another

before the Government he was obliged to make presents. The villages also were obliged to pay a sum of money to the Governors and to their servants. The collectors of revenue and the soldiers committed every excess and in fact the people paid much more to these persons than they did to the Government.

“Under the present rule of Ibrahim Pasha these vexations no longer exist; no individual has the right to exact any thing from the people; the employees of the Government paid, they have not demanded presents from the people, and if they did, they would certainly be severely punished. The collectors of the revenue and the soldiers who go from place to place to collect are authorized to draw the proper rations for themselves and horses from the villages, leaving a receipt which is credited to these villages in their accounts with the Government.

“There is not therefore any fair cause of complaint at present existing against the Government of Syria, but it is certain that there are two classes of people who are not contented with Ibrahim Pasha :— The one consists of those who had power or place under the former Pashas, and who are not numerous and chiefly reside in the towns :—The other consists of the idle and disorderly, principally in Damascus and Aleppo, but from all I can learn the people of the country generally are satisfied.

“Subjects are in agitation for new roads and for the best means of facilitating the communications in Syria, and English miners are now employed in Syria by the



Pasha to report if there are any mines of metals or of coal in that country.

P. C.

“Patrick Campbell”<sup>34</sup>

Baron d'Armagnac, Aide de Camp to Soliman Pasha, agrees with the general spirit of this report. On page 103 of his book,<sup>35</sup> however, he adds another cause of complaint :

“Depuis la conquête des Musulmans, ils avaient pris une si haute idée de leur culte et de leur race, ils professaient un mépris si grand pour les autres religions et pour les peuples infidèles, qu'ils s'étaient accoutumés à regarder ceux-ci comme de vils troupeaux, tandis qu'ils se considéraient comme formant une aristocratie apte à tous les emplois civils et militaires, et inabordable aux corvées. Ibrahim voulut que dorénavant tous ses sujets fussent égaux devant lui, quelle que fut leur religion, et il distribua également les récompenses et les châtimens; il n'exclut les chrétiens que de l'armée, et cela par un sentiment politique, craignant que par la suite une puissance Européenne put tirer parti de ses coréligionnaires.”

Now, there is abundant evidence in the Royal Archives of Egypt and other primary sources to corroborate almost all the declarations of these two reports. For the security of person and property, Syria-Palestine had never, since the days of Fakhr-al-Din II, seen a more efficient government. In the course of a year or two the

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(34) The Campbell Correspondence, National Library of Egypt, pp. 26-32.

(35) Nezib et Beyrout, *op. cit.*

Bedouins were tamed, and highway brigands were forced to seek new occupations.<sup>36</sup> The daily register of the Egyptian Administrative Council of Aleppo shows definitely that whereas this council was anxious to protect the varied fiscal interests of the Egyptian Administration it never attempted extortion or any other form of administrative vice.<sup>37</sup> And, although the registers of the various administrative councils of Palestine are apparently lost, sufficient specimens of their deliberations are preserved to warrant an analogous generalization. Semi-official taxes and other forms of extortion were very strictly abolished by order of Ibrahim Pasha.<sup>38</sup> Not only did the Egyptian Government waive the monopoly on silk, which had been established by Abdullah Pasha, but measures were taken to alleviate the financial pressure

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(36) Army Bulletin, Abd. case 231, doc. 34, Jumada II, 23, 1247 A.H.

Ibrahim Pasha to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 232, doc. 137, Shawwal 22, 1247 A.H.

Army Bulletin, Abd. case 233, doc. 84, Dhu-l-Qida, 28, 1247 A. H.

Army Bulletin, Abd. case 236, doc. 151, Safar 24, 1248 A.H.

Mamur-al-Diwan to Ibrahim Pasha, Abd. case 238, doc. 252, Rabi II, 1, 1248 A.H.

Salim Bey to Ibrahim Pasha, Abd. case 239, doc. 27, Jumada I, 4, 1248 A.H.; case 239, doc. 35.

(37) Rustum, A. J., Corpus, op. cit., Vols. III-IV.

(38) Rustum, A. J., Corpus, op. cit. II, Nos. 85, 86, 88, 89.

occasioned by the old monopoly of Alkali.<sup>39</sup> The poll-tax of the Ferde may have irritated certain elements of the population, particularly those who had never paid any thing to any government, but it does not seem to have been cited as a serious source of complaint by the masses of the population in Palestine. A tax register of Northern Palestine, which is still preserved in the Library of the American University of Beirut, shows definitely that the Ferde was, very likely, the only additional tax of the Egyptian Administration. But when it is remembered that the Palestinians had some times, if not always, paid, in addition to all legal taxes, their equivalent in the form of extraordinary or semi-official taxes and extortions, the Ferde tax begins to appear more in the nature of a reform than that of an oppressive measure. Later on, after 1834, as the various fiscal districts were made chargeable with the amount as first fixed, and as no allowance seems to have been made for the diminution of population by emigration or conscription, the sums chargeable became considerably greater, and therefore heavier, on the individual.<sup>40</sup> Ibrahim Pasha recognized this fact in 1836, and actually recommended a general revision of the whole affair.<sup>41</sup> The manner in which taxes were collected is entirely irrelevant to the discussion, as the country had known no milder

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(39) Bahri Bey to [Sami Bey], Abd. case 249, doc. 34, Muharram 19, 1250 A.H.

(40) Largely in the words of John Farren, Lord Lindsay, *op. cit.* II, pp. 283-284.

(41) Ibrahim Pasha to Sami Bey, Abd. case 254, doc. 246, Rajab 23, 1252 A.H.

system throughout modern times. Thus, the economic policy of Ibrahim Pasha and his associates in office could not have been a serious cause of complaint in 1834.

## V. CONSCRIPTION THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF TROUBLE

Four main facts of general interest have thus emerged : In the first place, Moslem public opinion in Palestine was unfavourable to the rule of the Pasha. In the second place, many notables of the land who began to lose power and privilege under the new regime were naturally alarmed. In the third place, the new administration of Palestine was modern in its intentions and goal, and represented a distinct step forward in the history of the country. In the fourth place, there is not, as yet, sufficient documentary evidence to enable the student to hold either the Sublime Porte or Russia responsible for the disturbances.

Proceeding now to the events of 1834 in Palestine we should note, in the first place, the call for arms and soldiers on the part of the Egyptian Administration. As disarmament and conscription were in themselves the most immediate cause of trouble, it behooves us to look into this affair thoroughly, both from the point of view of Mehemet Ali Pasha as well as that of the Palestinians themselves.

To appreciate the motives that prompted Mehemet Ali Pasha to action and forced him to call for arms and soldiers, we must review, very briefly, one important cause

of his expedition to Syria-Palestine. He had gone to war against the Sultan because he had feared his evil intentions, and because he had believed that independence, of some form or other, would guarantee his own personal safety and the preservation and happiness of his descendants after him.<sup>42</sup> By a series of victories at Acre, Hims, Betlan, and Qonieh, he had broken the resistance of the Sublime Porte, had captured the Grand Vizier of the Turkish Empire, and had threatened the Sultanate with extinction. In return the peace of 1833 had assured neither the safety of the Pasha nor the independence of his country. As the equanimity of the Powers had been disturbed by his victories in Syria-Palestine and Asia Minor, Mehemet Ali Pasha had deemed it wise to restrain his ambition and to accept the terms of Kutahiah. According to this settlement, he had been pardoned by the Sultan, and had been reinstated in the governments which he had held before the outbreak of hostilities. In addition, and subject to annual renewal, he had been appointed governor of the four Syrian pashaliks with the region of Adana.<sup>43</sup>

Worse for Mehemet Ali Pasha than the annual renewal of his tenure by the Sublime Porte, was the absence of any signed agreement containing the conditions mentioned above. Ever since the days of the two famous historians, Edouard de Cadalvene and Emile Barrault,

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(42) Consult our former report, "The Royal Archives of Egypt and the Causes of the Egyptian Expedition to Syria", pp. 47-62.

(43) Strictly speaking the government of Adana had been assigned to his son, Ibrahim Pasha.

students have always assumed that the agreement of Kutahiah was similar to other agreements of its kind in that it naturally found expression in the definite form of a treaty signed by the two contending powers. These two historians assure us, in their famous *History of the War of Mehemet Ali Pasha against the Sublime Porte*, that the peace of 1833 was actually "signed" in the "treaty" of Kutahiah.<sup>44</sup> Later historians, even after the archives of Europe and the East had become accessible to the student public, have continued to assume the same fact. The truth of the matter is that the whole arrangement of Kutahiah was verbal from beginning to end, and that the Sultan made no written assurances of any kind to the Pasha. Concerning this very important point in the diplomatic career of the Pasha, the Royal Archives of Egypt contain nothing beyond a "simple" firman assigning the governments of Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Crete, to the Pasha. The Sultan did not begin again to grace the Pasha of Egypt with his royal handwriting on the margin of the firmans of appointment to office before the year 1254 A.H. (1838-1839).<sup>45</sup>

In addition to all this, Russia had entered into a treaty of alliance with the Sublime Porte guaranteeing its safety in case of aggression by Egypt,<sup>46</sup> a fact which

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(44) *Histoire de la Guerre de Méhémed-Ali* etc. op. cit. 398.

(45) *The Royal Archives of Egypt, Firmans*, 556, 558, and particularly 673.

(46) *Treaty of Unkiarskelessi*. For an English translation of the terms of this treaty, see Hertslet, Ed., *Map of Europe by Treaty* etc. (London, 1875), II, pp. 925-929.

Ibrahim Pasha never forgot until the whole question was finally reopened in 1839.<sup>47</sup>

Should we now remember the historic words of the British Ambassador to Constantinople regarding the settlement of Kutahiah, "The presumed settlement of Kutahiah never existed",<sup>48</sup> we should understand something of the feeling of political instability which continued to dominate the mind of Mehemet Ali Pasha from the settlement of Kutahiah in 1833 to the convention of London in 1840.

Filled with fear regarding his own safety and the happiness of his children, Mehemet Ali Pasha was determined to be on the watch for another occasion to measure swords. The key note to the understanding of his administrative policy in Syria-Palestine, between 1833 and 1840, is his resolution always to be prepared for war.

As he had witnessed the bravery and valour of the Lebanese and Palestinians on the field of battle, Mehemet Ali Pasha determined to profit by his new territorial acquisitions. Early in 1832, while he was still engaged in war with the Sublime Porte in Syria, he asked his son Ibrahim Pasha to look seriously into the question of conscription in his newly conquered territories. He even promised to come to Acre in person to supervise the levy of men for

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(47) Mehemet Ali Pasha to Khalil Pasha, Abd. case 3, doc. 24, Dhu-el-Hijjah 7, 1248 A.H.

Ibrahim Pasha to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 251, doc. 7, Muharram 7, 1251 A.H.

