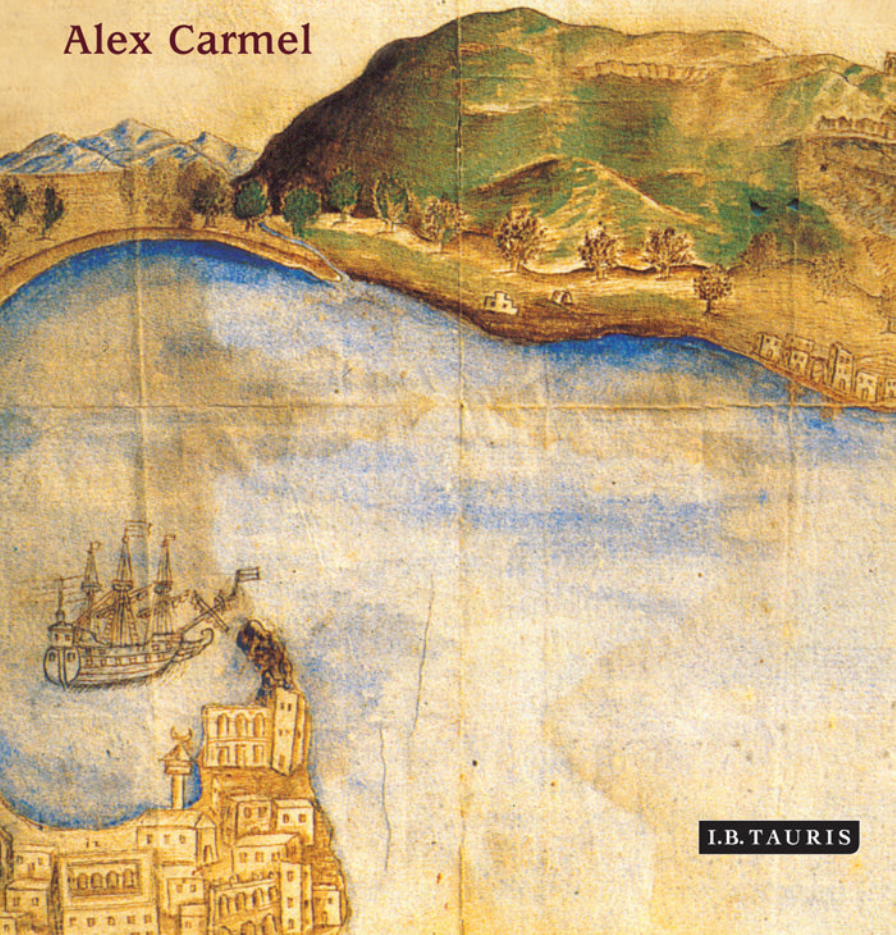
Ottoman Haifa

A History of Four Centuries under Turkish Rule

Alex Carmel



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Alex Carmel (1931–2002) was an historian of the Middle East, specialising in nineteenth-century Palestine. He joined the faculty of the University of Haifa in 1968 and was a visiting professor at the universities of Basle, Bern, Fribourg and the Free University of Berlin.

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Ottoman Haifa

A History of Four Centuries under Turkish Rule

By Alex Carmel

Translated into English
by Elias Friedman

Preface by Jakob Eisler

I.B.TAURIS
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This book is dedicated,
as wished for by its late author Alex Carmel,
to the memory of the beloved Cornelius Beilharz (1976–2002),
descendant of the Haifa Templers.

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Preface

This book – the first work of the historian and researcher Alex Carmel (1931–2002), who worked on the history of Palestine during the Ottoman Empire for over forty years – has come to be also his last published work, now in English.

In 1963, the Berlin-born Alex Carmel decided to write his Masters thesis on the history of Haifa, the city that had been his new home from 1939.[1] Up to then, information about Haifa could only be found in reference works by Zeev Vilnay and Haim Aharonowitz.[2] In the latter, Haifa was adjudged to be 'a wretched, dirty fishing village, whose population amounted to no more than a few hundred'.[3] Professor Uriel Heyd, Carmel's teacher at the time, advised him not to go ahead with the thesis because there were hardly any historical sources and because he thought the topic was rather unimportant. Nevertheless, Carmel set out to work on the 'History of Haifa in the Turkish Era, 1516–1918'. His sources for the history of the city – at least for the first two centuries of Ottoman rule – consisted mainly of travel literature, from which he carefully selected the more meaningful and historically accurate descriptions. Here, two fundamental qualities of Carmel the historian came to the fore, namely not only a desire to find all the relevant historical sources, but also an ability to evaluate them precisely. In his thesis he was able to reconstruct the city's history and show that it experienced its first significant boom as early as 1761 under Dahar al-Umar (Zahir al-Umar).[4] After the establishment of the Württemberg Templer colony in Haifa in 1868, the city began to flourish.[5] Carmel's 'modest opus' about Haifa – as he always called it – became the benchmark for the historiography of Israel's third largest city, now with more than a quarter of a million inhabitants.[6] Even though this book had its origin years ago, it is, to this day, the reference book on the history of Haifa during the Ottoman Empire.

For me, the book is a good deal more than just the history of the city of Haifa: this book connects me with Alex Carmel – the author and the man.

My first encounter with Professor Alex Carmel at Haifa University took place in 1988 when I was a young student. I was reading the present book on Haifa and was looking for the memoirs (cited in the book) of the German vice consul Friedrich Keller 'Wie ich auf den Carmel kam' ('How I Came to Mount Carmel'), but could not find them anywhere. I mentioned this to Professor Carmel in his office on the twenty-seventh floor of Haifa University. Without further ado, Carmel opened one of the drawers of his desk and handed me Keller's manuscript with the words: 'Here are the memoirs of Friedrich Keller for your perusal. But if you are not back here in my office this time next week (with the originals), I will consider myself forced to have you hanged from Haifa's tallest palm tree . . .' Never before had I had such an encounter! I was especially intrigued by the phrase 'the tallest palm tree', because the groves of tall palms lining the Kison River had long since disappeared due to the industrialization of

Haifa after the end of Ottoman rule and in the time of the British Mandate.

I did return the pages a week later and was subsequently privileged to study and work as Carmel's assistant for a long period, starting from a year after this episode until his death in 2002.

I am happy that his wish to publish *Die Geschichte Haifas in der Türkischen Zeit* in English has now been fulfilled with the publication of this book.

I especially want to thank Professor Reinhold Würth of Künzelsau and Mr Jürgen Prockl of Stuttgart, whose support made it possible to publish this book. I am also indebted to Abigail Fielding-Smith and Joanna Godfrey for getting the book into print at I.B.Tauris.

Dr Jakob Eisler
Stuttgart

(Preface translated by Peter G. Hornung)

Introduction

Haifa is located at the southern point of the largest bay on the coast of Israel. The coastal plain, on the edge of which ancient Haifa spread out, is about 860 metres in length, facing Ras al-Kurum – today it is the area including Rambam Hospital, Quiet Beach and a portion of Bat-Galim. The width of the coastal strip on which the new town was established in the middle of the eighteenth century – nowadays part of Lower Haifa – was no more than 220 metres. The Haifa region served as an outlet to the sea for the Valley of Jezreel, the only one that cuts across the mountains of western Israel. The plain descends by easy stages to the valley of the Jordan and so offers a convenient connection through to the Lebanese Beq'a, the region of Damascus, Hauran and beyond. Haifa lies on the coastal road and serves as the junction for a network of roads running north, east and south. In addition to its advantage as a convenient outlet for an extensive hinterland, it is protected by Mount Carmel from the frequent southerly and south-westerly winds. The nearby seabed is smooth and devoid of natural obstacles that might be dangerous to shipping. In the light of these facts, it is surprising that for thousands of years it was Acre, at the northern edge of the bay, that predominated. It would appear that this was due, first and foremost, to reasons of security. The headland, which projected from that end of the bay and on which Acre was built, offered excellent opportunities for defence. Its port was excellent, though not as good as Haifa's, and met the needs of maritime traffic in ancient times. In the absence of trains and motorized transport, the ease of access to the hinterland was not a decisive factor. The fundamental reason for the rise of Haifa was its transfer to a new site, where it could be defended. This occurred at the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century. The far-reaching changes in maritime transport, such as the use of steamships, and inland transport, with the introduction of railroads, gave a decisive advantage to the southern part of the bay. Haifa, which had already begun to show signs of awakening, now rapidly overtook Acre.[1]

The origins of Haifa, even the meaning of the name, are still shrouded in obscurity.[2] Some are of the opinion that a settlement by that name already existed in the Persian period.[3] Others consider that it was founded four to five hundred years later. From the second century of the present era onwards, Haifa is mentioned in Talmudic sources and in the writings of the fathers of the Church. It was a small town by the seaside, stretching between Bat-Galim and the present-day German Colony.[4] The Jewish community of Haifa, perhaps the majority of the population, enjoyed a period of relative prosperity in the third and fourth centuries CE. The settlement's inhabitants were engaged in fishing, in the search for murex shells used in the dyeing industry and in the manufacture of glassware. Some of its sages are recalled in the Talmud, where it is stated that men from Haifa should not be called upon for public readings in the synagogue because they do not pronounce the letters correctly, for instance: 'They read the *alef* as *'ain* and the *'ain* as *alef*.'[5] The network of roads in the north of the country, laid down by the Romans in previous centuries and the oracle of the god Carmel – situated, it appears, in the Cave of Elijah – brought a certain animation to nearby Haifa, albeit not for long. There are reasons to believe that, following uprisings against the Jews in the days of Justinian, or perhaps for some other reason, Haifa was destroyed and abandoned in the sixth century.[6] Scholars have not encountered the name of Haifa in historical sources from the first four hundred years after the Muslim conquest. Only in the eleventh century do we hear again of the existence of a settlement in the same place and, in particular, about its Jewish inhabitants. One Persian traveller in 1047 tells of large ships being built in Haifa.[7] At the beginning of the First Crusade, it was a well-fortified town, surrounded by a wall and towers.

> This town is situated on a plain, on the coast, at the foot of Mount Carmel; it interfered more than other towns with the plan of God, and since the proud confidence of the pagans was based in part on the siting of the town and the strength of its fortifications, in part on the excessive importance of its citizens, the Crusaders decided to conquer the town prior to others [along the coast], for, once conquered, the other feebler ones could be taken with greater ease.[8]

Such are the motives advanced by a monk of the time for the decision of the Crusader commanders to press on with the assault on Haifa. Using the testimony of eyewitnesses, Albert of Aix describes in great detail how the Crusaders laid siege to the town. Towards the end of July 1100, Haifa was sealed off from the sea by the Venetian fleet. Tancred, one of the ablest commanders of the First Crusade, stood at the head of the army that besieged it from the land. For almost a month, the Jewish inhabitants of Haifa and the Egyptian garrison in the town fought desperately to hold off the attackers. In the end, the Crusaders captured the town by employing heavy war machines, and put the inhabitants to the sword,[9] thus bringing to an end another short period of prosperity in Haifa. It seems that Jews did not return to settle in the town for the rest of the Crusader period. Haifa now became a small fortified Crusader position, one of many on the coast and in the interior of the country. It was of minor importance, comparable with that of Acre to the north and the more important one of Caesarea to the south.[10]

In 1187, during the war of Saladin, in which he dealt a decisive blow against the Crusaders, the fortress of Haifa was destroyed too.[11] The Third Crusade gave back to the Franks a part of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, including Haifa, but only for a while. In 1250, the military commander, Ibakh, became the first Mamluk sultan of Egypt. At the same time, Louis IX of France, undertook to fortify some of the coastal towns of Syria and Palestine again, including Haifa,[12] but the fortifications were unable to withstand the attacks of Baybars I, the Mamluk sultan, who initiated the final expulsion of the Crusaders from Palestine. His armies captured Haifa in March 1265. During the destruction of the coastal cities by the Mamluks to prevent their recapture by the Franks, Haifa suffered a blow from which it was not to recover for the next two hundred and fifty years of Mamluk rule over the country.

Ancient Haifa presented the aspect of a destroyed town, with walls overthrown, buildings ruined and fortifications dismantled, right until the beginning of Turkish rule.[13]

For one thousand five hundred, or even two thousand years, Haifa was, except for rare intervals, no more than a small village of no importance. For a long time it was not even inhabited. In its short periods of prosperity it remained overshadowed by its powerful neighbour, Acre, which one must see as the centre of gravity of the bay of Haifa until the late nineteenth century. It was only in the last generation of the Ottoman rule in Palestine that Haifa succeeded in wresting the primacy from Acre and transferring it to the southern end of the bay.

1

Ancient Haifa After the Ottoman Conquest

In December 1516, Haifa, a destroyed and abandoned village, fell to the army of the Ottoman sultan, Selim I, in the course of his campaign against his rivals, the Mamluks. During the campaign, the Ottomans, who were at the height of their power, conquered Syria, Palestine and Egypt. Four hundred years later, in September 1918, Haifa was once again captured; but the British army, which overran Palestine and Syria and dealt the decisive blow to the tottering Ottoman Empire, found that Haifa, far from being a miserable village, had become in the meantime a thriving port, a railway terminus and a busy prosperous commercial centre. The object of the present book is to describe the circumstances that led to its development during those four centuries.

It would have been logical to open this chapter with a description of the Turkish capture of the town, but the few sources at our disposal make no mention of the taking of Haifa, just as they fail to mention the capture of even more important places in Palestine. The 'Diary of the Campaign to Egypt', apparently written by a participant, describes the expedition of Selim I from Istanbul to Cairo, capital of the Mamluk state, but offers us little information about the conquest of Palestine. It recounts that on 1 December 1516, the sultan, who was camping with his army in Damascus, ordered the grand vizier, Sinan Pasha, to lead a part of the Ottoman army to Gaza. On 28 December, as he was on his way to Jerusalem, the sultan heard from a runner who came from the battlefield that Sinan Pasha had defeated the Mamluk army at Khan Yunis in the south of Palestine. Palestine had therefore fallen to the Ottomans in a short space of time and, for the most part, without offering resistance.[1]

In spite of the absence of adequate information, it is almost certain that Haifa played no role in the short battle for the conquest of the country, if we recall that even the inhabitants of neighbouring Acre surrendered their city to the conquerors without a battle.[2] What is more, it is doubtful whether Haifa at the time was inhabited at all; one German visitor from that period described it as a desolate place without a single house and with fallen walls.[3] In the second phase of Mamluk rule security conditions worsened in the country. Haifa, with its ruined houses scattered over a wide open plain on the coast, in the absence of defensive walls, was exposed to the attacks of pirates from the sea and bandits from the land. Maritime traffic, always a possible source of income to the inhabitants of the town, was limited in those days, though the anchorage was a good one – the port of nearby Acre was sufficient to meet those needs, such as they were. Under these conditions and in view of the fact that Haifa apparently is not mentioned at all by travellers and pilgrims to Palestine for more than two hundred years – that is, until the last quarter of the sixteenth century – it may be assumed that the resettlement of the town began only during the first generation following the Ottoman conquest.

General Description

The Village

The first and characteristic testimony to the resettlement of Haifa is found in the book of a German doctor and scientific investigator, Rauwolf. A storm forced his ship to seek shelter in Haifa. No sooner had the inhabitants caught sight of the ship than they set out in boats to attack it and only with difficulty did the captain succeed in evading them. In his description of the attack, Rauwolf mentions that the Haifa of 1575 still covered a large area, but that only half its houses were fit for habitation. The traveller adds that its walls were in a state of ruin and that even the Ottoman governor, whose house he saw from a distance, did not live in the town itself but opposite Cape Carmel, south of the mountain.[4] Few of the later visitors who came to ancient Haifa have anything to add to Rauwolf's description until the rule of Dahar al-Umar in the middle of the eighteenth century. This handful of travellers repeat Rauwolf's observations about an old city in ruins, destroyed during the Crusades, the decayed buildings which lay scattered over a large area 'a quarter of an hour's distance by foot'. The inhabitants appear to have taken up their winter quarters in the ruins, for until the 1730s we hear of no new houses being built. In summertime, they preferred living outside, in shacks roofed with branches, rather than in the old dilapidated houses.[5] Neither, during this long period, were its walls rebuilt, so that – in spite of a slow, gradual growth in importance and in the number of its inhabitants – ancient Haifa for the first two hundred years of Turkish rule remained a field strewn with ruins, or a 'miserable village' as most travellers tended to describe it.[6]

The best preserved building in Haifa at that time was the 'fort', which had been a Crusader church that had fallen into ruin and been repaired to serve various purposes. On his visit to Haifa in 1628, the Spaniard Castillo said he spent the night in a ruined and abandoned church.[7] The young Laurent d'Arvieux described the church, which had by then been restored, as the only building left standing in Haifa. D'Arvieux, who had been brought up in the house of a relative, the French consul at Sidon, frequently visited Haifa and Mount Carmel and is an important and reliable source of information about the place for the late 1650s and the early 1660s. He writes that among the things worthy of note are the remains of a fort, two churches and a third church, the heavy high walls of which were still standing. The rooms of this church were being used as depots, stables and lodgings for travellers and pilgrims. In addition, the agent for Haifa, appointed by the Emir Turabay, had his apartment there. The Carmelites had taken over one of the rooms, which they used as a store room: 'And they call it a fort', sums up d'Arvieux, 'in the most unsuitable way possible, for it has nothing to justify the title.'[8] It appears that this building was the 'Fort of Haifa' that was destroyed in 1623 or 1624 by the Emir

Turabay, the enemy of Fakhr ad-Din II, Emir of the Druzes of Lebanon.[9] In any case, we have no indication of any other fort being built previously in Haifa, except for the one mentioned above, erected by Louis IX in the thirteenth century and destroyed some time earlier. It is therefore likely that the 'ruined church' seen by Castillo in 1628 was restored after the damage it suffered in 1623–4 and became, in the course of time, the 'fort' described by d'Arvieux. The Dutch painter, de Bruyn, saw the fort on the coast in 1682.[10]

However, Paul Lucas, who travelled in the east on a mission on behalf of Louis XIV of France, wrote that the inhabitants of Haifa could not expect to defend themselves against pirates or prevent their ships entering the anchorage, unless they built a fort, as it appears they were preparing to do.[11] In the end, even this fort, it seems, was destroyed or fell into ruin, for in 1737 the Englishman Richard Pococke recounts that two new forts had been built for defence against pirates.[12] Some years later, the Carmelite Leandro of St Cecilia described them as built one on each side of the town, similar to one another and both equipped with heavy cannons for coastal defence.[13] He claims that the main purpose of the Ottomans in building these two forts was to prevent the ships of the Maltese pirates from spending the winter in the Haifa anchorage, or from finding protection there in stormy weather. Leandro had left Rome in 1730 on his way to join the monastery of Mount Carmel, where he stayed for many years. He saw the building of the forts as the precondition for the prosperity of Haifa, which indeed followed afterwards. His book was written, it appears, on the eve of the capture of the village by Dahar al-Umar; in it he observes, that, once measures had been taken to ensure the defence of the place against pirates, houses and stores began to be built, so that 'At present there is a settlement of some size and some real commercial activity.' The Carmelites also built a storehouse in Haifa and even proposed to build a church there for Christians, whose numbers were increasing with the general increase of population.[14]

The Anchorage

Throughout the first century of Ottoman rule, the sources at our disposal only mention one ship that tried to anchor off Haifa, that of Rauwolf, and even that, as we have seen, was only there out of necessity. The anchorage, though the best along the coast, offered no protection from attacks launched from the land. Neither had Haifa, lowly as it was, anything to attract maritime traffic to its shore, for it was no more than a ruined, almost desolate, village. Without commerce and without attraction for Christian pilgrims from Europe, it offered no incentive for ships to visit. Moreover, Acre provided an adequate outlet for Safed and Tiberias. In the 1580s, two ships carrying pilgrims from Europe preferred to put in at Athlit.[15] In 1611, we witness two ships bearing Christians from Europe being subjected to harassment at the anchorage of Haifa; in that year, the authorities in Istanbul ordered the Qadi of Lajjun (Megido), under whose jurisdiction which the Haifa *sanjak* (administrative district) fell, to stop the governor of the region and his men from interfering with merchant ships from Europe that wanted to put in at Haifa. It would appear from the wording of the order that French merchants had begun to visit Haifa for purposes of commerce, but had ceased to do so on account of harassment.[16]

However, from the beginning of the seventeenth century, as well as the growth of commercial relations between Europe and Palestine, there was an increase in the number of ships visiting Haifa. Eugène Roger, a Minorite missionary, describes it in 1632 as a port where pirate ships from Malta were in the habit of waiting to ambush Turkish vessels cruising along the coast.[17] It is as the 'Port of Haifa' that it appears on a map of Palestine from the year 1651.[18] Towards the end of the 1660s, Gonzales, a traveller, saw three or four ships, which apparently belonged to the inhabitants of the town. According to him, the only ships to enter the port were those forced to do so by stormy weather.[19] A few years later an Italian priest describes the port of Acre as a bad and insecure one and the ancient wall of the town as dismantled: 'For that reason, ships are accustomed to drop anchor at nearby Haifa, which possesses an excellent anchorage.'[20] Dapper, the geographer, on the basis of his own visit to the country and those of his contemporaries, noted an increase in the importance of the port of Haifa during the seventeenth century. The French scholar, Paul Masson, reached a similar conclusion after studying the history of French commerce in the seventeenth century, as documented in the archives of the Bureau of Commerce, Marseille, and especially in the correspondence between French merchants and consuls in the east; but, as Masson goes on to say, the anchorage of Haifa carried its own risk, being the principal base for pirate ships, both Ottoman and Christian.[21] Until the beginning of the eighteenth century, Haifa was unable to prevent the penetration of pirate ships from Malta into its anchorage. True, they were not as a rule in the habit of attacking European ships, but they struck hard at local commercial shipping and so delayed the development of the port.[22] It was to defend the town from them that the two forts, mentioned previously, were erected and furnished with especially heavy cannon balls.[23] It appears that these forts, built between 1714 and 1737, succeeded in preventing the approach even of pirate ships, so that already in 1752 the friar Leandro writes about their attacks as something belonging to the distant past.[24]

On the eve of the seizure of Acre and its reconstruction by Dahar al-Umar, a genuine advance in the importance of Haifa had, therefore, begun to take place, so that Leandro could write, though with some exaggeration: 'The very safe coast [of Haifa] can hold 200 warships and an equal number of merchant ships; from Damiette to Alexandretta there is no better place along all the coast of Syria?'[25] How unlike Pococke this is, for whom the best port had been to all intents and purposes the port of Acre.[26]

The Inhabitants

In spite of the gradual growth of Haifa in the period under discussion, we possess but scarce information about its inhabitants, their source of income, ways of life or similar details. In 1628, their number was estimated by Castillo as 'a hundred persons, more or less'.[27] In the 'Register of the Head-Tax of Unbelievers in the District of Jerusalem' for the end of the same century, there are registered one Jew and thirty-two Christians in Haifa who were liable to tax, which gives us some idea of the number of non-Muslims in the town. However, we should remember that only men were counted,[28] and we are left in the dark concerning the methods of registration, how many, for example, evaded the count or were exempt from taxation, so that any conclusion has to be drawn with caution.

The first evidence for the existence of a Jewish community in Haifa under Ottoman rule, with a ‘constructed synagogue’, dates from 1625–6.[29] Two years later, Christian inhabitants are mentioned.[30] Since the first available information about the resettlement of Haifa under Ottoman rule dates from 1575 only, it may be supposed that Jews and Christians were there from the beginning. From the 1720s onwards, most travellers mention Arab Muslims, Jews and Christians among the inhabitants of the town.[31] Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, the number of Christians increased, undoubtedly on account of the activity of the Carmelites, so that, as one of the friars remarks, a church in Haifa became necessary.[32] For all that, Haifa remained a village with a Muslim majority, a fact that left its mark on the place for many years to come.[33]

The picture of Haifa and its inhabitants that emerges in the beginning of the Ottoman period is actually a negative one, its ill-fame growing with the passing of the years. It was considered a ‘village of murderers and bandits’ or ‘the filthiest of all places’ until the beginning of the nineteenth century. As for ancient Haifa, its heap of ruins had little attraction for European visitors. The frequent assaults on strangers visiting Haifa and the Carmelite monastery were the source of much bitter criticism directed at the settlement’s inhabitants. For most of the period under discussion, wayfarers were in danger of assault on the roads throughout the country, though not as a rule in built-up areas. This was not the case in Haifa: sailors and pilgrims had to carry arms when passing through its lanes and gave thanks if their visit came to an end without bloodshed or robbery.[34]

The Sources of Livelihood

Concerning Haifa's commerce and the sources of livelihood of its inhabitants, d'Arvieux writes that, apart from the robbery of wayfarers and pilgrims and the traffic in booty they bought from the Maltese pirates, 'The only merchandise one obtains in Haifa is wheat and cotton, from the merchants of Acre; no other articles are available.' The townsfolk used to complain to the governor that pirates attacked their boats daily, leading to the loss of clients and livelihoods. In the beginning of the eighteenth century the travellers Van Egmont and Heyman reckoned that commerce in the booty of pirates, in particular rice and slaves, and the provisioning of their ships were the chief sources of livelihood for the inhabitants of Haifa.[35] In 1664, Haifa, Tantura and Acre are mentioned as the ports to which farmers bring their fruit and cotton, selling it to merchants who come there for that purpose.[36] It appears, therefore, that in the middle of the seventeenth century Haifa served as part of the transit of merchandise and as a modest market from which agricultural produce grown in the neighbourhood was exported by sea. A common means of livelihood must have also been fishing. We read of numerous small boats anchored in the bay; one Franciscan claimed that the best fish in the country were obtainable in Haifa.[37] Nevertheless, there is no basis to be found in the sources for the opinion, still prevalent, that Haifa until the nineteenth century and even into the twentieth century was no more than a fishing village. Towards the end of the seventeenth century and in the first half of the eighteenth century there was a steady growth in the commerce of Haifa and, consequently, in its population, though we are not well informed about the products that were sold there. The facilities offered by the port and for the provisioning of ships that put in at Haifa were also sources of livelihood.[38] There was no quay and passengers and merchandise had to be transferred to the ships by small boats. This sort of work, which required a great deal of skill, must also have provided a source of income for some of the inhabitants of Haifa. However, at the very moment when new and promising possibilities were opening up to ancient Haifa, the place was again entirely destroyed.