(48) Ponsonby to Palmerston, Correspondence relating to the Affairs of the Levant (London, 1841), II, No. 44.



his army.<sup>49</sup> Ibrahim Pasha and his great ally, Bashir II, however, knew the real disposition of the Syrians and Palestinians towards the new Government too well to advise such a measure. Very shortly afterwards Mehemet Ali advised his son to stop at Aleppo and delay the prosecution of the war against the Sultan until he should have enforced conscription in the newly conquered lands. It was only when Ibrahim Pasha repeated his warning that such a step, if taken, might prove disastrous to their best interests, that Mehemet Ali Pasha agreed to postpone its enforcement.<sup>50</sup> Not fully convinced by the arguments of his son, Mehemet Ali Pasha instructed Muhammad Sharif Bey, the Governor-General of Syria-Palestine, to study the question *de nouveau*. Upon his arrival in Damascus, the seat of his new government, Sharif Bey consulted with Bashir II and Bahri Bey, and submitted a report to the Pasha in Cairo, in which the Amir Bashir did not advise the immediate execution of the orders from Cairo.<sup>51</sup>

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(49) Ibrahim Pasha to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 238, doc. 13, Rabi II, 3, 1248 A.H.

(50) Ibrahim Pasha to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 238, doc. 72, Rabi II, 9, 1248 A.H.

(51) Ibrahim Pasha to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 242, doc. 23, [Rajab], 1248 A.H.

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## VII. THE EVENTS

NOTABLES MEET IN JERUSALEM: In spite of all advice to the contrary, Mehemet Ali Pasha insisted upon his orders for general conscription; and about the beginning of May, 1834, Ibrahim Pasha found himself in Palestine ready to execute the orders of his father. Following a preconcerted plan, to be applied simultaneously in Jerusalem, Damascus, Btaddin, and Aleppo,<sup>52</sup> he called together a meeting of the notables of Palestine in Jerusalem. After an explanation of the orders of his father in this respect, Ibrahim Pasha called for a levy of 2000 men from the district of Nablus, 1500 from the region of Jerusalem, 200 from the Holy City itself, and 500 from Hebron and surroundings.<sup>53</sup> He then called for six young men representing the influential families of Nablus, and four others from the leading homes of Hebron, to be incorporated into the corps of officers for the new recruits.<sup>54</sup>

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(52) Hanna Bahri Bey to Sami Bey or Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 249, doc. 16, Muharram 11, 1250 A.H.

(53) Germanus Bahri to Sami Bey or Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 249, doc. 17, Safar 11, 1250 A.H.

(54) Hanna Bahri Bey and Germanus Bahri to Sami Bey or Mehemet Ali Pasha, same as above.

The representatives of Palestine accepted this plan in writing and begged permission to go back to their respective districts in order to enforce the orders of the Pasha.<sup>55</sup> Thereupon, Ibrahim Pasha granted their request and went down to Jaffa to arrange for the enforcement of conscription on the coast.<sup>56</sup>

Ibrahim Pasha had hardly reached Jaffa when the news of trouble began to come in from every side. A wave of opposition to conscription arose everywhere, and the peasants rushed to their arms and prepared for revolt. Owing to deplorable paucity of documents on this phase of the disturbances, we find it difficult to explain the real reasons for all this apparent fear of military service. In expressing themselves on this subject to Amir Khalil, son of Amir Bashir II, the notables of Safad stressed, exclusively, the sentimental side; their sons were "the core of their hearts", and naturally could not leave them without the sacrifice of life itself.<sup>57</sup>

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(55) Germanus Bahri to Sami Bey or Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 249, doc. 17, Safar 11, 1250 A.H.

(56) Same as above.

(57) Notables of Safad to Amir Khalil, son of Amir Bashir II, Abd. case 249, doc. 84, Safar 10, 1250 A.H.

« غير خافي سعادتكم الاثقال الذي حاملتها اهالي بلاد صفد من ورشات وسخر ومطالب زائدة وهذا كله لم يكني بل بدهم منا عسكر نظام وغير خافي ان الولد مهجة الكبد ولم احداً يفوت ولده ولو فات نفسه فلزم الناس عافت ارواحها وقامت على ساق وقدم وتوكلت على من التحريك والتسكين بيده ولا يضر وينفع سواء وجميع المقاطعات من العربان والفلاحين ومدن وعسكر كل من عنده حواله او راي جنس عثمانلي شلحوه او قتلوه وحارة اليهود في نفس صفد صار عليها نخب من اهالي الديره واما

SALT AND SAIR : Troubles broke out, at first, in Salt, the centre of Tukan influence in Trans-Jordan. There peasants and bedouins combined and attacked the Egyptian troops stationed in their midst.<sup>58</sup> About the same time, the region of Hebron showed signs of unrest. Upon hearing that the inhabitants of the village of Sair were arming themselves in preparation for trouble, the Egyptian Governor of Hebron marched against them and met them in the open valley of Fatih Sadru, not very far from Sair itself. As the Taamrah bedouins had joined forces

من جهة عكاه لم يجمعوا عسكر كليا وعائلة الخيل تؤخذ غنائم من البوابه لزم اعراضه الى  
سعادتكم لكي تمدونا برايكهم وتعرفونا ما في خاطرهم وعلى كل حال انت ابن شهاب  
وفي ظهرك الجبال والراجيل الفحول المجربة الاطوار واذكر قول عنتر ابن شداد  
العبي حين قال لا تسقي ماء الحياة بذلة

بالعز اسقي تقيع الخنظل  
جنة بالذل ما نرضى بها  
وجينم بالعز افخر مترل

ويا سعادة الامير انتم اصحاب الفضل والنخوة . . . ونحن اعرضنا لجنايبكم الواقع  
وكذلك حررنا الى الفئمة الذي لا تنسى المروءة وهم اهالي مشايخ نابلس الشيخ قاسم  
الاحمد والشيخ محمد الجرار والشيخ محمود عبد الهادي والشيخ عيسى البرقاوي لزم  
اعراضه لكي تمدونا بالجواب الشافي واطال الله بفاكم في ١٠ صفر سنة ٢٥٠

الامضآت صبح شيخ صفد الحاج علي شيخ صفد محمد ابن القواص متسلم صيدا  
سلم متسلم صفد سابق سليمان . . . الشيخ رشيد السلام كورد يوسف اغا مصطفى ولد  
عرب اغا عيسى الماضي متسلم صفد مصطفى البدوي متسلم الجبل والشاغور الحاج محمد  
الاسدي السيد علي تقيب الاشراف عبد الغني مفتي صفد عبد الكرم نايب صفد اهالي  
صفد عموماً »

(58) Sulayman Abd-al-Hadi to Husayn Abd-al-Hadi, Abd.  
case 249, doc. 19, Muharram, 9, 1250 A.H.

with the peasants, the Egyptians were defeated, leaving 25 killed on the field of battle.<sup>59</sup>

THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM : In the Holy City, the situation had become more serious. Hundreds of peasants, from all directions, hemmed the town in, and practically beseiged it for some time. Taking as their bases the village of Birah, on the road to Nablus, and the village of Qaryah, on the road to Jaffa, the peasants interfered with the food and water supplies of the city, and resorted to looting and highway robbery. Colonel Ibrahim Bey, the Commanding Officer in the Citadel, recognizing the seriousness of the occasion, reported the inadequacy of his one thousand infantry and thirty cavalry, held the Abu Gosh and Samhan families implicated in the affair, and called for reinforcements in cavalry. He had defeated the peasants in several encounters, but had always failed to overtake them when they ran away. Reinforcement in cavalry was, therefore, essential.<sup>60</sup>

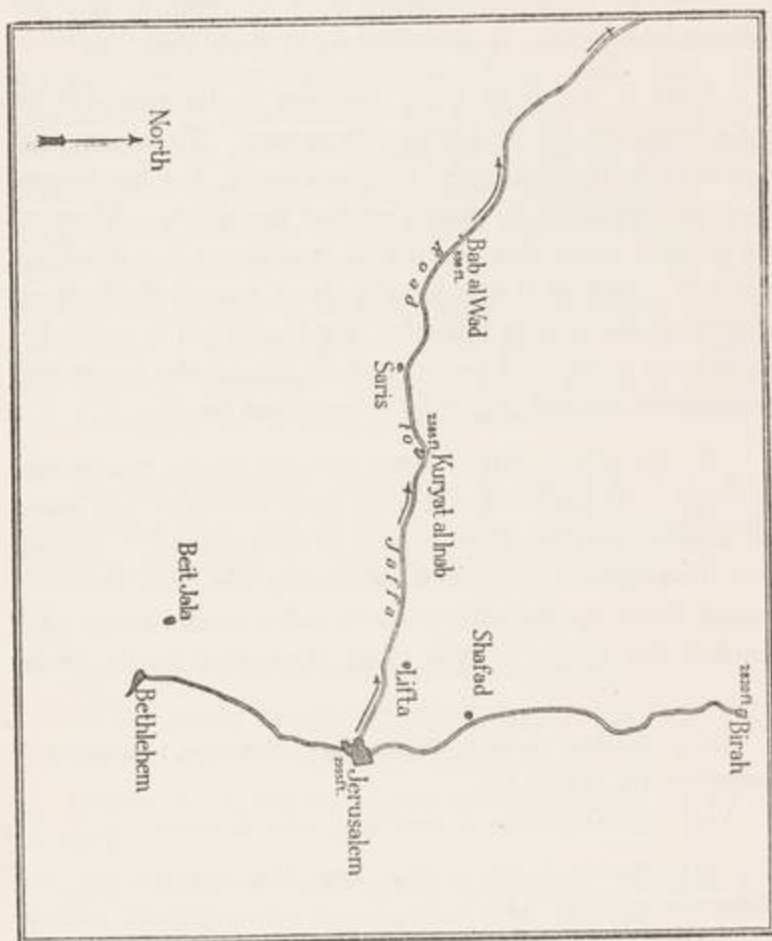
Upon receiving this call for help, Ibrahim Pasha commanded the Twelfth Regiment of Cavalry to set out for Jerusalem immediately. Leaving Ramlah on the 24th of May, this regiment encountered the peasants for the first time at Bab-al-Wad. After a very brief skirmish at this place, the peasants retreated to the more rocky region of Saris where they offered battle. Having lost their guide,

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(59) Ibrahim Agha (Egyptian Governor of Hebron) to Headquarters, Abd. case 249, doc. 19, Muharram 12, 1250 A.H.

(60) Colonel Ibrahim Bey to [Ibrahim Pasha], Abd. case 249, doc. 22, Muharram 15, 1250 A.H.

the Egyptians retreated to Ramlah leaving behind them on the battle field one colonel, two captains, three sergeants, ten corporals, and forty-three soldiers. In addition, they lost 104 horses.<sup>61</sup> Commenting on these sad events



(61) Yakub Bey to [Ibrahim Pasha], Abd. case 249, doc. 23, Muharram 15, 1250 A.H.

to Sami Bey, Ibrahim Pasha explained the defeat of his troops on grounds of numbers. His Twelfth Regiment was really depleted; and the peasants succeeded because of the superiority of their numbers.<sup>62</sup> He called for the Regiment of Khedivial Guards from Alexandria, and for two other regiments from elsewhere in Syria-Palestine.<sup>63</sup>

Nine or ten days later, Ibrahim Pasha was still in Jaffa preparing for an advance in person. To be sure, he had already received some reinforcements, but his troops were not yet ready to march against the rebels. Most of his soldiers were still lacking in equipment for drinking water.<sup>64</sup> And, as it was already June, one of the hottest months of the year in Palestine, the Pasha felt it would be dangerous to move forward before taking the necessary precautions against the thirst of man and beast.