Government

From an administrative point of view, Haifa was included in the *pashalik* of Damascus, right from the onset of Ottoman Rule.[39] In 1611 it belonged to the district of Lajjun, and in 1690 was part of the district of Jerusalem.[40] What steps were taken to improve conditions in Haifa came from the initiative of local chiefs rather than from representatives of the Sublime Porte, whose term of office was notably short and was spent in draining the country of its assets; from the Porte's point of view it was pointless to invest effort in long-range plans for improvements.[41]

In the period under discussion, the Turabay family serves as an excellent example of local chiefs of this kind. The family was Bedouin and traced its origins from Arabia; it ruled over a large part of Palestine, including Mount Carmel, for almost all of the seventeenth century.[42] Authority was passed down as part of the family heritage and, in general, enjoyed the recognition of the Ottoman government, thanks to the family's loyalty to Istanbul and to the regular payment of taxes. The emirs of the Turabay family, who camped near Tantura, placed a governor in Haifa who taxed pilgrims arriving by sea as well as those visiting the Carmelite monastery. He endeavoured to prevent the landing of Maltese pirates and bought the agricultural produce of the peasants from neighbouring villages which he sold in turn to merchants who came to Haifa for the purpose. He also collected taxes from the inhabitants according to their income and levied customs dues on whatever passed through the port of Haifa.[43]

The people of Haifa enjoyed a period of tranquillity under the rule of the emirs of the House of Turabay and from the absence of the injustices inflicted on those governed by the ever-quarrelling and much hated Ottoman pashas. The Turabays were even tolerant towards their non-Muslim citizens. D'Arvieux relates that, as long as they paid their taxes, they could live in peace, and did not reach that state of despair that often drove the subjects of the Sublime Porte to abandon their property because of the rapacious appetites of the pashas and their representatives.[44] European merchants who frequented Haifa were encouraged by the Turabays; it was understood that their encouragement depended on the payment of customs dues. We learn about the

Turabays' attitude to Christians from the episode of a Venetian sailor who came to Haifa in 1664 and became a Muslim. When Emir Ahmad Turabay realized that the man was mentally unbalanced, he allowed him to repent for this unusual step. True, the attitude of the Muslims of Haifa was less tolerant, but the sources at our disposal make no mention of intercommunal disturbances in Haifa in the period under discussion. The exceptions were the attacks on the Carmelites – but these were carried out by Europeans, not locals; nor were the attacks the work of the Muslims of Haifa. Indeed, the Carmelites frequently sought refuge in the town of Haifa itself, where they felt safer. As we shall see later, we have information about the good relations existing between the friars and the local inhabitants. At all events, the rule of the Turabays enabled an important Christian community to take root in Haifa. It is no coincidence that the return of the Carmelites to the mountain occurred at the time of these tolerant emirs.[45]

Mount Carmel

Historical and Religious Background

The bay of Haifa was not the only factor in its development; the sanctity of Mount Carmel also had an important role. Thus, in the seventeenth century during the Ottoman period, we see the return of the Carmelites to the mountain on which their original monastery had stood. In 1868, Mount Carmel attracted the German Templers, who established their first colony at its foot and were to give a decisive élan to the development of the town. The sanctuary in the Grotto of Elijah furthermore attracted Jews to settle in Haifa. Towards the end of the Turkish period, the Bahai community also founded an important centre on the slopes of the sacred mountain. In the early years of the twentieth century, as the population of Haifa increased, several new houses were built on top of Mount Carmel. The mountain bestows further attractions on Haifa in the form of an agreeable climate and a fine panorama where the mountain touches the sea – a unique feature on the entire coast of the country. These qualities drew many people, especially Europeans, to set up their homes in Haifa. So, for instance, from the beginning of the nineteenth century there was a tendency for foreign consuls to change residence from Acre to the more pleasant Haifa.

The sacred character of Mount Carmel in Jewish, Christian and Muslim tradition has its origins in the ninth century BCE, when Mount Carmel was the area of the activity of the prophet Elijah.[46] There he fought against the prophets of Baal, bringing the drought to an end by his victory over them. Pursued by Jezebel, wife of Ahab, the prophet fled to the desert; finally, he ascended into heaven in a tempest, episodes that inspired numerous traditions.[47]

In the course of time, the Grotto of Elijah at the foot of Cape Carmel became sacred to Judaism. For the Christians, it is known as the 'School of the Prophets', for Muslims 'Al-Khadr'. The place of the 'Altar of Elijah', known today as 'Muhraqah' (place of the 'burning'), which stands on the eastern side of Mount Carmel, enjoyed equal fame. Famous also was the tomb of Elisha ben Shafat, disciple of Elijah, to be found, according to Jewish tradition, in the cave on the terrace of Cape Carmel, where it drew Jewish pilgrims.[48] For Christians, this is the Grotto of Elijah, located today inside the Carmelite monastery. The sanctity of these places for Jews increased alongside the rise in popularity of the prophet Elijah in Jewish legend. Since his ascension in a storm to heaven, the prophet came to have a particular role in Jewish eschatology as the herald of the Messiah. As the sufferings of exiled Jews grew, so grew the belief that Elijah would appear on a Sabbath evening to announce the good news of their salvation. Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews sang hymns in his honour in their synagogues, and even in the streets, and set an extra cup on the table on the eve of Passover in case Elijah should appear. According to Jewish legend, Elijah descends from heaven from time to time to visit Talmud scholars and to relieve the distress of the embittered poor. It was believed that sick people could be cured by a visit to the cave at the foot of Mount Carmel.[49]

However, it was Christianity that exercised the predominant religious influence on the history of Haifa. Elijah is recalled on several occasions in the New Testament and appears in the Christian apocalyptic literature as one of those who entered Paradise alive. In late Christian tradition, though, he occupied a less important place than he did in Jewish folklore and legend. In Christian theological literature, drawing mainly on the Bible, the prophet appears as the energetic opponent of the Antichrist on the one hand, and as the father of Christian monasticism on the other. His journey through the desert to Mount Sinai served as an example to Christian monks and ascetics in general, and to the Carmelites in particular.

In Christian folklore, Elijah was the patron saint of the weather, by virtue of the rain that, according to the biblical story, he invoked after his confrontation with the prophets of Baal. As in Jewish legend, he is seen by Christians as a thaumaturge and a helper of the poor. These beliefs were spread throughout the Eastern European countries, especially Russia, through the intermediary of the Orthodox Churches. On Mount Carmel, the Christians celebrate him on 20 July. In 1551, the Latin Church approved the text of a special Mass in honour of Elijah the prophet for use by the Carmelites, who look upon him as the patron saint of their Order. Tens of thousands of Carmelites spread the name of the mountain in their monasteries, dispersed throughout the world. To quote only one example, Friar Albert of the Discalced Carmelite Order (OCD) at the end of the nineteenth century wrote: 'Carmel! Is there a name dearer and holier for the pilgrim to the Holy Land, after Nazareth, Bethlehem and Jerusalem?'[50]

Unlike the Christians, for whom the grotto on the terrace of Cape Carmel was the more sacred, the Muslims, like the Jews, held the Grotto of Elijah (al-Khadr) at the foot of the mountain in veneration. Mount Carmel (Jebel Mar Elias) is sacred to Muslims because of the confrontation of Elijah (Mar Elias) with the prophets of Baal, cited in the Qur'an (Sura 37, 123ff). Elijah appears in the Qur'an, though without being mentioned by name (Sura 18, 64 ff) in yet another story drawn from Jewish legend. Islamic tradition later attributed the story to the popular figure of al-Khadr – whence the name of the grotto on Mount Carmel. For the Muslims, too, Elijah is a healer of diseases. Apart from pilgrimages to the cave for his feast day, they also visit the cave privately in order to pray for their sick and to thank the prophet for cures effected. Members of the Druze community have similar customs.[51]

Sacred Places

From the beginning of the sixteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century, many of the accounts of the holiness of the places we mentioned are from Jewish sources. In a letter from 1536/7, the Tomb of Elisha and the Grotto of Elijah are recognized sanctuaries for Jews. Another testimony later in the same century tells of a caravan of Jews returning to Galilee ‘from a *ziyyarah* to Haifa’ – from a pilgrimage to the holy places of the town and prayers at the tombs of its holy rabbis, such as that of Rabbi Avdimi of Haifa and Rabbi Isaac Nafkha; this we learn from a letter composed in the year 1625/6.[52]

A few years later (1628), we learn of the occupation of the Grotto of Elijah by a Muslim Dervish. The Dervishes were members of an order of Sufis and traced their genealogy back to Muhammad, possibly even to Elijah the prophet, which explains their devotion to the grotto.[53] D’Arvieux gives us the most detailed account of the Dervishes. They used to decorate the cave with scraps of coloured cloth, and to light candles there; they lived extremely mortified lives, fasting often, praying continually and speaking only when necessary. Their bodies were withered and sunburnt, they lived on fruit, roots and rice, which they received in exchange for the baskets or mats they wove. They covered their half-naked bodies with rags, which Arabs gave them as presents.

Around their necks they would hang long garlands of lilies.[54] Over time, they began to change their ways; they refused to accept alms of a few piastres from d'Arvieux, but later began to demand a fee for entrance to the grotto, in return for which they would guide the visitors around.[55] In the eighteenth century, visitors began to complain of the exaggerated entrance fee. The Dervishes improved their condition, it seems, and instead of decorating the grotto with scraps of cloth, used Turkish carpets.[56] In spite of the presence of the Dervishes, the Carmelites settled in close to the grotto from 1631 to 1634, as we shall see later. From this point on we hear repeatedly of the devotion to the grotto of members of all three religions, who visited it in their thousands, especially on their feast days.[57] At the beginning of the eighteenth century one Christian traveller notes that all Christian visitors to the grotto could gain an indulgence of seven years.[58] The excellent description by Rabbi Abraham Sangviniti, who spent some time there together with all 'the people of Haifa' on the eve of Yom ha-Kippurim (1741), records the great sanctity that Jews attributed to the place.[59]

There are few references during this period to the site of the Altar of Elijah (Muhraqah). In 1660, one traveller recounted that it was highly venerated by Jews, who passed whole nights in prayer there.[60] Seven years later, another traveller tells of a mosque that the Muslims had erected on the site.[61] One has to suppose that the difficulties of access and the lack of security on the roads reduced the number of visitors to the place.

The Tomb of Elisha on the terrace began to be less frequented by Jews at this time, but for different reasons. The Carmelites, who obtained permission to settle on the mountain in 1631, built a convent on the slope of the mountain and took over the little chapel at the Tomb of Elisha, thus bringing that part of the mountain under their control, which is still the situation today.[62] Their veneration for the site increased when part of it also became their cemetery; for instance, Father Prosper, founder of the convent on the hillside, was buried in the chapel. According to one legend, the Virgin Mary often used to stay in the vicinity.[63] Under these circumstances, Jews and Muslims were displaced from the terrace, which the Carmelites first leased and later bought, even building a wall around their property, as we learn from the above-mentioned letter of Rabbi Sangviniti.[64]

The Carmelite Order

The History of the Order[65]

According to Christian traditions, Elijah the prophet and his disciples dwelt on Mount Carmel, and since then they have served as examples to recluses and later to Christian monks. At the time of the Crusades there was a renewal of monastic activity. In the 1180s, a number of recluses are said to have grouped themselves around Berthold of Calabria, a recluse who had come to the Holy Land as a pilgrim or as a participant in the Crusades; he is then believed to have been succeeded as head of the group by Brocard. About the year 1209, Brocard appealed to Albert, the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, with a request for a written rule that could be imposed on the solitaries. The rule was accorded and later approved by Pope Honorius III (1226). It obliged the Carmelites to live in chastity, obedience and poverty, in silence and fasting. Each occupied a separate cell in which he ate and prayed alone, except for the daily Mass, held in common, and a weekly chapter meeting. About the year 1238, many hermits returned to Europe, on account of the deteriorating security in the country, setting up hermitages in Cyprus, Sicily, France, England and elsewhere. In 1247, Pope Innocent IV approved changes in the rule of St Albert, to facilitate the Order's adaptation to the new conditions in Europe; the most important of these changes gave permission to open residences in towns, where members of the Order could officiate in public churches, and obliged them to eat in a common refectory and to perform the Divine Office in choir. In consequence, the original hermitages gave way to monasteries, where the religious lived under one roof. The new constitution led to the erection of a large number of monasteries, so that by the year 1348 there were thirty-five monasteries of Carmelites in Germany alone, the first being the one in Cologne, dating from 1249. The Carmelites were now concerned not only with their own sanctification, but began to contribute to the cultural life of the Western world: for instance, by taking up professorships in various universities, or by collaborating in the foundation of other houses, such as those of Bologna, Vienna and Cologne.

As a result of the Protestant Reformation and a series of internal difficulties that preceded it, divisions appeared in the Order, leading to the suppression of many monasteries. Of these divisions, that of the Discalced Carmelites was the most important. The split began in the 1560s, with the rejection of mitigations which had been accepted by the mother Order and the desire to live in the spirit of the Constitution of 1247. The division was sanctioned in 1593 by the definitive separation of the Discalced from the mother Order. The Discalced then set about erecting a long line of new monasteries and undertaking a programme of intense missionary activity, especially in the Middle and Far East. The monastery on Mount Carmel belongs to this branch of the Carmelites.

The French Revolution, with its anticlerical tendencies, struck a hard blow at both branches of the Carmelites and led to the suppression of many convents. There was some regain in strength in the twentieth century, but in 1991 the Discalced friars numbered no more than 3,600 throughout the world and the Calced friars 2,000. The Discalced Carmelite nuns numbered 11,400 in 764 monasteries.

The Restoration of the Carmelites to Mount Carmel

Three hundred and forty years after the expulsion of the Crusaders from Acre (1291), Father Prosper of the Holy Spirit succeeded in restoring the Carmelites to the cradle of their Order.[66] The restoration project began to take shape in the 1620s. In 1627, the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith approved the plan submitted by the Discalced, in a brief dated 30 January. Father Prosper, at the time the superior of the Carmelites in Aleppo (Syria), was charged with the task of implementing the decision.[67]

In October 1631, Prosper left Aleppo with the intention of establishing a residence on Mount Carmel.[68] At

Nazareth he spent some time in consultations with the Franciscans, then went on to Haifa, where he opened negotiations with the secretary of the Emir Turabay, a Greek named Dimitrios. Dimitrios raised objections, but these were overcome after he had read the letter of recommendation from the French consul at Aleppo, which Prosper had brought with him.[69] A few days later, Prosper received permission from Turabay to settle on Mount Carmel.[70] This took the form of a detailed contract signed by both sides and dated 29 November 1631. Under the terms of the contract, Prosper was to pay 500 piastres, in return for which the emir promised to hand over to the Carmelites the Grotto of Elijah, the terrace above it and the adjacent land, so that he could erect a monastery and plant gardens. The buildings and the ruins next to the Chapel of the Greeks on the terrace were also given to them, together with the stones of the ruins that were lying around and which were used for the building of a monastery, a church and walls. The emir also promised his protection for the Carmelites and the right to reside in the 'port of Haifa'.[71]

The same day, Prosper celebrated Holy Mass in the Grotto of Elijah as a sign of possession.[72] He then returned immediately to Rome to inform his superiors of his success, only to be sent back in 1633 to set up the residence. It soon became evident that the promises of the emir to extend his protection to the Carmelites were not going to be implemented without difficulty. Prosper set up a chapel in a recess in the Grotto of Elijah, which Carmelites called the Grotto of the Virgin, but soon came into conflict with the Dervishes, who were also installed in the grotto and whose anger at the presence of the Carmelites knew no bounds. They went so far as to carry their complaints against Prosper to Istanbul, forcing him to set up a convent higher on the slope in 1634. The execution of the Druze leader Fakhr ad-Din II in 1635, who had been suspected of pro-Christian sympathies, excited the Muslim fanatics even more and led Prosper to abandon Mount Carmel and return to Rome in 1635.[73] Some Carmelites did stay on in the cave on Mount Carmel.

On the terrace above, the Carmelites encountered the spirited opposition of the Greek Orthodox followers, unwilling to allow their customary rights to the place to be infringed by the new proprietors.[74] The chapel on the site had not been included in the contract and probably prevented Prosper from building there.

Prosper had no option but to build his convent on the slope below the terrace, between the Chapel of the Greeks above and the Grotto of Elijah below.[75] There the Carmelites were to reside for 130 years, until the convent was dismantled in 1767 by order of Dahar al-Umar. Its ruins, visible to this day, are known as the 'Convent of Prosper'. The convent was built in a very large grotto, which was divided up into cells by partitions. By 1640 the Carmelites were already in a position to lodge visitors in their modest convent.[76] Twenty years later, d'Arvieux visited the place and gave a detailed description of the convent as it was in his time.[77] According to him, there were five cells, which the religious had cut out of the rock with chisels. The first cell, next to the entrance, was four paces by four in area, and served as a chapel. The second cell served as a storeroom for vestments and the sacred vessels, as well as being the living room of the interpreter of the community. Thereafter came a row of cells for the religious: small, crowded together and poorly lit by what light penetrated the grotto from the entrance. They could have been no more than niches, for d'Arvieux counts them as a single cell. In addition there was a cell that served as a refectory, the fifth being a dormitory for visitors. Apart from the chapel, the entire furniture of the convent had been cut out of the rock, including tables and beds. Visitors slept on a rock covered by rushes. Outside was a terrace where they could enjoy the beautiful view over the sea. The eating of meat and the drinking of wine were forbidden to the religious, and to their guests too at first, but later it was permitted to the latter on the terrace. It is no wonder, concludes d'Arvieux, that under these incredibly hard conditions, many religious came to premature deaths.[78]

Their numerous illnesses, induced by bad water and the humidity of their cells, obliged them to prepare a separate large room for the sick in one of the grottos. A high wall was built around the convent, soil was brought in and terraces arranged for the planting of fruit trees, vines, garden plots for vegetables and flowers.[79] We have already quoted from the description of d'Arvieux; later travellers do not have much to add in way of changes to the convent. It was large enough for the needs of the few religious living there, whose number never exceeded five at any one time during the entire period of its existence.[80]

The convent was often attacked by robbers, both when occupied by the religious, and when they evacuated it to seek refuge in Haifa or Acre.[81] These repeated attacks, which often endangered the lives of the religious, led them to abandon the convent on many occasions. Another factor were their relations with the local rulers, under whose protection – in theory at least – the religious had placed themselves. Already in 1640, we learn that the 500 piastres the Emir Turabay had demanded from Prosper in return for permission to settle on the mountain were only the first payment of an annual tax that the Carmelites were obliged to pay from this time onwards.[82] Differences of opinion about the amount of the tax and the efforts of the rulers to increase the sum from time to time were motives enough for the religious to leave for their residences in Haifa or Acre.[83] On the other hand, the rulers themselves were not entirely secure in their position, and when power slipped out of their hands, be it only for a while, the religious were left totally exposed to violence and forced to abandon their convent.[84]

The Carmelites met their modest needs at that time from the produce of the monastery's garden and from alms, both in money and in kind, that they received from Europe, from the French consuls and from European merchants, mainly the French, living at Acre.[85] During the entire Ottoman period, France extended its protection to the monastery of the Carmelites on Mount Carmel, though the religious were drawn from diverse nationalities, so that, in the end, the site came to be known as 'French Carmel', a name that today is still applied to the entire neighbourhood. The negotiations between Prosper and the Emir Turabay, concluded in 1631, owe their successful outcome to the recommendation of the French consul in Aleppo, whose role at that time was one of great influence and importance.[86] On two further occasions, the intervention of the French ambassador in Istanbul with the sultan prevented the complete eviction of Prosper and his group from the mountain as a result of the violent episodes we have mentioned.[87] In the 1680s the French consul in Aleppo – none other than d'Arvieux himself – once again intervened in defence of the Carmelites.[88] In 1769, the Ottoman sultan issued a special *firman* confirming the protection that the King of France accorded to the Carmelites and the new monastery they were building on Mount Carmel and ordering his representatives to ensure the security of their lives and property.[89]

2

The Foundation of New Haifa

Dahar al-Umar and the Destruction of Ancient Haifa

Dahar al-Umar is considered to be the most outstanding personality in the history of Palestine during the eighteenth century, except for Jazzar Pasha, who succeeded him.[1] He was certainly the dominant figure for Haifa in the Ottoman period. Dahar belonged to the Bedouin family of the Zaydans, which had emigrated from Arabia at the end of the seventeenth century and settled in Galilee. Between 1710 and 1750 he succeeded in imposing his rule on the whole of the Galilee, which at that time was included in the district of Sidon. At first he acted as a tax-farmer for the Pasha of Sidon, collecting taxes from the villages of the Galilee. The pasha, with whom he was on peaceful terms, appointed Dahar governor of Tiberias, which became Dahar's first capital. But Dahar then extended his ambitions to Nazareth, arousing the anger of the sheikhs of the Nablus district, which fell under Damascus. This brought him into conflict with Sulayman al-Adam, the pasha of that region. For some time Sulayman's suspicions had been aroused by the growing power of Dahar and his family, and when they attacked Nablus with a large force he decided to put an end to Dahar's authority. In 1738 Sulayman reached Tiberias at the head of an army and besieged Dahar, but lifted the siege after a short time when the Sublime Porte transferred him to another post. Dahar then continued to strengthen his hold over Nazareth, parts of the plain of Esdraelon and Safed. In the meantime, Sulayman was restored to his post and in 1742 again besieged Tiberias, but once more was obliged to raise the siege. A year later, he gathered a large army with the intention of taking his revenge on his sworn enemy, but fell ill on the way to Tiberias and died. Dahar seized the opportunity to transfer his capital to Acre, but the Pasha of Sidon refused to grant it to him; Dahar took over the town in the mid- or late 1740s anyway. In 1750 the pasha officially recognized the annexation and leased the town to him. In the winter of 1750–1, Dahar took advantage of the absence, or death, of the Pasha of Sidon to rebuild the ancient wall and fortify Acre.[2]

It appears that, after he had fortified Acre, Dahar then took over Haifa, which belonged to the *pashalik* of Damascus and the district of Nablus.[3] The exact date of the annexation of Haifa by Dahar is difficult to fix. Heyd found that it took place during the term of office of the new Pasha of Damascus, As'ad al-Azam (1744–57). The new pasha was no military man like his predecessor, but Dahar was not prepared to provoke him until he had finished fortifying Acre (1751).[4] Confirmation of the fact that the annexation of Haifa did not occur before 1751 appears to come from the Carmelite Leandro, who tells the story of the monastery until the end of 1751, without mentioning the seizure of Haifa and Mount Carmel by Dahar. One would have expected him to note a fact of such importance for the monastery, especially since he knew Dahar personally and had even been received as a guest in his house in Tiberias. On the other hand, the German missionary Schultz, who passed through Haifa in the beginning of May 1754, saw a fort that Dahar had built, as we shall see later.[5] It is to be supposed, therefore, that the annexation of Haifa took place between 1752 and 1753 and so concluded this phase of Dahar's conquest, until his rebellion in the 1770s.

We have little available information about the last years of ancient Haifa. Schultz, who was inclined to long descriptions, only remarks on the fort. He probably meant the one that the French traveller Volney says Dahar built and fortified with cannons, at the sultan's expense, in order to defend the town against Maltese pirates.[6] There is no mention of the two forts having been used to repel pirates in the past. The last years of ancient Haifa seem to have been years of stagnation; in 1767, five years after the foundation of the new town, the Italian, Mariti, expresses his astonishment at the difference between the new settlement and the 'dilapidated village' of ancient Haifa that he recalled from his previous visit in 1760.[7]

The new prosperity of Acre under Dahar al-Umar attracted people to it and provoked a decrease in the population of ancient Haifa. A hundred years later, in its turn, new Haifa would attract people and reduce the population of Acre.[8] From Giambattista, the Carmelite lay-brother who arrived at Mount Carmel four years after the destruction of the ancient town, one learns that outbreaks of violence by villagers hostile to Dahar put many of the residents of ancient Haifa to flight.[9] The merchant Lusignan, who stayed in the country at that time, claims that because of the absence of housing and poor water supplies, ancient Haifa ceased to be of service to foreign vessels, which was why Dahar decided to build a small new town, dig wells there and set up a marketplace for the provisioning of ships.

The weakness of ancient Haifa in its last days is illustrated by the attempt by a small band of thirty soldiers to capture it from the sea. The episode begins towards the end of the 1760s, with the appointment of Osman al-Kurji to the office of the Pasha of Damascus. Osman Pasha began at once to seek a confrontation with Dahar and obtained, without difficulty, the permission of the sultan to restore Haifa to his authority.[10] In 1761, Osman sent thirty soldiers in a French ship from Beirut to stage a surprise attack on Haifa; Dahar was informed of the plan by one of his spies in time to respond. His soldiers received the ship with volleys from their muskets and cannon-fire, wounding some of the soldiers when they landed on the coast and taking them prisoner.[11] Dahar was left disquieted, feeling that his hold on Haifa was threatened. Further attacks of that sort by the hostile new pasha, supported as he was by the French, could in the end lead to the recapture of the place. The defence of ancient Haifa from the landward side was even more doubtful. As we saw in the preceding chapter, the town had no wall and its houses spread out on all sides over a wide open plain. The difficulties of defence troubled Dahar in his conflicts with the sheikhs of the neighbourhood.[12] Dahar understood the importance of the anchorage of Haifa, which continued to render service to ships even after the reconstruction and refortification of Acre, since there the port was blocked by sand, stones and the debris of generations – which he was unsuccessful in restoring.[13] It was for this reason that he was unwilling to renounce his capture of Haifa. All the same, under the circumstances, Dahar found it necessary to transfer the site of the town to a more secure place, where it could enjoy the advantages of the anchorage without suffering from the disadvantages of the previous location. Dahar discovered such a site two to three kilometres south-east of ancient Haifa. There the coastal plain was reduced to a narrow strip of land, unlike that of ancient Haifa, which was 860 metres wide.

In 1761, Dahar ordered his soldiers to destroy ancient Haifa, an order that came as a surprise to its inhabitants as well as to Dahar's enemies. To prevent any further possibility of the latter seizing the place, Dahar saw to it that not a single house of the old town was left standing. He likewise ordered large boulders to be thrown into the old anchorage to put it entirely out of use. It was in this way that ancient Haifa came to an end.[14]

New Haifa, its Development and Growth

Quite evidently Dahar, in transferring Haifa to its new site, had no idea that he had freed it from the principal cause impeding its development – the unsuitable location of the town; nor did he have any reason to think otherwise in the first fourteen years of the existence of the new town (Dahar was killed in 1775). One should not attribute the transfer to any intention on his part to make the new town the principal port of Palestine. Dahar's main preoccupation was with Acre, his capital, and with improving the anchorage there. He could not have dreamt that the patch of ground, a few hundred paces long and even less wide, which he had surrounded by a wall, was to be the nucleus of a big city – and that to the disadvantage of Acre. Later, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with the growth of population and the economic development in the region, it might have been possible to predict a great future for the port of Haifa, but not in Dahar's time. At any rate, in laying the foundation of the new town, he assured its future development.