By the 6th or 7th of June, Ibrahim Pasha was ready to move. At the head of a force 3000 strong he left Jaffa for Ramlah and the famous pass of Bab-al-Wad.<sup>65</sup> Seeing that the peasants were again defending this pass, Ibrahim chased them up the hills on both sides of the gorge and reached the village of Abu Gosh (Qaryat-al-Inab), their

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(62) Ibrahim Pasha to [Sami Bey], Abd. case 249, doc. 26, Muharram 16, 1250 A.H.

(63) Ibrahim Pasha to Sami Bey, same as above.

(64) Ibrahim Pasha to Sami Bey, Abd. case 249, doc. 45, Muharram 25, 1250 A.H.

(65) Ahmad Bey to Sami Bey, Abd. case 249, doc. 56, Safar 1, 1250 A.H. Cf. Mouriez, Paul, *Histoire de Méhémed-Ali, III*, 281-282.



headquarters, in a very short time. At this place, the peasants surrounded the Pasha on all sides, and a fierce engagement ensued. The peasants were completely routed, leaving about 700 of their numbers on the field of battle. Ibrahim Pasha then pursued his march victoriously in the direction of Jerusalem.<sup>66</sup> As he had to take his way along the water courses below the hills, the peasants were able thereby to stone his troops, rolling masses of rock upon them and thus making their pathways almost impassable for horsemen and gunners.<sup>67</sup> The greatest loss which the Pasha had to sustain, however, was in the right wing of his army. Somewhere between Bab-al-Wad and Qaryat-al-Inab, Ibrahim Pasha seems to have lost almost a whole regiment of his army.<sup>68</sup> His energy and bravery, however, conquered every obstacle, and at last he arrived in triumph at Jerusalem.<sup>69</sup>

In the meantime, conditions in the Holy City had been going from bad to worse. For a whole week the peasants had tried in vain to capture the city. As its

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(66) Ahmed Bey to Sami Bey, same as above.

Ali Bey, Qujah Ahmad, and Farhad Bey to Sami Bey, Abd. case 249, doc. 57, Safar 2, 1250 A.H.

Rustum, A. J., *Les Campagnes d'Ibrahim Pacha*, op. cit. I, pp. 39-40.

(67) Anonymous contemporary information, *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1918, pp. 143-144.

(68) Ahmad Bey to Sami Bey, same as above.

(69) P. E. F. Q. S. Ibid.

walls had been fortified with a few cannon, and as the peasants had been armed with javelins and guns only, the city had held out against all assault. By the first of June, however, the peasants seem to have come to an understanding with the Moslem elements of the population in Jerusalem. At midnight, they had entered in large numbers into the Haram and its immediate vicinity. Forcing their way up in the direction of the Jaffa Gate, the peasants had obliged the soldiers, after a brave resistance, to retreat to the Citadel.<sup>70</sup> All the Christians had fled to the different monasteries. For five or six days the city had been given up to pillage and plunder. The Jews who had no safe place to which to flee had suffered greatly. Their houses had been spoiled so completely that there was not left a bed to lie upon. Many of them had been slain, and their wives and daughters had been violated. The mere news that Ibrahim was on his way to Jerusalem had been enough, however, to restore confidence. The peasants had left the town to its inhabitants, and soldiers and civilians had begun to breathe new life.<sup>71</sup>

Upon his arrival in the town, Ibrahim Pasha inquired into the safety of his troops in Hebron, and issued a call for additional reinforcements. He instructed his sub-

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(70) Letters of William Thomson, *Missionary Herald*, 1835, pp. 44-50.

Williams, George, *The Holy City* (London, 1859) I, p. 454.

P. E. F. Q. S. *Ibid.*

(71) *Army Bulletin*, Abd. case 249, doc. 63, early in Safar, 1250 A.H.

ordinates in Jaffa to send the Nineteenth Regiment to Jerusalem via Gaza and Hebron<sup>72</sup>; and thus, tacitly recognized the fact that the road between Jaffa and Jerusalem was still in the hands of his enemy. For a few days after his entry into the Holy City, he was very busy repelling the attacks of the peasants. Nasir Mansur of Nablus, at the head of 2000 peasants, had to be met at Shafat, in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem. As Ibrahim Pasha rode "in person" to encounter this rebel chief, the peasants were unable to hold their positions. In a short time they ran away for safety, leaving some 500 casualties behind them.<sup>73</sup> A similar triumph was scored a few days later at Bayt Jala and Bethlehem.<sup>74</sup> Liftah was also the scene of another encounter.

SAD EVENTS IN THE NORTH : The most serious blow, however, to the prestige of Ibrahim Pasha and his father, came from an entirely different direction. Ibrahim Pasha, it will be remembered, had given instructions to his subordinates in Jaffa to call for the Nineteenth Regiment. His orders had been obeyed immediately, and by the middle of June this regiment had left Damascus for Jaffa and Jerusalem. It had hardly appeared on the plain of Esdraelon, when the rebels, from the neighbouring hills, hastened to block its way. Harassed for eight hours by the enemy, the Egyptians were at last compelled to offer

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(72) Ibrahim Pasha to either Senior Officer in Jaffa, or to Sami Bey, Abd. case 249, doc. 58, Safar 2, 1250 A.H.

(73) Ibid.

(74) Ibid.

battle in the narrow pass between the plain of Esdraelon and the sea coast. As they had used up most of their ammunition, and as their enemies were many times their number, the troops fell an easy prey to the peasants. Their Commanding Officer, Mustafa Bey, was wounded, and only two of his higher officers reached Acre with him. Out of 1200 strong, only 300 managed to escape to Haifa. Naked and exhausted, these troops of the Pasha had to be transported by boat to Acre. They did not dare go to the "famous fortress" overland, as the rebels had established themselves almost everywhere outside the city walls.<sup>75</sup>

GAZA AND SAFAD : The two extremities of Palestine were also in revolt. In the region of Gaza, the bedouins had taken power into their own hands, and the whole country side had become infested with their bands.<sup>76</sup> In Safad, the notables, including the mufti,

(75) Ahmad Dramali Bey to [Sami Bey], Abd. case 249, doc. 72, Safar 9, 1250 A.H.

(76) Ali Bey, Farhad Bey, and Qojah Ahmad to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 249, doc. 75, Safar 10, 1250 A.H.

« وكذا اوفدنا من قبل عدة اشخاص لاستطلاع احوال مولانا السرعسكر ولكن الثوار قبضوا عليهم في الطريق واخذوا ما معهم من الخطابات »

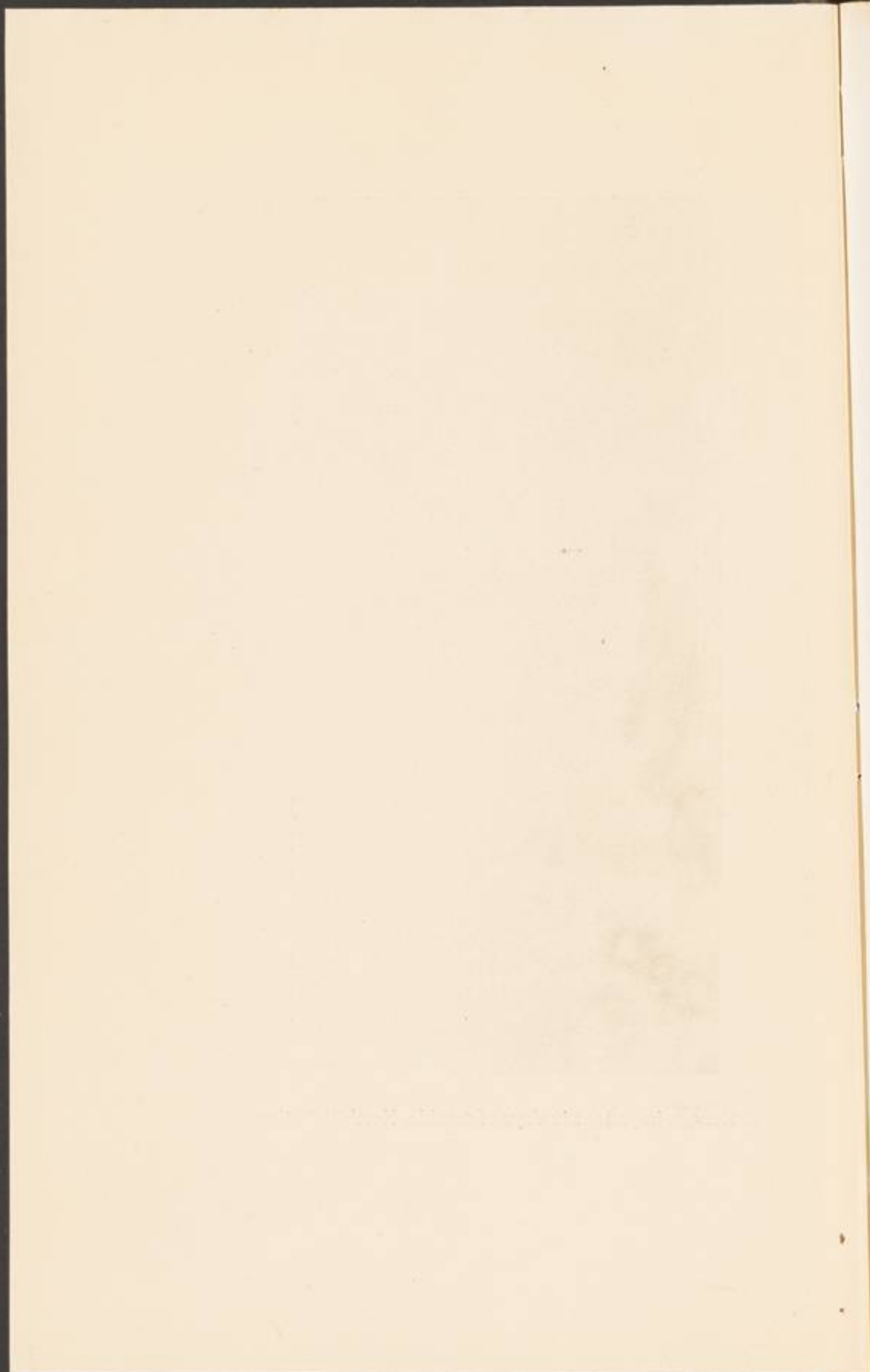
Husni Effendi to [Sami Bey], Abd. case 249, doc. 77, Safar 10, 1250 A.H.