The first steps undertaken by Dahar were to build a fortified wall around the area he had chosen and erect a fort for its defence on a height overlooking it. In addition he erected a customs house, making use of stones taken from ancient Haifa for all the necessary building.[15] The name given to the site was 'the new settlement' (al-Amara al-Jedida), in use among the inhabitants and Bedouins even in 1806, though the old name of 'Haifa' was also used from the beginning.[16]

The wall was rectangular in shape, or more exactly, trapezoid. The area enclosed by the walls was 106,000 square metres. The wall itself was 75 centimetres thick and 4.5 metres high.[17] On the four sides of the wall, square towers were built containing cannons for the defence of the town.[18] The wall had two gates, which were closed at nightfall: the eastern gate (more exactly south-eastern), known as the Acre Gate and opposite it, the western gate (more exactly, north-western) known as the Jaffa Gate. The road between the two gates crossed the town lengthwise and constituted a part of the Acre–Jaffa highway,[19] the control of which was vital for the defence of Acre from the south. The new location of Haifa had the great advantage of placing the control of the highway at this point in the hands of Dahar, for the road had previously bypassed ancient Haifa entirely.

New Haifa was also known as ‘the fortress’ (al-Qal’a).[20] Above it and some distance away, Dahar built a fort, two storeys high, on a base that was rectangular in shape.[21] The fort used to stand at the lower end of today’s Memorial Garden, and was called Burj a[l]-Salam or Burj Abu Salam – al-Burj, for short – a name that has spread to the neighbourhood. The fort overlooked the new town and was equipped with cannons. On the eve of the capture of Haifa by the army of Napoleon, the cannons were transported to Acre, to be returned only towards the end of Turkish rule, in order to announce the onset of the fast of Ramadan.[22]

The growth of the new town of Haifa during the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century was slow but steady, in accordance with the gradual development of ancient Haifa up to the middle of the eighteenth century. In the first decade of its existence, however, there was an exceptional amount of building activity. The nucleus of the population, which one traveller estimated at about 250 people, consisted of inhabitants of ancient Haifa. The Carmelite Giambattista, who lived there from the middle of the 1760s, reports that ‘The number of inhabitants of the fortified quarter grew from year to year and new houses were constantly being built.’[23]

Dahar was a strong ruler who imposed order and security such as the country had not known for centuries.

Strangers and wayfarers in his territory were no longer subject to attacks, robbery and murder, as they had been in the past and as they would be again in the future.[24] It was the security he procured that allowed the people to settle the new area, even before the walls were erected and houses built, and they had to make do with temporary shacks situated in an exposed site.[25]

The prosperity of Acre, due to Dahar's preoccupation with the promotion of commerce, brought advantages to Haifa too. Foreign merchants doing business were perpetually quarrelling with European insurance companies over the date of expiry of the insurance on merchandise sent to Acre and offloaded at Haifa or vice versa. In 1766 it was agreed that commercial ships from Europe would discharge and take on merchandise from May to September at Acre, and for the remaining seven months of the year at Haifa. The transfer of loads between Haifa and Acre was undertaken by small ferry boats.[26] This arrangement was at first observed with care, but from the beginning of the nineteenth century the arrangement began to falter and preference was given to Haifa over Acre for all seasons of the year, especially by the bigger ships.[27]

The new anchorage, situated between Haifa and the mouth of the Kishon, served at first almost exclusively the needs of Acre, where the merchants, mostly French, and the consular agents who dealt with exports and imports dwelt. Merchandise that was unloaded at Haifa was immediately transferred to Acre and from there sent to its final destination. Goods destined for export were collected at Acre from the neighbourhood, loaded on ferry boats, which brought it to Haifa, where it was taken aboard the waiting ships. In the first years of the nineteenth century Haifa merchants began to bring produce from the plain of Esdraelon and the Nablus region directly to Haifa and from there to dispatch it by themselves. It appears that Haifa merchants were able to compete with those of Acre by saving on the costs of transport, for the produce came from places nearer to Haifa and the costs of ferrying the produce from Acre to Haifa could be removed from the list of expenses.[28]

At first Haifa exported wheat only, but during the course of the nineteenth century, together with an increase in the quantity of merchandise passing through it, a progressive diversification of products took place so that, from being the mere ‘anchorage of Acre’, the town became a developing centre of commerce.

At the same time, the changes we have mentioned led to an increase in the population of Haifa. In the absence of censuses, we have to depend on those few travellers who left their estimates of the number of inhabitants and its division into communities. From them we learn that, as in ancient Haifa, the majority of the inhabitants were Muslims, then Christians of different communities and, finally, a few Jews and Druzes, about whom we hear in 1816.[29] The paucity of official sources and their unreliability makes it impossible to give accurate figures. At the beginning of new Haifa, we read of 250 inhabitants, mostly Christians;[30] in 1815, there are ‘1,000 houses [families?], half of them Turks [Muslims?] and half of them Greek Catholics’.[31] Nine months later, ‘The population was estimated at one thousand souls, the majority Muslim, the rest Catholics, Maronites and also Druzes.’[32] Six years later, in 1821, Scholz, Professor of

Theology at the University of Bonn and an Orientalist, found the inhabitants to number 2,500, including 350 Greek Catholics (elsewhere in his book, the number given is 300), 40 Greeks and 50 Jews.[33] Von Prokesch, who visited Haifa on a mission on behalf of the Austrian government in 1829, tells of 3,000 inhabitants, a tenth of whom were Catholics. In addition, there were Greeks and ten Jewish families.[34] Scholz was an investigator, whose knowledge of the Arabic language gave him an advantage over other travellers and whose avowed intention was to study the condition of Christians in the East; the numbers he gives us should therefore inspire some confidence. The figures of von Prokesch seem to confirm those of Scholz, although he may have borrowed them from the latter, with some exaggeration. Even Scholz's figure of 2,500 for 1821 appears somewhat high.

The figures of neither Scholz nor von Prokesch are confirmed by later estimates in the nineteenth century, though it seems that the population increased rather than decreased. Seetzen, one of the greatest and most critical of the investigators who visited the country some years before Scholz, does not give any estimate of the number of inhabitants of Haifa, but signals that the houses were scattered over the area within the walls, without filling the available space.[35] In the 1860s, inhabitants of the town were already obliged to live outside the walls because the entire space within had been closely built up; yet there were no more than 4,000 people then, so there must have been far fewer at the beginning of the century, when the built-up area was visibly smaller.

Importance is to be attached to the observation of von Prokesch that the majority of the inhabitants of the town were Muslims from North Africa. The governor of Haifa, whom von Prokesch met, was an Algerian,[36] as had been the governor thirty years previously.[37] At that time there was also immigration of Jews from the city of Oran, who settled, it seems, in Haifa 'hoping to enjoy commercial privileges through the influence of the Jewish minister', Hayim Farhi, the powerful counsellor of the governors of Acre who succeeded Dahar al-Umar.[38]

The majority of the inhabitants of the new Haifa were engaged in agriculture. On the fertile lands around the town, they cultivated wheat, barley, cotton, fruit trees, olive trees and vegetables of various kinds. The figs of Haifa were famous; they were cultivated near the coast, between Haifa and the mouth of the Kishon and then dried. Inhabitants of Haifa possessed flocks of sheep and herds of cattle that they pastured on the mountain. Fishing was a secondary source of income. Only Seetzen took the trouble of mentioning a fisherman whom he saw at work on the coast of ancient Haifa.[39]

What astonishes us today is that no attempt was made to plan the urban development of the new settlement. One might have expected otherwise from people who had experienced the miserable conditions of life in ancient Haifa but, in the eighteenth century, most of Haifa's inhabitants were indifferent to such matters and the authorities no less so. The main interest of the latter lay in maintaining the walls in a good state of repair. For the rest, one may judge their lack of concern from the state of the house of the governor, a dirty neglected building, as shaky as the other houses in the town. Clarke, a British naval officer who visited the governor in 1802, told the story of a bird that flew into the house through a crack in the wall and circled above the heads of the two during the entire time of the conversation.[40] For the period following the foundation of Haifa, travellers have nothing but contempt for its miserable and neglected appearance. For many years houses were built with stones from the ruins of ancient Haifa. For the first ten years there was only one sandy street.[41] At the beginning of the nineteenth century Seetzen still complained of the haphazard way in which the houses stood in relation to one another. He noted some dozens of miserable shops and a few kiosks for the sale of coffee. He had to spend the night in a barbershop. Another traveller found no other refuge for the night except for a small church, used by both Catholics and Maronites.[42] As late as 1821 there was still only one real road, at the end of which stood the governor's house; it was the one road crossing the town between the two gates. It is possible that the first houses were built alongside the wall facing the sea, where the home of the governor stood. There was also the customs house, and perhaps there too the services connected with shipping were concentrated. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Acre–Jaffa road, the road running between the two gates, remained the principal one of the town. Michaud, the French traveller who passed through Haifa on the eve of the Egyptian conquest in 1831, thought the town was the most miserable in the world; what were its fortifications for, he asked, 'against whom had they been built, what could anyone hope to find there of value?'[43] Nor did any of the travellers have a word to say in praise of the mosque of Haifa, its churches or its synagogue.[44]

While the events in Palestine during the rest of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century left their mark on Haifa, the town itself was too insignificant to play a part in them. Once the conflict between Dahar and the pasha in Damascus was over – the ancient site of Haifa having been destroyed in the fray – Haifa's populace could set about rebuilding their new settlement without hindrance.

The annexation of Haifa by Dahar was finally recognized by the sultan (in about 1766), after clarification of the issues involved.[45] The tolerant attitude of Dahar had a beneficial effect on the Christian community in the town, which built two churches there and maintained good relations with the other religious communities. Dahar also consented to the building of a new Carmelite monastery on Cape Carmel, which will be discussed later. The Christians of Haifa found in Ibrahim as-Sabbag, the Greek Catholic vizier of Dahar, a powerful friend, who used to visit the Carmelites in their old convent, lent them money for the building of the new one, as well as contributed to the erection of the Greek Catholic church in Haifa itself.[46] However, hard times were to follow for the Christians in the last days of Dahar's rule, during his great rebellion against the Sublime Porte.

After the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War (1768–74), Ali Bey, the ruler of Egypt, rebelled against the sultan and captured Mecca in 1770. In 1771, the Egyptian army, in conjunction with Dahar, defeated Osman Pasha, their common foe, and entered Damascus. The conquest, however, was of short duration. In circumstances that remain unclear, the Egyptian army, under the command of Muhammad Bey Abu Dahab, returned in haste to Cairo, thus arousing the hatred of Dahar and his sons against the Egyptian commander.[47]

No sooner had Abu Dahab returned home than he rebelled against his lord and master, Ali Bey, who fled with a small force to seek the protection of Dahar. He opened negotiations with the Russians, with a view to collaborating in their war against the Sublime Porte, a fact that brought a squadron of Russian warships to the port of Haifa in June 1772.[48] After a brief stay of a few days the squadron left for Sidon. Dahar and Ali Bey then defeated decisively another Turkish army. When he had finished enlarging the boundaries of his rule in the north, Dahar turned his attention to the south of the country, capturing Nablus, Jaffa and Gaza. Ali Bey returned to Egypt with the intention of wresting it from the hands of the traitor, Abu Dahab, but was defeated by him in 1773 and died, depriving Dahar of his last important ally. Two years later, the end came for Dahar himself. Once the war with Russia was over, the new sultan, Abdulhamid I, recognized Abu Dahab as the legitimate ruler of Egypt and charged him with the mission of conquering Palestine and putting Dahar and his sons to death. Abu Dahab placed himself at the head of an army large enough to intimidate the allies of Dahar and dissuade them from coming to his help. He then invaded Palestine (1775), carrying all before him. His conquest was accompanied by dreadful massacres in which the Christians were the principal victims. Dahar fled from Acre to Sidon, which the Egyptians, however, seized as well. Abu Dahab gave orders to his soldiers to destroy the new monastery on Mount Carmel. As he was plotting the massacre of all the Christians in Galilee, he died suddenly and his army hastily withdrew to Egypt.[49] The aged Dahar returned to Acre for the last time, but he had lost the loyalty of his troops. His attempt to defend Acre against the Turkish fleet, anchored off the town, failed. At the end of 1775, Dahar was murdered by some of his soldiers as he fled from Acre, and the town fell into the hands of the Ottomans.[50]

After the death of Dahar, Ahmad al-Jazzar was appointed pasha of the *pashalik* of Sidon. He transferred his capital from Sidon to Acre and, like Dahar, attached great importance to the latter's development, though using other means. In his time (1775–1804), Haifa was captured, together with most of the country, by Napoleon. In March 1799, alarmed by the rapid advance of the French, al-Jazzar ordered the cannons to be brought from the fort of Haifa to Acre, where the famous battle against Napoleon was waged. In their haste the Turks left behind 20,000 biscuits and a large quantity of rice stored in the fort, the Burj mentioned earlier.[51] Haifa fell to the French without resistance. The biographer of General Kleber recounts that the French commander reached the gates of the town on the evening of 17 March to find the gates locked; but one of the residents of European extraction was waiting outside to hand over to Kleber the keys of the town, begging at the same time that the lives of the inhabitants be spared. The booty that fell into the hands of the French proved to be of great use to them, as was the monastery on Mount Carmel, which they turned into a military hospital.[52]

Haifa thus became the southern base for the siege of Acre. The force placed there under the command of Lambert guarded the approaches to the town from the Sharon and the plain of Esdraelon. Haifa was important to the French as a port and as their principal supply base close to Acre, yet out of range of Turkish guns and observation. These facts did not escape the British, who tried to make good the hasty withdrawal of al-Jazzar from the town, but were outwitted by the French. British marines, who staged a landing on 21 March, were repulsed with heavy losses, having been deceived by the French who, by raising the Turkish flag over the customs house, led them to think that the town had not yet been occupied by Napoleon's army.[53] Two months later, once it became apparent that their siege had failed, the French withdrew from Acre empty-handed. The cannons of the fort of Haifa were not restored to their original place, but remained to decorate the walls of Acre as souvenirs of the episode, as one traveller put it. The monastery of the Carmelites on Mount Carmel was ransacked and badly damaged by the Turks in revenge. At the entrance to the present monastery is a pyramid erected in memory of the French soldiers who had been hospitalized in the previous monastery on that site. It is said that they were slaughtered by the Turks at the time of the retreat of the French.[54] According to one Carmelite tradition, Napoleon was the most famous of the many distinguished persons who visited their monastery.[55]

After the departure of the French, Haifa returned to the rule of the pashas of Acre. The next thirty years were years of slow development; then Ibrahim Pasha, son of that great rebel against the Sublime Porte, Muhammad Ali, anchored off the coast of Haifa. Later we shall see the impetus that Ibrahim Pasha's rule was to bring to the development of the town.

The Fate of the Carmelites

The seventy years that passed between the seizure of Haifa by Dahar and its capture by Ibrahim Pasha in 1831 were years of trouble and danger to the Carmelites on Mount Carmel. This section will describe the events that involved the monastery during that period.

The Carmelites' troubles began in 1761, when the soldiers of Dahar destroyed ancient Haifa. As already stated, the order came as a surprise, leaving the religious unprepared to meet the contingency. Their only resource was to take to flight when the soldiers broke into 'Prosper's Convent' and began to destroy and rob. Giambattista, the Carmelite architect who arrived in Haifa a little less than four years later and heard the story from eyewitnesses among the religious, claims repeatedly in his book that the monastery was not attacked by the order of Dahar.[56] Carmelite authors such as Albert, Marie-Bernard and Florencio make the same claim, but it may be that they do no more than follow Giambattista's book, though they might also have had access to the reports he sent to Rome. In the absence of any means of supporting their statements, it is difficult to come to any firm conclusion. In those days the relations between Dahar and the French consuls and merchants had become strained. Dahar was aware that the French had had a hand in the abortive attempt to capture Haifa and had put a ship at the disposal of the pasha for this purpose, as we related above.[57] It follows that he had no particular reason at that moment to treat the Carmelites, who were living under the protection of the French, mildly. On the other hand, the monastery provided him with a source of income, both through the annual tax paid to him and through the Christian visitors the place attracted, who were taxed on their disembarkation at the port and for the visit to the mountain.[58] Nor can we suspect Giambattista of dissimulating the truth for fear of aggravating relations with Dahar, for he wrote his book five years after the death of Dahar.

In any case, the fact remains that the monastery was broken into and ransacked. Some of the articles from the monastery later appeared in the marketplace and were bought by French merchants and restored to the friars.[59] The religious themselves fled to Acre, from where they scattered to Europe, Syria and Lebanon. For a time Mount Carmel was left completely abandoned by the Carmelites. When the news of the events reached the superiors of the Order in Rome, Father Philippe OCD was charged with the mission of inspecting the damage done to the monastery and to consider what repairs were necessary. He reached Haifa in October 1762 to find the monastery as it had been left by the Carmelites, ransacked and ruined. A year later, the efforts that had been made to repair the place were undone by another robbery while Dahar was engaged in a war with his sons.[60] By that time the damage to the structure had become irreparable. Loosened stones started rolling down the slope onto the Grotto of Elijah below, arousing the anger of the Dervishes and other Muslims. The living conditions of the religious, in their humid niches, had caused them great suffering. The original project of Father Prosper, to build a real monastery on the terrace above, was therefore broached again.[61] The favourable attitude of Dahar and his Greek Catholic adviser, Ibrahim as-Sabbag, offered the Order a set of circumstances that they felt should not be lost. In 1765, Father Philippe asked the superiors of the Order in Rome to send a brother architect to Mount Carmel with the permits required for building a new monastery. They chose Giambattista di San Alessio for the purpose, a talented architect and a person of great initiative. Two years later, on 15 November 1767, the foundation stone of the new monastery was laid.

Father Michaël of the Trinity OCD, who visited the country in 1772, describes the insecure conditions under which the Carmelites worked. He expresses his regret and that of his confreres that it had not been possible to repair the old monastery and so spare the expense and trouble involved in building a new one, destined, no doubt, it was feared, to be destroyed also in a few years.[62] There were many reasons for these feelings of uncertainty on the part of the Order. The attitude of Dahar towards them, bought by much money, was not a stable one; rather, it was liable to change from time to time, as a function of the complicated network of his external and internal policies. The first delay in the building of the new monastery occurred shortly after the laying of the foundation stone. Dahar found he was short of expert builders for his own projects and took over those employed by the Carmelites.[63] They returned to renew their work, but not for long – at any rate not to the satisfaction of the Carmelites. As a result of a memorandum presented by the French ambassador at Istanbul, the sultan issued a *firman* addressed to the chief magistrate of the *pashalik* of Damascus, calling on him to prevent 'different sorts of men, who want to trouble them [the Carmelites] by entering their monastery to demand food or other things, from behaving towards them with violence, in opposition to the Capitulations'.[64] The *firman* did not have much effect, for the next year Father Philippe sent Giambattista to the King of France to solicit his personal intervention 'in obliging Dahar to allow them to carry on the work'.[65] Giambattista left for Paris and, through the intermediary of the daughter of the king, herself a Carmelite, was received in audience by Louis XV. At the personal request of the King of France, the sultan issued a further *firman* that succeeded this time in removing the opposition of Dahar.[66] Carmelite sources do not offer any explanation of the inconsistent attitude of Dahar. The reason for his opposition to the building of the monastery might have stemmed from two principal sources: the Greek Orthodox, whose antagonism obliged Prosper to build his convent on the slope of the hill, and the Dervishes at the bottom of the hill. As for the Greek Orthodox, Carmelite sources hardly took them seriously, for the good reason that the Greeks had built the church on the terrace long before Prosper came to Mount Carmel, a fact that it did not suit the Carmelites to make better known, since they worked to build their own church on the site of the ruins of the Greek one.[67] The Greek Orthodox were strongly opposed to the renewed attempt of the Carmelites to deprive them of their rights. A generation later, they tried to evict the Carmelites altogether from the terrace.[68] We can suppose that the opposition of the Greeks gave Dahar an excuse for raising the price he demanded the Carmelites pay for permission to continue their building operations, for he knew from whom they drew their resources. On the other hand, he may have wanted to win the sympathies of the Greek Orthodox by putting obstacles in the way of the Carmelites.[69]

The other opponents of the settlement of the Carmelites on the terrace were the Dervishes and Muslim pilgrims to the Grotto of Elijah. They certainly had reason to be angered by the stones rolling down upon their heads from the shaky convent on the slope above, and even more so by the fact that infidels could look down upon them from a height. In the order of evacuation that Dahar sent to the Carmelites in 1767, he says as much – that the site of the convent that overlooked the Grotto of Elijah and its Muslim pilgrims was an intolerable offence to them and that they were to move out from the place without delay and go and live on the terrace or any other site of their choice.[70] It was in vain that Giambattista tried in his book to make out that Dahar's peremptory order was the fulfilment of the hopes of the Carmelites from the beginning. Florencio removes for us the last shred of doubt about the true reasons for the 'order of evacuation'.[71] It is certain that there had been a previous agreement between Dahar and the Carmelites that had cost the Carmelites dearly in cash, though they remained silent about it, preferring to pretend that they had been forced to cede to the demands of the fanatical Muslims. No doubt the latter were pleased to see the convent, which had been a source of annoyance to them for generations, destroyed; but one can easily imagine the rage of the Muslims on learning that the Carmelites intended to build a new monastery on the terrace, to be the largest and most prominent in the neighbourhood, and which would be visible from afar.

The Carmelites were not oblivious to the difficulties standing in the way of the execution of their project. Dahar by this time was an old man whose rule was constantly being challenged, but they thought the time was ripe and acted with dispatch. No sooner had they received 'the order of evacuation' than the Carmelites dismantled the Convent of Prosper, as they had been ordered to do by Dahar, and began the erection of a new monastery.[72] We have already recounted the delays in the building, which proceeded slowly. In the periods of waiting, the religious built a residence in Haifa, containing a living room, a guest room, a chapel, a kitchen and a cellar. In the courtyard they installed a stable, dug a well and surrounded it by a wall. They could not have imagined that this modest residence was to be their substitute home for more than fifty years. In the spring of 1772, as the building operations proceeded apace, the religious moved into their new monastery on Mount Carmel. The building was square, ninety 'great paces' long and ninety broad.[73] It had a ground floor, with two storeys above it. In the centre of the roof rose a large dome, the appearance being not unlike that of the present monastery (prior to the addition of the new wings), which follows the general plan of the older one, except that its plan is rectangular. As for the interior of the new monastery, Florencio reproduced the plan of Giambattista, though it would be hard to say just how much of the plan was effectively executed.[74] Giambattista was recalled to Rome before the completion of the building, never to return. In the summer of 1775, the new monastery was sacked by the soldiers of Abu Dahab. The tempest passed, the religious returned and the building, Florencio affirms, was completed in 1795 under the vicariate of Father Lawrence Maria OCD. However, later, Brother Charles Cassini writes that it was never completed.[75]

Between 1770 and 1775 the work proceeded swiftly, with an interruption of a few months in the summer of 1772 when the proximity of the troops of Ali Bey, camping on the mountain nearby, obliged the religious to withdraw to their residence in Haifa. They tried to gain the favour of Ali Bey. Giambattista proudly notes that Ali Bey paid a visit in person to the monastery in the winter of 1772. He courteously remarked that the fruit the Carmelites offered him was of excellent quality, though in fact it was not yet ripe, and even ordered his representatives in Acre to contribute a sum of money towards the building of the monastery.[76]

Two years later, Abu Dahab organized his campaign in Palestine. Giambattista made a point of going to Egypt to obtain assurances that the monastery would not be harmed during the course of the campaign against Dahar. He succeeded in obtaining promises from two of Abu Dahab's ministers to that effect and returned from his mission, highly satisfied. The promises, however, obtained no doubt in return for suitable payment, proved to be hollow. The superior, Father Philippe, died in 1774, shortly after Giambattista's return from Egypt, and, two weeks later, Giambattista himself was recalled to Rome, so that neither was there to invoke the promises received from the Egyptians when in 1775 the soldiers of Abu Dahab sacked the new monastery.[77]

We have already described the invasion of Palestine by Abu Dahab, his hostility to Christians and his sudden death shortly after his soldiers began to destroy the new monastery. The soldiers had managed to break open the dome and damage the cells of the religious when the unexpected death of their commander provoked their hasty return to Egypt. Naturally, the Carmelites saw in the sudden death of Abu Dahab a divine punishment for the damage inflicted on their monastery. But Mikhail as-Sabbag, the grandson of Dahar's vizier, attributes his death to the curse of a Muslim sheikh who had begged Abu Dahab to spare the new monastery, for Christian pilgrims were accustomed to visit the monastery and, in passing, the Grotto of Elijah, contributing in this way to its upkeep. The two were still talking over the matter when the soldiers of Abu Dahab entered and announced the destruction of the dome of the church.[78]

The ruin and robbery they suffered at the hands of the Egyptian soldiers made the work of the restoration difficult for the religious. Shortly afterwards, the French Revolution broke out, which by reason of its anti-religious bias, was to inflict a grave blow to the Carmelite Order. There followed depressing years for the Order, which did not spare their monastery on Mount Carmel.