« كثيراً ما اجتمع بعلي بك ( في غزة ) فيقول منذ ما انا موجود هنا والعرب يرسلون لي الاخبار الواحد تلو الاخر قائلين اننا قاتلنا كثيراً واسرنا كثيراً من ابراه الالويه وقد جاء الدور لك فكن يقظاً فاننا سنجي ونباغتك »

« ان العرب الذين هم هنا قسبان قسم عصاة وقدم متلونون وبسبب ذلك لا يفتأون بثورون يتحرك العصاة »



A Refuge, important in days of trouble, North Palestine



naqib, and qadi, had proclaimed themselves in sympathy with the principle of revolt; and the peasants of the neighbourhood had broken into the Jewish quarter plundering and violating common standards of morality and decency.<sup>77</sup> It must be noted, however, that European consuls and authors seem to have exaggerated the losses of the Jews in Safad. Germanus Bahri who was authorized at the time to go to Safad and study the situation of the Jews, came back certain of falsification and exaggeration. In a report which he submitted on the subject, he said, "As the Consuls of the Powers have assured the Jews that the Egyptian Government will meet their losses from its treasury, many of the Jews have either violated the truth or have overstated it. I have done my best to bring the rabbis back to the sane truth, but have never succeeded."<sup>78</sup> As Colonel Campbell estimated the losses of the Jews in Safad at 70,000 pounds, it may be safe to assume

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(77) Notables of Safad to Amir Khalil Shihab, Abd. case 249, doc. 84, Safar 10, 1250 A.H.

Sulayman Abd-al-Hadi to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 249, doc. 106, Safar 24, 1250 A.H.

(78) Hanna Bahri Bey to Ibrahim Pasha, Abd. case 249, doc. 273, Rabi II, 29, 1250 A.H.

« ان شقيقي عبدكم كان قد ذهب الى صفد بامورية تحقيق منبهات اليهود الفاطنين في الجهة المذكورة فعند وصوله الى هناك علم بان قوائم المنهوبات المقدمة من طرف هؤلاء اليهود تتضمن اشياء لا وجود لها كما ان الثمن المقدر للاشياء المدونة يبلغ الضعف لائحهم زعموا باغواء بعض وكلاء القناصل ان بدل منبهواتهم سيصرف لهم من الخزينة الخ »

that Mehemet Ali Pasha did not believe it ever exceeded 25 or 30,000 pounds.<sup>79</sup>

MEHEMET ALI PASHA ARRIVES IN PERSON : Thus by the end of June, 1834, almost every point of Palestine, outside of Gaza, Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Acre, had fallen into the hands of the rebels. "Since the defeat of the Nineteenth Regiment, we have been moving from bad to worse. All the villagers, up to the very gates of Jaffa, have risen in rebellion. Daily acts of violence occur at the very gates of this city, and no one dare go out to stop them."<sup>80</sup> Similar appeals, it will be remembered, had already been made to Cairo. Colonel Ali Bey of Gaza had himself warned Central Authorities once or twice of the danger besetting the Generalissimo.<sup>81</sup>

Mehemet Ali Pasha, "with his known activity and presence of mind"<sup>82</sup>, gave immediate orders for reinforcement, and sent one of his secretaries, Hasan Husni Effendi, to Palestine to study the situation and report immediately.<sup>83</sup> Having been assured, it would seem, of the general

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(79) Bowring, John, Report on the Commercial Statistics of Syria. Presented to both Houses of Parliament (London, 1840), p. 129.

(80) Germanus Bahri to [Sami Bey], Abd. case 249, doc. 71, Safar 9, 1250 A.H.

(81) Ali Bey, Farhad Bey, and Qojah Ahmad to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 249, doc. 75, Safar 10, 1250 A.H.

(82) Words of Campbell, John Bowring, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

(83) Hasan Husni Effendi to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 249, doc. 70, Safar 9, 1250 A.H.

Hasan Husni Effendi to [Sami Bey], Abd. case 249, doc. 77, Safar 10, 1250 A.H.



accuracy of such reports, Mehemet Ali Pasha gave strict orders for the dispatch of three regiments of infantry, two regiments of cavalry, and one thousand bedouin horsemen.<sup>84</sup> The commanding officers were two of his best generals, Ahmad Menekli Bey and Muhammad Salim Pasha.<sup>85</sup> To add to the general effectiveness of the reinforcements, Mehemet Ali Pasha finally decided to come in person to the theatre of operations. Addressing himself to the President of his Administrative Council in Cairo he said, "Although I have dispatched three regiments of infantry, two of cavalry, and one thousand bedouin horse, yet I believe I must go in person. By doing so, I would not only meet my son, but would also settle this affair completely."<sup>86</sup> Taking one of his best schooners, the Crocodile, Mehemet Ali Pasha sailed from Alexandria at the head of a whole squadron. After touching at Gaza, he put again to sea for Jaffa, and arrived there on the first or second day of July.<sup>87</sup>

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(84) Mehemet Ali Pasha to Mahmud Effendi, Majlis Mulkiyyah, case 12, doc. 1, Safar 16, 1250 A.H.

(85) Mehemet Ali Pasha, "firman ali", al-Diwan-al-Khudaywi, daftar 778, No. 355, Safar 8, 1250 A.H.

Mehemet Ali Pasha to Sami Bey, al-Diwan-al-Khudaywi, daftar 778, No. 348, Muharram 19, 1250 A.H.

(86) Mehemet Ali Pasha to Mahmud Effendi, Majlis Mulkiyyah, case 1, doc. 12, Safar 16, 1250 A.H.

(87) Mehemet Ali Pasha to Mahmud Effendi, Majlis Mulkiyyah, case 1, doc. 15, Safar 27, 1250 A.H.

In the meantime, Ibrahim Pasha had mollified the feelings of the peasants in the regions of Jerusalem and Hebron. Somehow or other, he had taken the edge off of the movement in these districts, and had succeeded in tranquilizing the inhabitants. Whether or not, as Paul Mouriez suggests, Ibrahim Pasha had made certain promises to the leaders as a sop to them remains to be seen.<sup>88</sup> He certainly does not seem to have greased their palms, for there is no mention any where in the Archives, of the use of money. Under the circumstances we must take Colonel Campbell's insinuation to this effect with much reserve.<sup>89</sup> This much, however, seems to be true—the Pasha had beaten the insurgents in almost every engagement in which he had taken part. Blind and inept, like all disorderly and unruly masses, the insurgents may have lost courage and the conviction that they could ever

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(88) Paul Mouriez, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 283-284.

(89) John Bowring, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

Cf. Paton, A. A., *History of the Egyptian Revolution* (London, 1870) II, p. 117—"Mohammed Ali, who, with his known activity and presence of mind, had embarked at Alexandria with all the troops he could collect, and a large supply of money, landed at Jaffa, and soon gained over to his cause seven of the most influential chiefs. This union of craft with an imposing display of strength disunited the Syrians. The fierce mountaineers of Nablouse were prepared to resist, but the men of Hebron came to an accommodation."

beat the Egyptians.<sup>90</sup> The Abu Gosh family, in particular, had already been curbed by the Pasha when he cast one of their elders, Ibrahim Abu Gosh, into prison.<sup>91</sup> In the light of these facts, need we search for other explanations of the success of Ibrahim Pasha in concluding a truce with the rebels before his father's arrival in Jaffa ?

About the first of July, the "Marina" Street in Jaffa was lined with the finest troops in the army, and a large band of music was placed in the centre. At one o'clock, two beautiful corvettes arrived and commenced firing a salute, which was instantly returned by the whole fleet and batteries. At four o'clock, the yards were manned, and with the roar of cannon, from the fleet and forts, His Highness Mehemet Ali Pasha disembarked. Having mounted his splendid horse, he saluted every one, bowing gracefully to the crowd on either side. This conduct greatly surprised the people, who, when their previous pashas condescended to walk abroad, had been obliged to bend the knee, and bow the head, scarcely daring to raise their eyes, until his august presence had passed by.<sup>92</sup>

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(90) Paul Mouriez, *op. cit.*, III, p. 283.

Cf. Mehemet Ali Pasha to [Abdu] Effendi, *Maiyyah Turki*, reg : 57, No. 183 :

« وسيقوم نجنا الباشا المرعسكر بالخيخ المنصور الى جبال نابلس والقدس بعد يومين اي يوم الاربعاء القادم . ونظراً لان عصاة هذه الجبال قد تيقنوا من عدم مقدرتهم على المقاومة فاضم حاولوا ان ينالوا الامان ولكنه لم يستصوب اعطاء الامان الى مثل هؤلاء العصاة البغاة قبل ان يتم تاديبهم تماماً »

(91) Rustum, A. J., *Corpus*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 134.

(92) Thomson, William, *Missionary Herald*, 1835, pp. 90-91.

"The Pasha is a fine looking old man. His dress is Turkish, not military; neat, without any thing to distinguish it from that of other Turkish gentlemen. His beard is white, his countenance ruddy and fair to look upon, his eye lively and expressive; and although close upon the confines of that space allotted to the life of man, he has a surprising vigour and activity in all his movements. There are not many parallel cases on record, and perhaps no man living, who, all things considered, has accomplished so much, and been so uniformly successful, as Mohammed Ali."<sup>93</sup>

Upon his arrival in Palestine, Mehemet Ali Pasha wrote to his son Ibrahim Pasha asking him to come down to Jaffa. He then ordered Salim Pasha to march at the head of some troops to Ladd and Ramlah in order to restore order in this region.<sup>94</sup> About the same time, he received Amir Amin, son of Amir Bashir, and discussed the general situation with him. "Yesterday", writes William Thomson, "the son of Amir Bashir and Hanna il Bahary arrived and had an audience with His Highness. The audience chamber is but a few feet from the one I occupy, and thus I have been enabled to see all that passes. He received them sitting. They bowed down and appeared to kiss his feet, after which they stood before him during the whole interview, which on the part of Bahary was very long. These two were alone in private conference

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(93) Ibid.

(94) Rustum, A. J., *Campagnes d'Ibrahim Pacha*, op. cit., II, pp. 42, 43.

nearly two hours, during which time Bahary performed the double duty of secretary to read documents, and the less honourable one of fly-brusher to His Highness, that officer having been ordered to retire. Bahary is frequently called to private conference, and appears to be in high estimation.<sup>95</sup> As for Amir Amin, he seems to have assured His Highness of the loyalty of his father, and to have placed himself at the disposal of the Pasha. Thereupon, Mehemet Ali Pasha commissioned him to go back to the Lebanon and tell his father that his services were needed in the region of Safad.<sup>96</sup>

Seeing then that the Abu Gosh family had really and sincerely tendered their submission, Mehemet Ali Pasha released their elder, Ibrahim Abu Gosh, from prison, appointed Jabr Abu Gosh to the governorship of Jerusalem, and presented to every member of the family a shawl of cashmir.<sup>97</sup> When, one year later, Jabr was finally dismissed from his office, he was allowed to draw from the Government Treasury half his yearly stipend.<sup>98</sup> At the same time, it would seem, the Pasha sent into exile a number of the notables of Jerusalem, such as Shaykh

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(95) Thomson, William, *op. cit.* 1835, p. 91.