The principal source of economic assistance to the monastery, which was France, now dried up. The inability of the religious to pay a debt owed to a Maltese merchant nearly led to the sale of the monastery to the Greek Orthodox, who had not yet resigned themselves to their eviction from the terrace. When Napoleon's expeditionary force laid siege to Acre, the monastery was commandeered as a military hospital for the quarantine of cases of the plague. Carmelite historians pretend that the monastery opened its doors gladly to receive the French sick,[79] but it is more likely that the religious withdrew to their residence in Haifa, given the essentially anti-religious spirit of the revolutionary army. At the retreat of the French, the monastery was again ransacked and destroyed by the Turkish soldiers, leaving it uninhabitable, even the doors and windows having been stolen. Carmelite historians commonly hold that the Turks massacred any French soldiers they found in the monastery, because a small number of cases too sick to move had been abandoned to their fate by the French. Their number is often quoted as 2,000 but in fact it was no more than fifteen. The total French casualties for the campaign numbered fewer than 2,000. It might be that Carmelite historians had access to documents about the alleged massacre found in the archives of Rome, but no eyewitness account from their archives has ever been published or even quoted. It is more probable that there were no Carmelites in the monastery at the time of the alleged massacre, the French soldiers died and Turkish sources are silent, if they exist at all. The story of the massacre must have immediately reached the ears of the Carmelites in their Haifa residence in a way that left no doubt in their minds as to the reality of the event. It is also claimed that the British officers, who were engaged in the battle against Napoleon at Acre together with the Turks, tried to dissuade them from massacring the soldiers.[80]

For the next seventeen years the monastery stood half-ruined and abandoned. Only after the defeat of Napoleon were the great financial means forthcoming and the initiative was taken for its reconstruction.[81] In May 1816, the superiors of the Carmelite Order in Rome charged Brother Charles Cassini with the mission to go to Mount Carmel and to decide on the steps necessary for the restoration of the monastery. Like his predecessor, Giambattista, he too was an architect and, what is more, bore the same religious name. Until Cassini's arrival, Father Julius OCD, who had arrived in 1803, was the sole representative of the Order in Haifa. Cassini appeared at the door of his residence in the town on 24 June 1816, to the great surprise of Father Julius. The next morning, they went up to Mount Carmel, where, after inspecting the ruined monastery, Cassini drew up plans for its restoration and an estimate of the costs.

About fifty days later (August 1816), Cassini set off for Rome, where his superiors charged him with the task of collecting the 65,000 francs required for the repair of the monastery. After visiting several European countries, he set off with men and material for Haifa. On the way he made a visit to Constantinople, arriving on 5 April 1821 to obtain an imperial *firman* for the construction. The chargé d'affaires at the French embassy informed him of the impossibility of obtaining a *firman* at that time on account of the Greek rebellion. In the meantime, he should begin the work on Mount Carmel. Cassini reached Cyprus on 21 June, the Feast of Corpus Christi, where the rumour reached him that Abdallah Pasha of Acre had begun to destroy the monastery entirely on the pretext that it could serve as a bridgehead for the Greeks in their war of independence against the Turks. Cassini immediately hired a boat and hurried to Haifa, but he arrived too late (2 July). As his boat entered the bay, he heard a tremendous explosion and saw a cloud of dust and stones rising from Mount Carmel: the monastery he had come to restore had just been wiped off the face of the earth by order of Abdallah.[82]

Cassini did not despair. In collaboration with the kings of France, Louis XVIII, Charles X and Louis-Philippe, all of whom took an active part in the new project, Cassini would eventually succeed in constructing an entirely new monastery (1827–36), larger even than its predecessor.

Towards the end of December 1825, Cassini received notice that the French ambassador in Constantinople, Count Guilleminot, had finally obtained the *firman*. Cassini was instructed to leave for Haifa, where he arrived in late December 1826 on a French man-of-war, *L'Eclat*, and immediately began to clear the terrain.[83] On the Feast of Corpus Christi in June 1827, Father Julius was able to lay the foundation stone of the new monastery. The choice of the day was not coincidental – Abdallah had begun the destruction of the previous monastery also on the Feast of Corpus Christi. After the ceremony, Cassini set out on a series of historical campaigns to collect the funds needed to bring the project to completion. He was to devote the rest of his life to the task.[84]

3

Days of Awakening

The Egyptian Conquest

In the autumn of 1831, an Egyptian force numbering a few hundred men under Ibrahim Pasha, son of Muhammad Ali, ruler of Egypt disembarked on the coast of Haifa. After a brief resistance, Haifa surrendered and opened its gates to the Egyptians, who were to remain in the country for nine years.[1] The period was too brief to allow them to make a lasting impression on the history of the country as a whole, but that was not the case for Haifa. The Egyptian conquest had come at such a propitious moment that it became the major factor in the rapid development of Haifa during the nineteenth century.

The story of the conquest begins with Muhammad Ali, an Albanian soldier who had taken part in the defence of Egypt against Napoleon. He eventually became Pasha of Egypt, the appointment being approved by the sultan in 1805. It soon became apparent that the new ruler of Egypt was a man of exceptional capacity. Between 1811 and 1815 his armies defeated the Wahabi rebels of the Arabian Peninsula on the order of the Sublime Porte, bringing Mecca and Medina under the authority of Istanbul again. The Ottoman sultan, Mahmud II, who had for three years been trying unsuccessfully to put an end to the Greek uprising, turned in 1824 to Muhammad Ali for help, promising to accord the *pashalik* of Crete to him in return for the suppression of the rebellion, and the governorship of the Morea peninsula (Peloponnese) to his son, Ibrahim. Crete and Morea were captured despite the desperate resistance of the Greeks, and even Athens surrendered to the Egyptians in June 1827. Five months later, most of the Egyptian–Turkish fleet was destroyed by a combined fleet of British, French and Russian ships in the bay of Navarino. In the summer of 1828 the Egyptians evacuated Morea and, a little while later, the Turks were forced to hand it over to the French. Muhammad Ali was left with the feeling that the *pashalik* of Crete was too small a compensation for the heavy losses he had suffered in money and men during the war with the Greeks. Morea had been lost to the sultan, but there was always Syria. In November 1831, under the pretext of a quarrel with Abdallah Pasha of Acre, Muhammad Ali sent his son Ibrahim there at the head of a well-trained army that conquered Palestine, except for Acre, within a short space of time. A division of 600 men from the invading army was sufficient for the seizure of Haifa.[2]

The siege of Acre lasted seven months. On 27 May 1832 Abdallah surrendered. Those were the days of great bustle and activity for Haifa, where Ibrahim had established his headquarters.[3] Thousands of troops were camped there, being called upon in groups to take part in the siege. Haifa was the principal supply base for the entire army, and the Egyptian fleet – which took part in the siege by bombarding Acre from the sea – was anchored in its harbour. Next to the large camp of the Egyptian commander, two military hospitals were set up, one for the seriously wounded and one for the lightly wounded. Bedouin chiefs arrived in Haifa to express their loyalty to Ibrahim and the naval commanders of his fleet as well as to discuss the conduct of the siege. In view of the importance of the place for him, Ibrahim ordered the fortifications of Haifa to be strengthened and cannons to be placed along its walls and in the Burj.[4]

It is easy to imagine how advantageous the presence of a large army was to the inhabitants of Haifa.[5] The profits grew with the prolonging of the siege of Acre, and when it fell, Haifa profited even more. Acre was severely damaged by the long-drawn out bombardment by the Egyptians. Lamartine, the French poet, encountered 'the one European left on the desolate battlefield of Acre', a young Piedmontese man who went to live in Haifa as the consular agent of Sardinia.[6] His name was Malagamba, and he appears to be the first of the consular agents to represent a European country in Haifa. In January 1833, Malagamba was still the only consul 'for all Christianity' in Haifa, but the number of consular agents increased under the Egyptian occupation, so that there were men representing England, France, Austria 'and the advisers of other kings'.[7] One American tourist found it a matter for astonishment that his country was not represented in Haifa, though an American consul could be found in Jaffa, which was 'not so much a place as Caipha'.[8]

The most convincing testimony to the growing importance of Haifa as a centre of commerce was the appointment of consular agents, concerned as they were with commerce in the small coastal towns. Antoine Cafafago, for many years consul for Austria in Acre and Sidon, observes in a letter that, following the capture of Acre, its commerce passed to Haifa, so that it became necessary for him to appoint a vice-consul there, who would, incidentally, also represent Denmark.[9] An Irish doctor who visited Haifa in 1838 reports on the remarkable progress made by the town in the preceding few years, notably where the export of wheat and cotton was concerned. He attributes it to the transfer of much of Acre's commerce to Haifa, as a result of the incessant wars that were so harmful to the interests of Acre. During the siege of Acre, Haifa became the depot for the large army camping in its vicinity and skilfully exploited this advantage over Acre after the siege was lifted.[10] Indeed, most sources underline the growing importance of Haifa, exemplified by the establishment of regular links with Europe.[11]

The new developments rendered acutely evident the miserable state of Haifa itself, a point borne out by the descriptions of travellers at that time. In appearance it recalled the 'torn flag of knights, eaten by worms, such as one sees at times in the old churches of our country, a souvenir of past victories'.[12] Haifa saw an increasing number of sailors, pilgrims and European merchants, who visited her, but could not find a single hotel in which to pass the night. Pilgrims were offered hospitality by the Carmelites;[13] restaurants and other services could not meet the growing demands of European travellers. The German botanist von Schubert met European sailors in the bazaar, streets and coffeeshops of the town. Eventually, he and his companions reached a restaurant:

> where there seemed to be some hope of finding a decent European meal, to satisfy our hunger and relieve our thirst . . . but the Greek innkeeper offered us, instead of wine, a sort of drink made of sour grapes, adulterated in addition, and salt fish to eat, the rotten smell of which reached too far off and the taste of which was even worse than the smell. As for the cheese, it could be compared with the ancient strange fossils encountered on Mount Carmel, if it was not perchance the work of prehistoric man itself.[14]

In summary, the nine years of Egyptian rule were years of prosperity for Haifa. Its affairs were governed by 'the governor of Haifa and the Athlit coast', who resided in the *serai* (*scraglia*), mentioned previously, located on the seafront.[15] The Egyptians imposed security throughout the country, the like of which had not been known since the days of Dahar al-Umar. There were disturbances in the last phase of their rule, but these did not affect Haifa. Many Jews sought refuge in Haifa when troubles broke out among the Druze in the Galilee in 1838. Lewi writes, 'This town offers security from the enemy . . . the notable families of Tiberias fled to it in times of danger . . . and live there in small decrepit rooms.'[16] Nevertheless, Haifa was not immune to natural disasters. At the beginning of 1833, two weeks of continuous heavy rain caused serious damage to life and property. Great rivers descended from Mount Carmel, until the town resembled a lake. The Englishman Skinner, who visited Haifa at the time, was forced to take off his shoes and trousers to enter the town. He met two Jews on the way whom he asked: 'Tell me, is not this Caifa, and where are all the houses?' Skinner found only two houses that had withstood the inundation, that of the consul of Sardinia and that of the Carmelites.[17] The disastrous earthquake that shook the country on 1 January 1837, in contrast, caused little damage to Haifa.[18]

An outstanding feature of Egyptian rule was the notable improvement in the condition of the non-Muslim population of the country and, in particular, that of Haifa, where the presence of the consuls served to protect Christians and Jews alike. They stopped suffering from discrimination by the authorities and from the kind of persecution and humiliation they had endured in the time of Abdallah Pasha (1819–31).[19] The fanaticism and cruelty of this Pasha of Acre were not easily forgotten by the inhabitants of the town. In 1854 an old Christian of Haifa told the British consul of Jerusalem, James Finn, of some of the vexatious practices that Abdallah followed: in order to distinguish Muslim women from Jewish and Christian women, he ordered the latter to wear veils of an unbecoming colour. As for non-Muslim men, he obliged them to walk on the left side of the road or in the open gutters. Like most of the Turkish rulers, he imposed illegal taxes that were collected even more harshly than was usual with his sort.[20] We have seen how Abdallah behaved towards the Carmelites, whereas, under Ibrahim they were the principal beneficiaries of his tolerant attitude. Ibrahim gave them the Villa of Abdallah on Mount Carmel as a gift (1834) and encouraged them to speed up the building of the new monastery. He lightened the burden of their taxes and extended special privileges to them. It is during his period of government that the monastery became the most important, magnificent and influential institution in Haifa, which it remained until the outbreak of the First World War.

At the same time, there was a sharp increase in the number of Christian inhabitants in Haifa. Twelve years after the departure of the Egyptians, they were estimated to make up 40 per cent of the total population. The building of the vast monastery of the Carmelites itself provided the means of subsistence for dozens of mainly Christian labourers and their families for over twenty years.[21]

In 1839 Moses Montefiore visited the Jewish community of Haifa, which at that time numbered 150 souls, according to the estimate provided by the British consul.[22] They included a large group of Moroccan Jews, who settled in Haifa for the simple reason that their ship foundered off its coast, near Mount Carmel. While some of them drowned, the survivors saw in the event a sign from heaven that they were intended to settle there. For all that, they were not successful and moved to Jaffa, where they were among the founders of the renewed Jewish settlement in that place.[23] The ranks of the Jews of Haifa, thinned out by the departure of the Moroccan Jews, were reduced to a few dozen. Fifteen years later, Ludwig Frankl found only 100 Jews left.[24]

After eight years of rule, the hour for the departure of the Egyptians arrived. Sultan Mahmud II decided in the summer of 1839 that his army was now capable of defeating the Egyptian rebel, though it had suffered a severe defeat in the battle of Nezib. His son and heir, the Sultan Abd al-Majid, was humiliated by the treachery of the commander of the Turkish fleet, who sailed his fleet to Alexandria and handed it over to Muhammad Ali. At this time of distress for the Sublime Porte, the European powers chose to intervene and reversed the situation entirely. The sultan offered Muhammad Ali the *pashalik* of Egypt as a hereditary possession and that of Acre for life, but he refused to accept the proposal. It was then that England, Russia, Austria and Prussia undertook to force Muhammad Ali to renounce his conquests.[25] The Egyptians turned to the French for help, but they hesitated to take action, much to the disgust of the Egyptians. In the autumn of 1840, the 'allied fleet', composed in greater part by British ships, bombarded the coastal cities of Syria and Palestine, capturing them one after the other without encountering much resistance.[26] Their naval campaign brought an end to Egyptian rule in Haifa too.