(96) Mehemet Ali Pasha to [Abdu] Effendi, Maiyyah Turki, reg. 57, No. 183, End of Safar, 1250 A.H.

(97) Rustum, A. J., *Corpus*, *op. cit.* II, pp. 134, 135.

Paul Mouriez, *op. cit.* III, p. 286.

(98) Muhammad Sharif Pasha to Sami Bey, Abd. case 252, doc. 46, Rajab 1, 1251 A.H.

Muhammad Ali al-Husayni, and Shaykh Abdullah al-Budayri, and others.<sup>99</sup>

Similar measures were taken on the coast. In spite of all show of loyalty and devotion to the cause of the Pasha, Asad Bey Khudr, Governor of Jaffa, was tried, convicted of treason, and put to death in Acre.<sup>100</sup> Shaykh Isa-l-Madi and Shaykh Masud-al-Madi, representing the most powerful feudal house on the maritime plain, were also brought to the block.<sup>101</sup> A number of religious leaders from the same region suffered punishment by exile. Shakh Said-al-Sadi of the village of Zib, Shaykh Abdullah al-Fahum of Nazareth, and a few others were banished to

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(99) Muhammad Sharif Pasha to Sami Bey, Abd. case 250, doc. 306, Shaban 27, 1250 A.H.

Petition from Family of Shaykh Muhammad Ali al-Husayni to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 251, doc. 244, Rabi II, 22, 1251 A.H.

Ibrahim Pasha to Sami Bey, Abd. case 251, doc. 308, Jumada I, 23, 1251 A.H.

Ibrahim Pasha to Sami Bey, Abd. case 252, doc. 304, Jumada I, 18, 1251 A.H.

« ان الاشخاص المعلومين الاسامي من وجوه القدس كانوا بناء على ما اقتضته الحالة قد نفوا الى مصر يد انه الآن لا يتوقع منهم اي شيء وقد اصبحوا في حكم العدم بحيث يجب الترخيص في اعادتهم الى القدس عدا احدهم الشيخ عبد الله البديري ولكن السماح بالعودة يجب حصره في القديسين فاذا ما التمس الذين نفوا الى مصر من جهات اخرى السماح لهم بالعودة الى ديارهم يجب اخذ راينا في ذلك فقد يكونون ممن تتوقع المضرة منهم حتى اذا كانوا ليسوا كذلك سمح لهم بالعودة بعد وصول ردنا »

(100) Rustum, A. J., Corpus, op. cit. II, p. 138.

(101) Ibid.

the Nile Valley.<sup>102</sup> All the former employees of Abdullah Pasha were, likewise, hunted out and exiled. As some of these had taken refuge with Lady Hester Stanhope at her headquarters in Jun, both Muhammad Sharif Pasha and Amir Bashir had to use their best diplomatic talent to overcome the eccentricity of the famous British Lady.<sup>103</sup>

NABLUS AND TULKARM : In Nablus and surroundings the situation was different. Although the notables of this district had begged for mercy simultaneously with the Abu Gosh family, they had continued to show signs of restlessness and dissatisfaction. Irritated by their breach of promise, Mehemet Ali Pasha dispatched his son at the head of a large force against them.<sup>104</sup> Partly because of the rugged nature of the country and the presence of trees, partly because of their influence with the peasants, the leaders of the revolt decided to offer battle at the two villages of Zayta and Dayr-al-Ghusun.

Four days after he had left Jaffa, Ibrahim Pasha attacked the insurgents at Zayta and dispersed them.

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(102) Ibid. II, 138, 160.

(103) Muhammad Munib to [Ibrahim Pasha], Abd. case 249, doc. 278, Jumada I, 9, 1250 A.H.

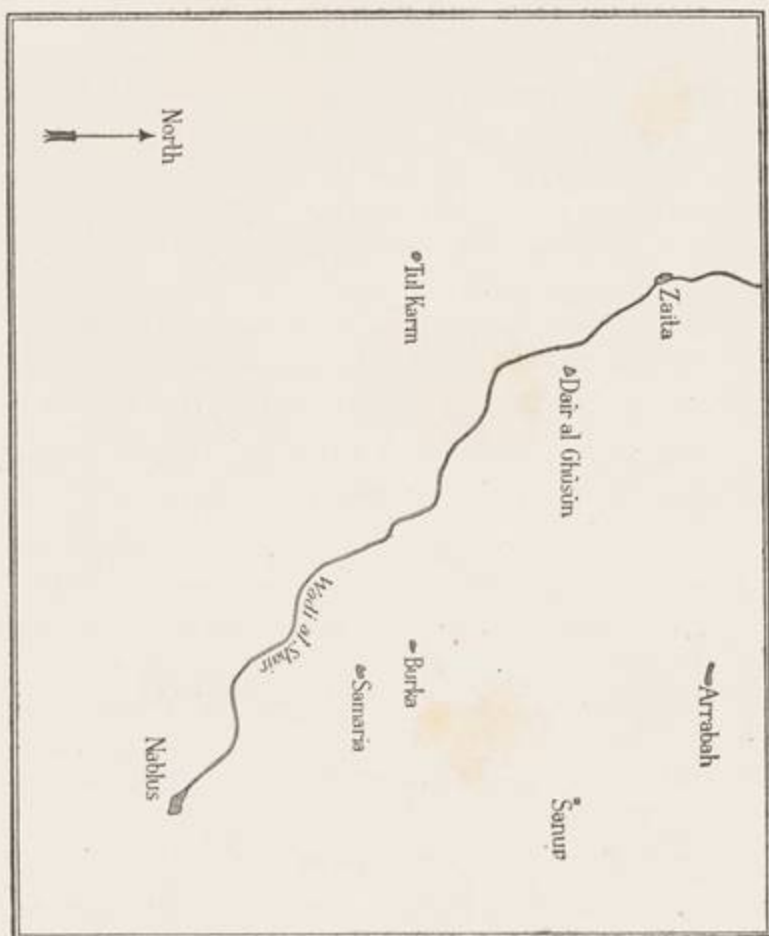
Muhammad Sharif Pasha to Amir Bashir II, Abd. case 250, doc. 309, Ramadan 1, 1250 A.H.

Amir Bashir II to Muhammad Sharif Pasha, Abd. case 250, doc. 360, Shawwal 12, 1250 A.H.

Rustum, A.J., Corpus, op. cit. II, pp. 138, 139.

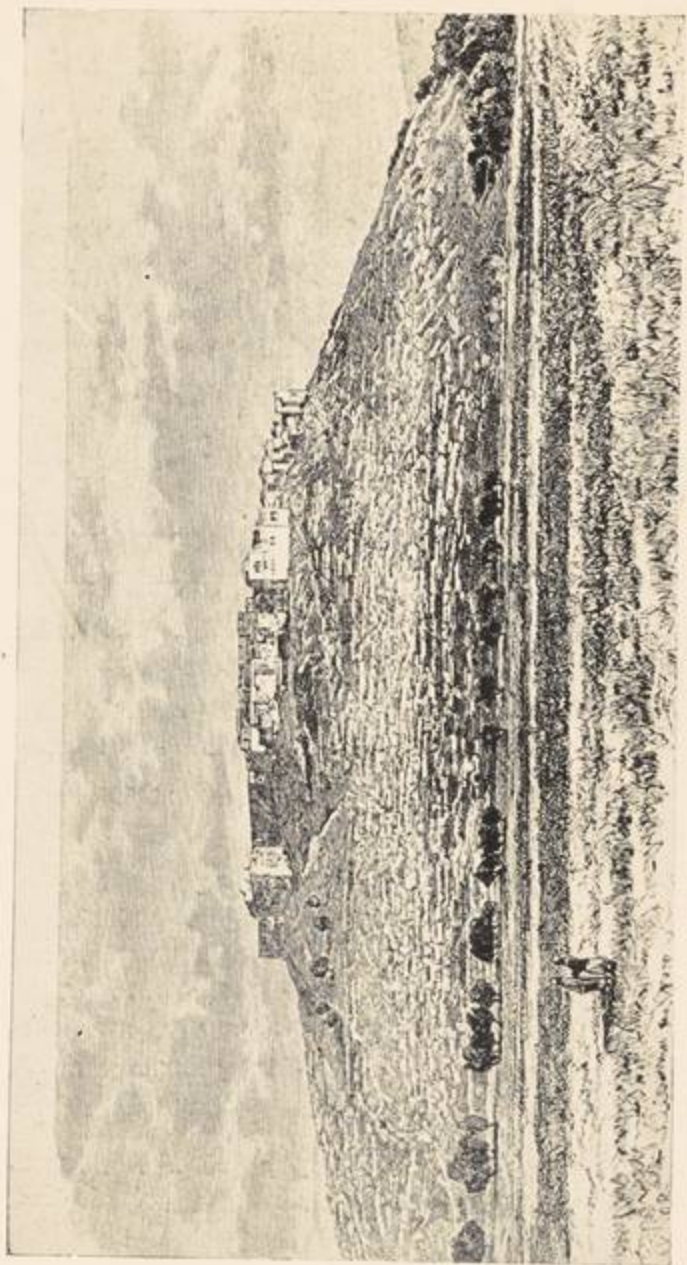
(104) Mehemet Ali Pasha to Zaki Effendi, Maiyyah Turki, reg. 59, No. 33, Rabi I, 5, 1250 A.H.

Leaving about eighty or ninety casualties behind them, the peasants held the hills of Day-al-Ghusun and waited for the Generalissimo. The battle of Dayr-al-Ghusun took place on the 15th of July. Owing to the absence of roads and the rough configuration of the hills, the Pasha









Sanur, the Stronghold of the Jarrars

and his troops had to assault the village on foot. Leaving his artillery behind him, Ibrahim Pasha ordered Ahmad Menekli Bey to march with his troops against the village proper. At the same time, he dispatched Salim Pasha, with infantry and cavalry, to the right in order to encircle the enemy. Owing to the peculiarity of the ground, however, the cavalry of the right wing had to halt and wait for further instructions. Yakub Bey, commanding the left wing of the army, marched to menace the villagers from the side. After two and a half hours of hard fighting in which Ibrahim was seen climbing the hills on foot with his troops, the insurgents fled, leaving about 300 casualties on the field of battle. Their leader Shaykh Ahmad-al-Qasim and his son were both wounded.<sup>105</sup>

Having thus humbled the Qasims, Jarrars, Jayyusis, and Barqawis in their fastnesses Ibrahim Pasha passed through Arabah, the stronghold of his allies, the Abd-al-Hadis, and entered triumphantly into Sanur, the famous fortress of the Jarrars.<sup>106</sup> The following day, he moved in the direction of Nablus and occupied it without any opposition.<sup>107</sup> From Nablus he dispatched troops to occupy Janin and Nazareth while he proceeded to Jerusalem.<sup>108</sup>

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(105) Ibrahim Pasha to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 249, doc. 113, Rabi I, 7, 1250 A.H.

Rustum, A. J., *Campagnes d'Ibrahim Pacha*, op. cit. I, p. 44.

(106) Ibrahim Pasha to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 249, doc. 120, Rabi I, 8, 1250 A.H.

(107) Rustum, A. J., *Corpus*, op. cit. II, p. 134.

(108) Rustum, A. J., *Campagnes*, op. cit. I, p. 45.

In the meantime, his feudal enemies had betaken themselves to Hebron in the hope of offering armed resistance once more.<sup>109</sup> About the fourteenth of August, the Pasha was already on his way to Hebron. After a brief encounter at one hour's distance from Hebron, the insurgents retreated to the town itself to hold it against the Egyptians. A fierce battle ensued in the streets and alleys of the town, as a result of which the Egyptians occupied the city at the cost of 260 casualties, among whom were three commandants, seven captains, and a few other officers.<sup>110</sup> About seven hundred peasants were captured in this engagement, of whom four hundred were sent to Egypt for manual labour while the rest were drafted into the army. Ahmad Bey Menekli was then

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(109) Hanna Bahri to [Sami Bey], Abd. case 249, doc. 183, Rabi I, last day, 1250 A.H.

Ibrahim Bey to [Mehemet Ali Pasha], Abd. case 249, doc. 186, Rabi II, 2, 1250 A.H.

Hanna Bahri to [Sami Bey], Abd. case 249, doc. 199, Rabi II, 4, 1250 A.H.

(110) Ahmad Menekli Bey to [Sami Bey], Abd. case 249, doc. 201, Rabi II, 8, 1250 A.H.

« عندما وصل الجيش المنصور الى خليل الرحمن هاجمها جميع المشاة والفرسان دفعة واحدة وفي خلال نصف ساعة تم الاستيلاء على البلدة المذكورة حيث هلك اكثر الفلاحين الذين كانوا بداخلها ونجبت البلدة كلياً وسوف لا يعود الى خليل الرحمن رشدها لغاية عشر سنين »

Rustum, A. J., Corpus, op. cit. II, p. 140.

Paul Mouriez, op. cit. III, pp. 287-288.

ordered to continue his march to Gaza where his horses could regain their strength.<sup>111</sup>

#### SAFAD OPENS ITS GATES TO THE LEBANESE:

In the region of Safad, there were no serious encounters between the soldiery and the peasants. In response to the orders of Mehemet Ali Pasha, Bashir II advanced at the head of a few thousand Lebanese to the northern border of Palestine and established his headquarters at the Qaqaiyyah Bridge on the Leontes. He then issued one or two proclamations to the inhabitants of Safad, announcing his arrival and warning them of the consequences of their misbehaviour. In reply, the notables of this town authorized Shaykh Salih-al-Tarshihi to go to the camp of the Amir and open negotiations. Bashir then invited the notables of Safad to meet him at Bint Jubayl. Upon their arrival at this place, the notables tendered their submission to the Egyptian Government and begged for mercy. Having accepted their submission in behalf of Mehemet Ali Pasha, Amir Bashir dispatched 500 Lebanese to occupy the citadel of Safad, and ordered a general restitution of property to the Jews. A few days later, Bashir went in person to Safad, and actually began to enforce the terms of the agreement. In addition, he disarmed the population, enforced conscription, and sent to prison in Acre eighteen dignitaries. Most prominent among these exiles were the mufti, the qadi, and the

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(111) Ahmad Menekli Bey to [Sami Bey], same as above.

naqib.<sup>112</sup> While in Safad, the Amir also received the submission of the surrounding districts including Tiberias and Shaghur.<sup>113</sup>

**SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF KARAK :** When the whole of Palestine was tranquilized, Ibrahim Pasha turned his face in the direction of Trans-Jordan and its Crusading castle, Karak. Having failed to make a stand in the face of Ibrahim Pasha at Hebron, Ahmad al-Qasim and his supporters had crossed the Jordan to take refuge behind the high and massive walls of Karak. Relying on the support of their bedouin clients and on the distance that separated them from the Pasha, the feudal lords of Nablus thought they could bide their time in Karak and wait for another opportunity. If worst should come to the worst, they could at least save their necks.

Relentless and lion-hearted, Ibrahim Pasha followed the trail of his enemy as hunters follow the spoor of game. Placing himself at the head of 4000 infantry and 2000 cavalry, he left Hebron about the middle of August, 1834.<sup>114</sup> Having learned from his guides that his first destination, the village of Ghor, was in the hands of the enemy, and that it lay at a distance of eight hours, Ibrahim Pasha decided to reach it on the following morning at daybreak. To avoid the heat of August, he began

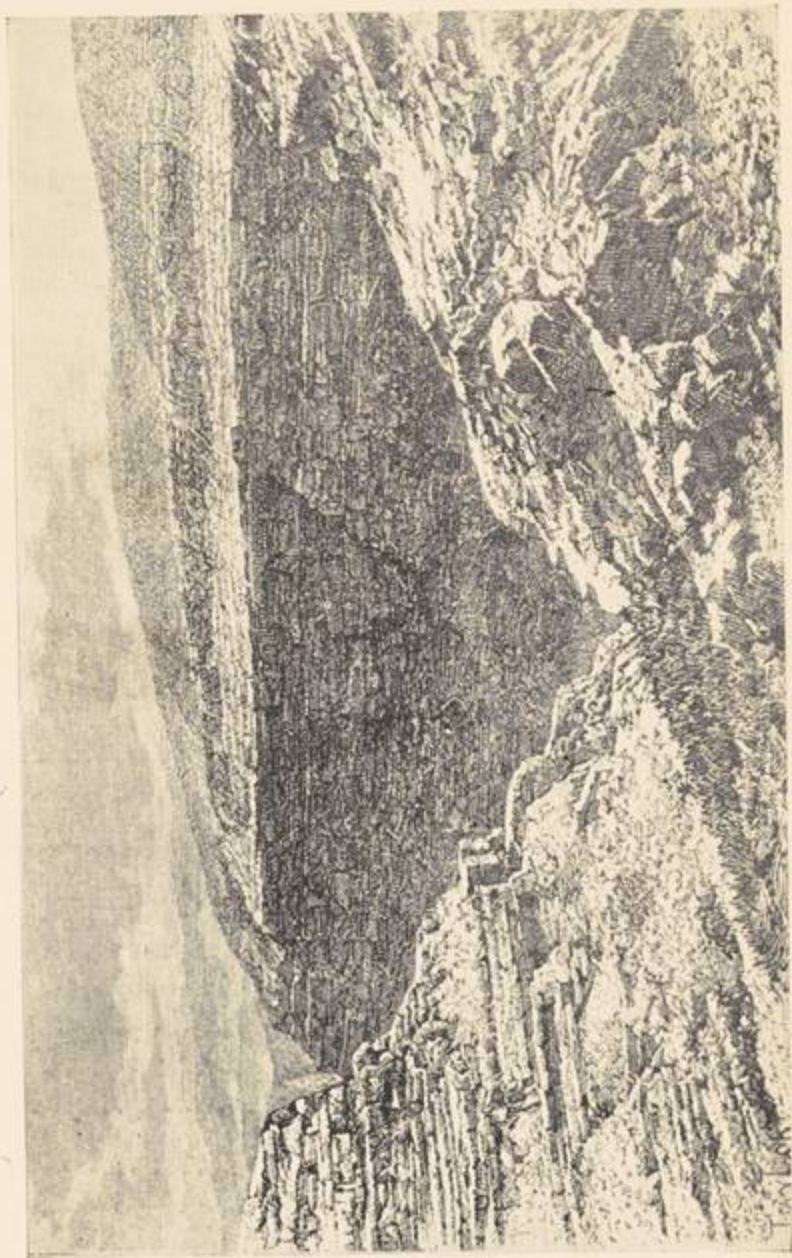
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(112) Rustum, A. J., *Campaigns*, op. cit. I, pp. 41, 45.

(113) Amir Bashir II to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 249, doc. 152, Rabi I, 17, 1250 A.H.

(114) Ahmad Menekli Bey to [Sami Bey], Abd. case 249, doc. 201, Rabi II, 8, 1250 A.H.

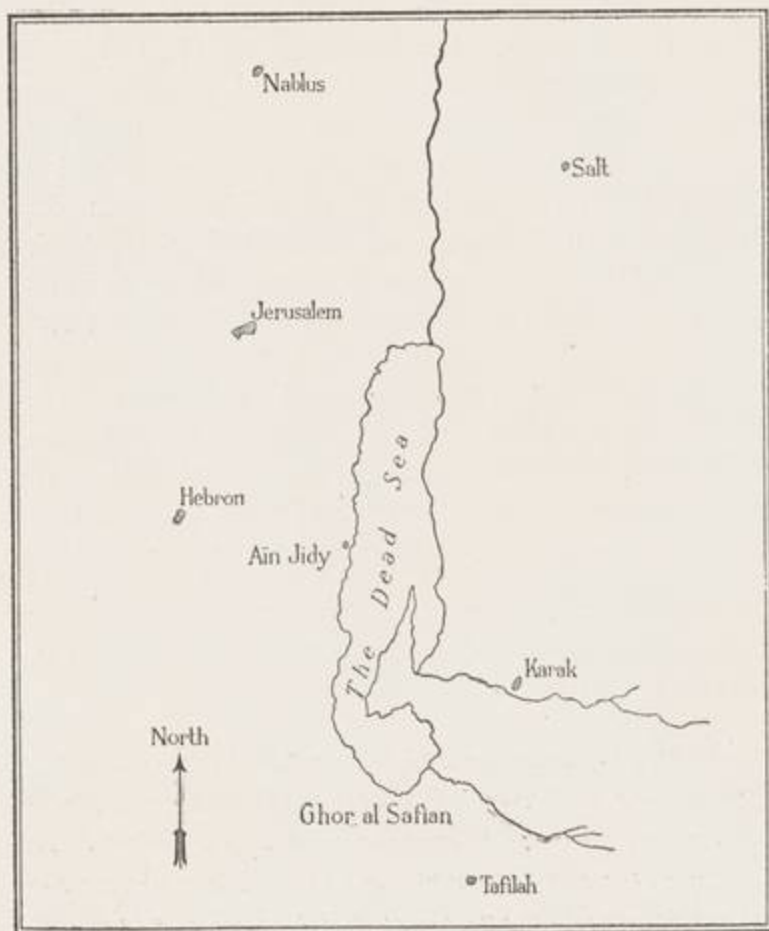




One of the many ravines in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea



his march at three in the afternoon. But, as his guides lost their way at night, only the regiment which accompanied the Generalissimo was able to arrive at Ghor before



sunrise. Thirsty and exhausted by fatigue and excessive heat, the rest of the troops became completely depressed and discouraged. And, although the Pasha tried his

utmost to supply his troops with drinking water, no less than fifty of them died of thirst.<sup>115</sup>

After two days of rest at the village of Ghor, at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, the Egyptians resumed their march. For four hours they had to travel across frightful roads and climb rugged and precipitous hills. Ibrahim Pasha himself was obliged to march on foot. At last, the Generalissimo and troops arrived at Tafilah where they rested for two days. The following day they resumed their march and bivouacked on the banks of Sayl-al-Hisa. The next morning they advanced in the direction of Karak, spending the night at Mazar not very far from their destination.<sup>116</sup>

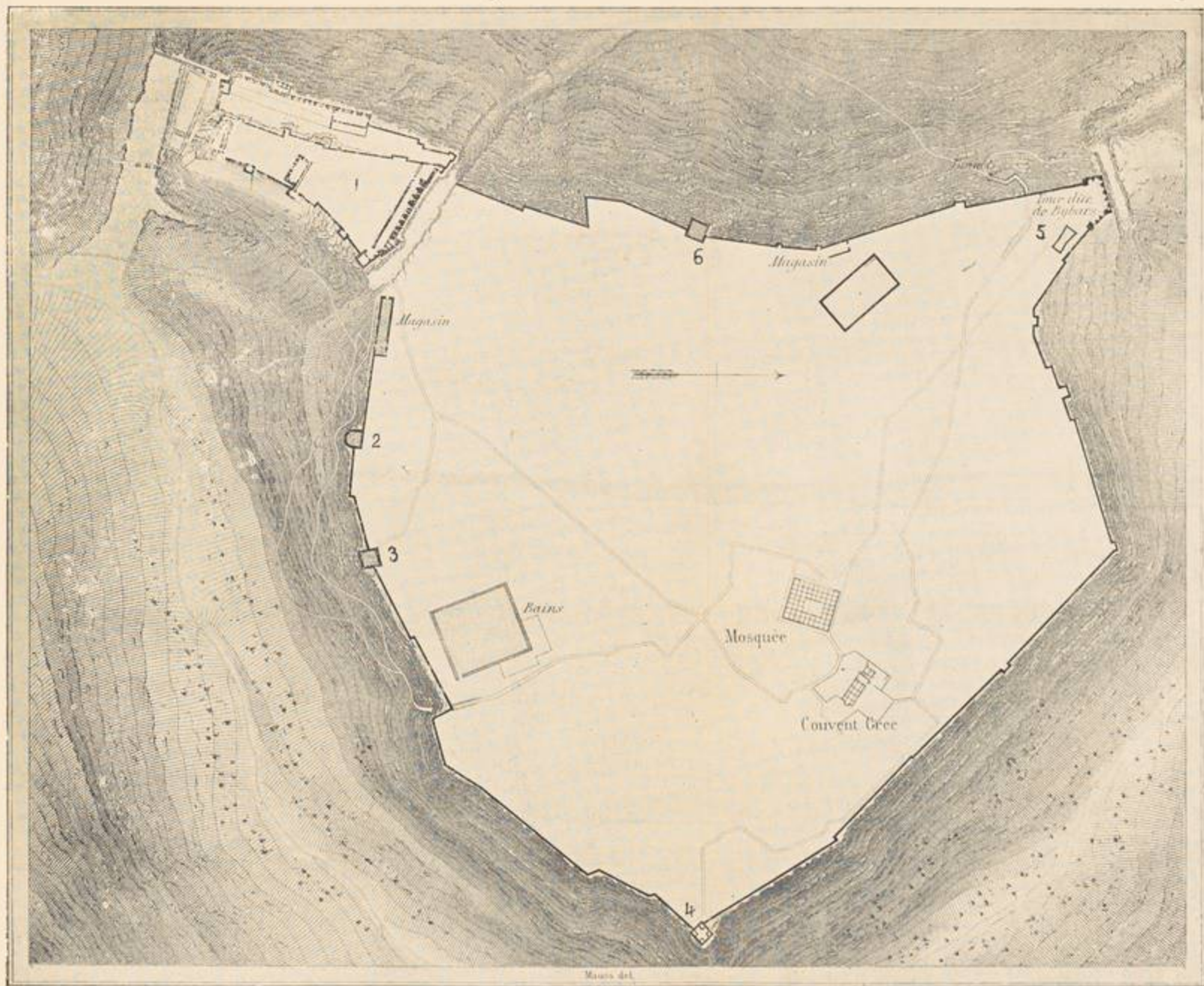
The town of Karak was situated on the summit of a hill cut off on all sides by deep valleys and steep inclines. Its only practicable approach in 1934 was from the south and south-east. Castle, towers, and walls, with the town inside, were still fairly well preserved as in Crusading

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(115) Al-Waqai al-Misriyyah, 582, Jumada II, 12, 1250 A.H., Abd. case 250, doc. 54.

« لكن الادلاء حيث ضلوا السبيل في الطروق تعذر التوصل الى القرية قبل الشروق الا ان رئيس العسكر سبق بالاورطه الاولى من الاي الفارديا الاول وسار حتى انه الى النهر قبل طلعة الشمس توصل ولما علم ان شدة حرارة الهواء وعدم وجود ما يحصل به الارتواء يوجب ان اضطراب الجنود ويقتضيان انه اليهم يعود ملك ما وجد من القرب والمطارات من نحر ذلك المكان وحمله على مواشي القرية وخيل الفرسان بيد اخم لشدة ما كابده من الظما انتقل منهم نحو الاربعين او اكثر ليشربوا من ماء نحر الكوثر »

(116) Ibid. See also, Mengin, Felix, Histoire sommaire de l'Égypte (Paris, 1839), pp. 80-82.



The Fortress of Karak, after Rey, *Architecture Militaire des Croisés*

1. Fortress Proper    2. Burj al-Suub    3. Burj al-Ghrawi    4. Burj al-Sharqi    5. Burj al-Dahir

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days. The only section of the fortifications, however, where walls and bastions had been demolished, lay at the south-east corner, between Burj al-Sharqi and Burj al-Gharawi. Furthermore, on this side of the town, the valley was less steep and rugged than other encircling gorges. Aware of this danger, and in order to obstruct the progress of the enemy, the inhabitants had set up at this point a barricade of rock and earth, and had manned Burj al-Sharqi and Burj al-Gharawi.

Nature, however, had thrown another obstacle in the way of the Pasha. The main sources of water, so essential for an army advancing in August, lay in the inaccessible gorges encircling the town on the north and north-west. As Ibrahim Pasha could approach this fortress only from the south and south-east, and as the main supply of water lay on the other side of the town, the Generalissimo decided to storm Karak on the day of his arrival. He was also badly in need of fodder for his beasts and, therefore, could not afford to delay his attack.

Not waiting even for his cannon, the Pasha ordered the First Battalion of the First Regiment of the Guard to attack Burj al-Sharqi. The First Battalion of the Fourth Regiment of the Line, unable because of the lack of space to attack the same point, took its position to the left of the same tower. The Second and Fourth battalions of the Regiment of the Guard, commanded by Brigadier-General Yakub Bey, seem to have faced the barricade proper. The rebels immediately showered down upon the troops bullet, stone, and rock. As the First Battalion of the Regiment of the Guard and the First Battalion of the

Fourth Regiment of the Line were unable to maintain their positions, orders were given to the Fourth Battalion of the Second Regiment of the Guard to advance. When, however, after two attempts, this battalion was unable to make a definite stand against the enemy, it became quite apparent that the town could not be captured that day. Ibrahim Pasha then retreated to one or two minor sources of water on the south side of the town. Although not numerous, his losses were nevertheless important. Brigadier-General Yakub Bey, a few officers, and some troops lost their lives on that day.<sup>117</sup> Local tradition describes the battle in the same terms, and preserves one or two accounts of the booty gained. General Yakub Bey and the other officers who lost their lives on the field of battle were stripped of their arms and their gold. The General's belt, it is still reported, was found full of valuable coins.<sup>118</sup>

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(117) Completely dependent, it would seem, upon official reports, Felix Mengin adds, "Les rebelles s'étaient flattés un moment de repousser les assailants; mais ceux-ci demeurèrent inébranlables, et, malgré la perte du général Yacoub-Bey, ils parvinrent à se rendre maîtres de deux forts, sur les deux côtés du bourg, ou tout ce qu'il avait de combattants fut passé au fil de l'épée. Ibrahim Pacha fit alors suspendre l'attaque, remettant au lendemain la prise du bourg, qui ne pouvait plus offrir aucune résistance."—*op. cit.* pp. 82-83.

As the account of this success on the first day does not appear in the confidential military reports of Ibrahim Pasha to his father, we find it difficult to accept it as an established fact.

(118) Reported to the author by Muin Bey Kusus of Karak who heard it directly from an aged eyewitness about fifty years ago.



Burj al-Dahir, the Fortress of Karak

1875



When his cannon arrived in the evening of the same day, Ibrahim Pasha ordered a few shots to announce the completion of his preparations and to threaten the peasants with the dangers that were bound to beset them the following morning. The next day, however, while the Generalissimo was still studying with his staff the best plan for attack, a Christian peasant from Karak, by the name of Abdullah al-Sinna, hoisted a white flag, and approached the Egyptian Camp. Ahmad al-Qasim and his faction had slipped away the night before through the north-western gate of Burj al-Dahir, and the town was ready to surrender.

Having made his entry into the fortress, Ibrahim Pasha decided to pursue his foe. Misled by Jalhad al-Habashni, a native of Karak who volunteered to lead the Generalissimo to his foe, Ibrahim and his troops went down very steep and rugged gorges, and were eleven hours on the way before they reached their destination. The encounter in the open field resulted, as usual, in the flight of the peasants; and the Pasha came back to Karak with two or three thousand sheep. Another encounter with his enemy in a rugged region not very far from Karak brought similar results to the Egyptian General. This time two hundred peasants lost their lives and twenty-seven were captured. In addition, the Egyptians brought back with them ten thousand sheep, and about three hundred beasts of burden. Before leaving Karak, Ibrahim Pasha received the submission of its inhabitants, put to death their shaykh, and actually set the place on fire.

As a measure of last resort, Ahmad al-Qasim, Isa-l-Barqawi, and their sons took refuge with the Anazah

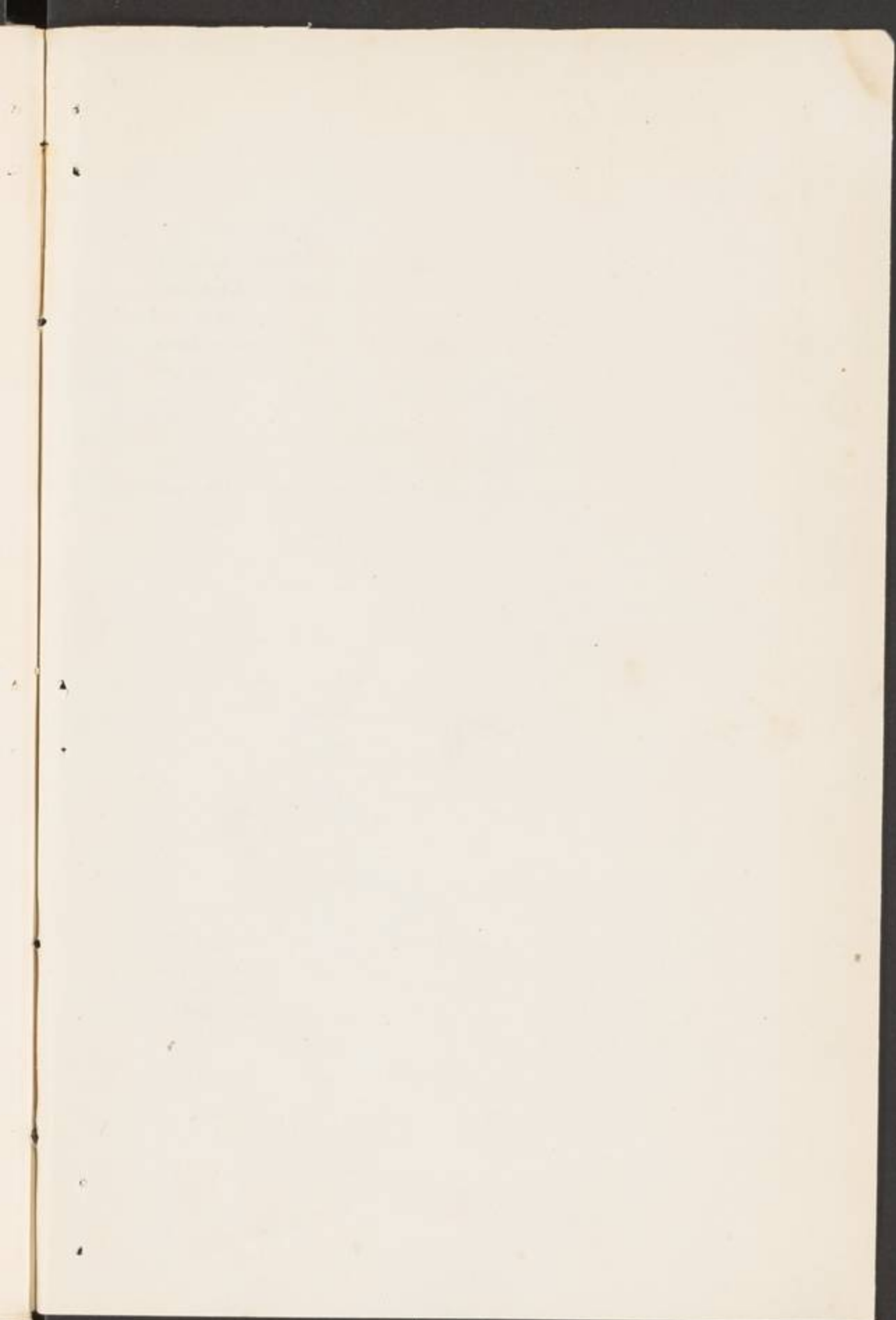
Arabs. Fear of the vengeance of the Pasha, however, made the chief shaykh of this tribe, Duwaykhi-l-Asmar, break all traditions of hospitality and faithfulness and deliver his refugees into Egyptian hands.<sup>119</sup> One of these captives was immediately put to death in Damascus, two in Acre, and three others in Jerusalem.<sup>120</sup>

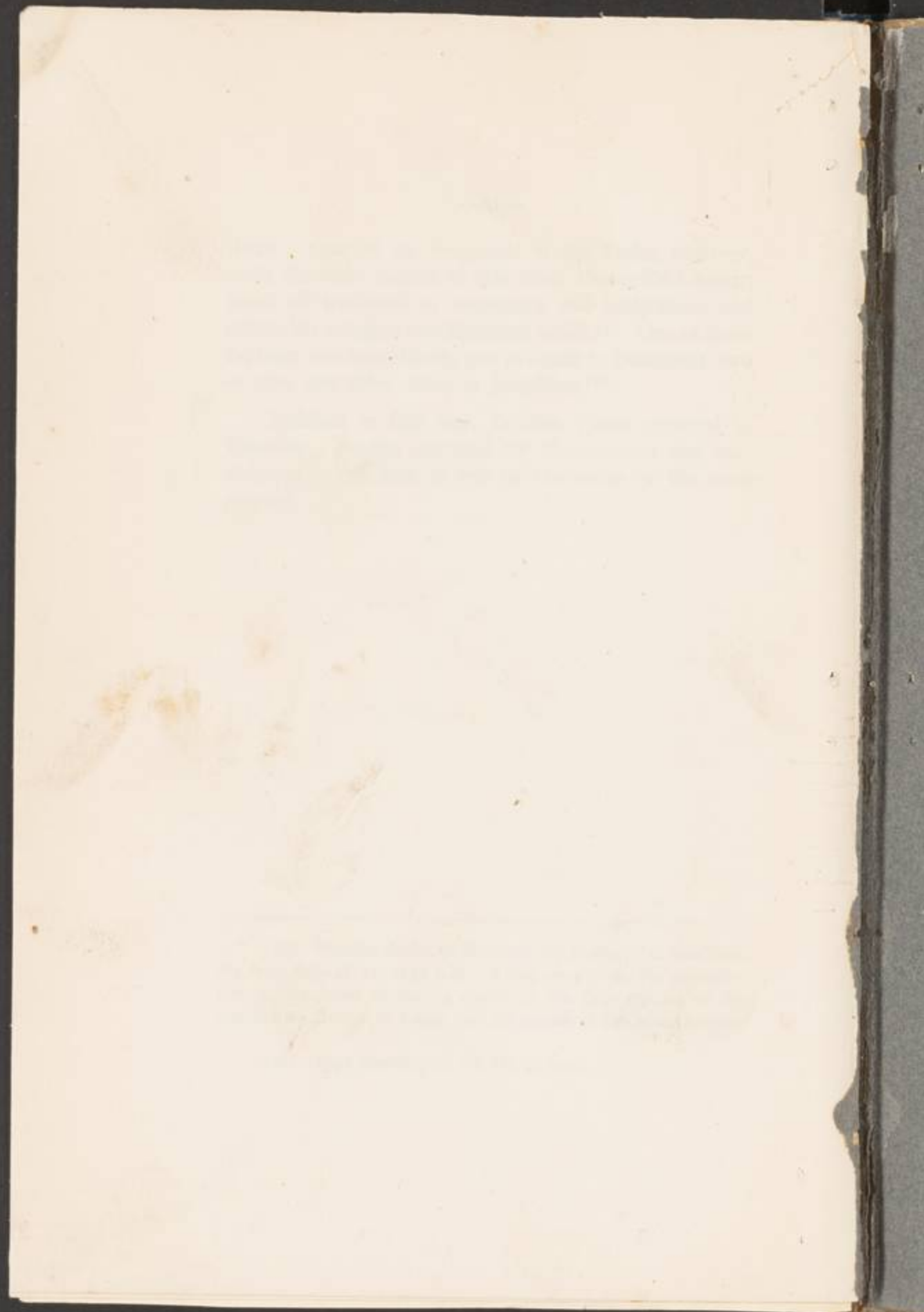
Satisfied in this way, Ibrahim Pasha returned to Palestine. Having arranged for disarmament and conscription in this land, he left for Damascus for the same purpose.

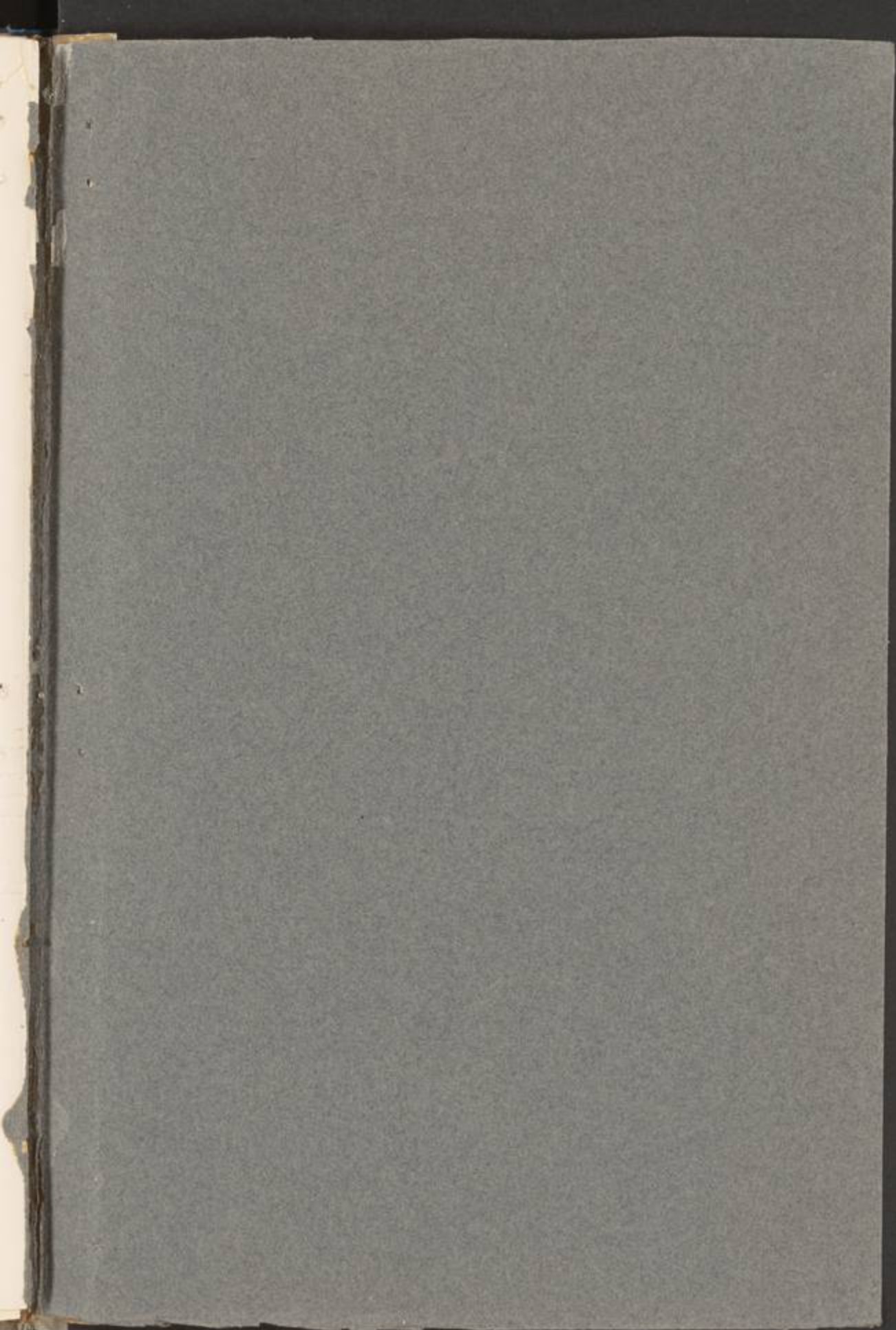
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(119) Ibrahim Pasha to Mehemet Ali Pasha, Abd. case 249, doc. 225, Rabi II, 21, 1250 A.H. A long report from the generalissimo to his father containing almost all the facts relating to the march from Hebron to Karak, and the assault of this latter fortress.

(120) Paul Mouriez, *op. cit.* III, p. 291.







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