On 16 September, the British frigates *Castor* and *Pique* and the Turkish frigate *Divan* appeared off the coast of Haifa and on the following morning called upon the town to surrender. They were met by fire from the eight cannons set up on the seafront. In return, the three warships began a heavy, accurate and coordinated bombardment that forced the Egyptians to leave their position and flee in disorder. Marines from the attacking force landed and destroyed the military equipment that the Egyptians had not taken with them. They embarked two 13-inch cannons and made off. The next day, 18 September, a further detachment of marines landed and evicted the enemy from the Burj on the hill above the town, after it had been put out of action, together with its five cannons. For many years afterwards, the cannon balls of the British could be seen lying around Haifa and near the Burj,[27] souvenirs of the unforgettable episode of the bombardment of Haifa. For travellers, they were an example of the negligence of 'the Turk, who leaves things lying around without troubling to clean them up', as one orderly-minded German traveller put it resentfully.[28]

Changes in the Town's Economic Status

On 3 November 1840, Acre surrendered to the allied fleet under British command, after a heavy bombardment lasting a few hours. With the fall of the town, which had been considered to be the 'key to Syria' since the campaign of Napoleon, Muhammad Ali ordered Ibrahim to withdraw his entire army from Syria and Palestine.[29] One year previously, on 3 November 1839, the young Ottoman sultan, Abd al-Majid, issued a solemn imperial decree that introduced a notable improvement in the administration of the Ottoman Empire and in the status of its citizens. It promised personal security, respect for the life and property of citizens and a uniform system of taxation. True, the articles of the decree were never fully implemented, but, in comparison with what existed in the empire before the Egyptian conquest, there was a notable change for the better.[30] Several important administrative changes introduced from time to time were gathered together into the 'Law of the Regions' of 1864. Until 1888, Haifa had been included in the *vilayet* of Damascus, thereafter passing under that of Beirut, at the head of which stood a *vali*, subordinated to the Ministry of the Interior of Istanbul. This situation prevailed until the end of the Ottoman rule over the country. The *vali* was in charge of a number of districts (*liwa* or *sanjak*), including that of Acre, at the head of which there was a Turkish official (*mutasarrif*). The latter oversaw the mayors of the towns in the districts, including Haifa, which remained subject to the governor of the district of Acre until the British conquest in 1918.

The new centralized system of administration limited the powers of the pashas, who had been accustomed to act on their own accord, almost without surveillance by the Sublime Porte. On the other hand, the complicated hierarchy of administration placed a heavy burden on the Ministry of the Interior in Istanbul, which was now called upon to deal with problems better handled by the lower echelons of the administration. Unnecessary delays became inevitable and Turkish officialdom became a by-word for lack of initiative, laziness and corruption. Bribery became the only means to rouse Turkish officials to activity.[31]

The new state of affairs had a bearing on the development of Haifa. Its inhabitants – the non-Muslims in particular – enjoyed greater liberty, in spite of the continued harshness of the Ottoman regime.[32] One Haifa resident reckoned it a miracle that he had survived the bad days of Abdallah Pasha to live and enjoy the relative tranquillity of the mid-nineteenth century.[33] On the other hand, European observers and men of initiative among the inhabitants were agreed that, under a better regime, a more rapid development of the town could be assured.[34]

The Turks, however, showed neither the talent nor the initiative required to promote conditions in the country. If Haifa grew at all, it was not due to the government, nor even to the majority of its inhabitants, but thanks to its excellent natural advantages.

In this new era, Haifa profited from the almost total destruction of Acre, occasioned during the bombardment of the town in November 1840 by the blowing up of the central Egyptian powder magazine containing hundreds of barrels of gunpowder. The damage to life and property was enormous. Two days later, while bodies were still being dug out from under the debris, further explosions occurred, until the area resembled the mouth of a volcano, with scenes of dreadful ruin stretching out on all sides. Hardly a single house was left intact by the bombardment and the explosions. Acre's recovery was slow and the balance tilted in favour of Haifa.[35]

The appearance of steamships gave an immense impetus to the development of Haifa at the expense of Acre. In the beginning of the 1850s, the Austrian Lloyd Shipping Company and the French Messageries Maritimes chose Haifa as a port for their lines of passenger ships to the East. These steamships, which were incomparably quicker, safer and more comfortable than sailing ships, increased at one stroke the number of visitors and pilgrims to the Holy Land.[36] The regular arrival of travellers produced a new animation in the town of Haifa. The accommodation in the Carmelite monastery became insufficient to cope with the influx of strangers and it was found necessary to enlarge the building.[37] Exports and imports were now also carried by steamships, especially to distant destinations. Jacques Mislin, the Swiss man who travelled around the country in the mid-nineteenth century, mentions in his detailed study seven important ports in Syria, of which two were in Palestine: Jaffa and Haifa. The first exported produce from the centre and south of the country; the second exported produce from the north and the region of Nablus; the main products exported through Haifa were wheat, cotton and sesame.[38] In 1850, Mislin found that 162 ships had dropped anchor at Haifa, of which eighty-two were Greek, twenty-four French, seventeen Turkish, sixteen English, eleven Sardinian, and others, the origin of which he does not specify. He appears to have counted only cargo ships, both steam and sailing ships, excluding small local craft that plied the coast of Syria and Palestine. The port's revenue for that period from imports and exports amounted to 600,000 piastres, which was equivalent to 6,000 pounds sterling in those days.[39]

The steamships, which found the port facilities of Acre too limited for its purposes, brought new life to Haifa. For many years, sailing ships remained the common means of transport on the coast of Palestine, but European shipping took more and more to the steamship, a process that furthered the development of Haifa. The number of consular agents grew steadily and soon we hear of the representatives of Russia, Prussia, the United States, Greece and Holland residing there, in addition to those mentioned previously from England, France, Austria and Sardinia.[40] At first most of this category were local residents of Greek or Italian origin, a very few being European-born, working for their respective states abroad. Among the latter an outstanding name to remember is that of Edward Thomas Rogers, who was appointed vice-consul of Britain in Haifa in 1853, the usual rank of consular agents in the town.[41] He was a talented man who served in Haifa for eight years and was witness to its dramatic development. Before his appointment, the Dutch naval officer, van de Velde, wrote that the town was the dirtiest he had ever seen in his life:

> Its streets were literally as filthy as a sty, where one sank in the mud up to one or one-and-a-half feet, from the moment one entered its gates. A downpour of rain brings on such a smell that severe harm can result from it to the

> health, but its lazy Inhabitants are so indifferent that they prefer to die from the filth than spend the sums of money required and go to the trouble of cleaning the town and paving [its streets]. [42]

One traveller pitied Rogers, who had to live in such an abject place, in the midst of mud and intolerable smells. Stewart adds, however, that building was being undertaken in Haifa with energy, accompanied by other signs of animation. The local council (*majlis idara*), composed of local representatives who advised the governor,[43] began to have the streets cleaned up and to initiate other activities of that sort.[44] Finn, the British consul in Jerusalem, visited Haifa in 1854; in his book – one of the best and most exciting accounts of the country – he stresses the rapid growth in prosperity of Haifa and the changes that were underway. The houses were spruced up and many new ones were built in the seven years prior to his visit. With the increasing demand for housing, the price of building plots had risen as never before. The price of one square yard of ground was now 100 piastres, about a pound sterling, a hundred times higher than a similar plot in Tyre, for instance. The qadi told Finn that he would now have to pay 600 piastres a year to rent a house that in the 1840s he could have bought for 400 piastres.

The inhabitants attributed the increase in the price of land and lodging to the increased activity at the port of Haifa. Finn, however, was of the opinion that the change was due to the increased missionary activities of the Carmelite monastery, which undertook its own building operations in the town in response to the immigration of Catholic families to Haifa.[45]

In 1855, one year after Finn's visit, Mary Rogers reached Haifa to join her brother, the British vice-consul. She left a description of the way of life of the local population, the fruits of years of observation. Her book paints, perhaps for the first time, a comprehensive picture of Haifa. Previous writers were satisfied with two or three sentences describing their impressions as they passed through the streets of Haifa on their way to or from the Carmelite monastery. They described how the workers at the port used to throw the passengers from the ships into the ferry boats below, which would carry them to the beach. Simha writes, 'They would snatch people like so many slaves, beginning with the first that presented themselves.'[46] The porters demanded 50 piastres, the equivalent of a half a pound sterling, for their efforts, an exaggerated price. The shouts, the blows, the haggling that were connected with their landing, gave visitors a bad impression from the moment they set foot on the soil of the Holy Land. Is it surprising, therefore, that in the memories of many, especially those who were robbed of their belongings, Haifa remained a nest of robbers?[47] Mary Rogers did not join in the chorus of disapproval. She describes her 'little city' with particular affection and is astonished at its rapid development that she was eyewitness to, and she can be said to be its first patriot.

At the time of the arrival of Mary Rogers in Haifa, many houses were being built and many others were being planned. Much of the building material still came from the ruins of ancient Haifa. In 1855, all its houses were flat-roofed and, at most, one storey high, made of earth and stone and intended for the poorer classes.[48] The houses of the consuls, the foreign merchants and the well-off were two storeys high and built of dressed stone. They were commodious, possessed large terraces and wide inner courtyards, paved with black and white marble. The houses were scattered without any plan, the streets were narrow and dirty, and flocks of sheep, herds of cattle and donkeys wandered all over the town.[49] The western gateway was built of stone and its door of slats of iron and wood. Beside the western entrance stood the Latin Church and near to it the mosque with its minaret – both buildings remain to the present day. Over time, the mosque was enlarged; at the end of the 1860s the Latin Church was rebuilt on a large scale. At a point about halfway between the two gates there was a free area used as an open caravanserai. The town's marketplace was narrow, but full of merchandise.

In January 1859, Mary Rogers returned to Haifa after a year's absence and marvelled at what developments had occurred during the short time of her absence. The Russian government had obtained a *firman* from the Sublime Porte for the construction of a quay at Haifa, the first of its kind on the coast of Syria.[50] The project aroused great excitement among the people, for it employed a large number of workers. The architect and engineer in charge was Pierotti, once an officer in the Sardinian army. Russia spent about 3,000 pounds sterling in the building of this stone quay, which was 30 metres long; as a result, the influence of Russia in Haifa grew steadily. Next to the Greek Orthodox Church was erected a hospice for the crowds of Russian pilgrims visiting the Holy Land, and from time to time, Russian steamships were seen in the port of Haifa. The struggle between the powers for influence in Palestine took on a new form, and the quay in

Haifa was the first fruit of their rivalry. For years there had been talk about the necessity of building a quay in Haifa to facilitate the loading and unloading of the merchandise passing through the port. In the end what the apathy of the Turks could not accomplish was achieved by strangers.[51] There was another surprise waiting for Mary Rogers. In 1858, the first houses were erected outside the walls of the town. A new quarter of large houses sprang up on the slopes of the mountain, 'the *faubourg* of Mount Carmel', as the Europeans called it with pride.[52]

In the meantime, Turkey had to fight another war, the Crimean War. In addition to higher politics a quarrel over the Holy Places between the Catholic clergy supported by France and the Greek Orthodox Church supported by Russia led to the war. In autumn 1853, the refusal of the Turks to give in to the far-reaching demands of the Russian tsar precipitated the conflict, which quickly degenerated into large-scale hostilities when France, England and Sardinia (from the beginning of 1855) rallied to the side of the Turks. After bitter fighting in the Crimean Peninsula, which ended in the capture of the Russian stronghold of Sevastopol and its destruction, the contending parties agreed to negotiate a peace settlement in March 1856.[53] In February of that year, on the eve of the signing of the peace, Sultan Abd al-Majid issued a new imperial decree in which he guaranteed the rights of his non-Muslim subjects and promised them equality and full freedom of religion. In paragraph 9 of the Treaty of Paris that ended the war, these rights were reiterated, although, as in the past, nothing was lacking in the new dispositions except their execution in practice.[54] At all events, a notable improvement took place in the condition of the non-Muslims in Palestine in parallel with the growing interest of the powers in the country and its inhabitants. New churches, missionary schools and other religious institutions multiplied and the number of Christians of all kinds increased.

These developments were reflected in Haifa. Next to the Greek Orthodox Church already mentioned, in 1859 a large Greek Catholic, or Melkite, church was built which is also still in use today. Towards the end of the 1850s, the first German and English missionaries settled in Haifa.[55] The Maronites, mostly immigrants from Lebanon, grew in number from fourteen souls in 1844 to eighty-two in 1865 and a hundred and thirty-nine in 1877.[56] They built their own church, after having shared one with the Latins. The Latins, who in the meantime had opened a school in Haifa, built a magnificent new church on the spot where their little church, erected in the days of Dahar al-Umar, had stood. It was in use until 1948. At about the same time the Order of the Dames de Nazareth also established themselves in Haifa. Fifty years later, on the eve of the First World War, they built one of the finest buildings in Haifa, on the slopes of Mount Carmel.[57] The missionary activity of the different Christian denominations was mainly directed to Arabs, not to Jews. At any rate, Jewish sources in Haifa make no allusion to it, as compared to Jerusalem, where the number of Jewish converts was relatively larger.[58] A group of Scottish missionaries visited Haifa in 1843, but their efforts bore no fruit. They encountered a group of Jews in the synagogue, who melted away as soon as the arrivals began talking of the Messiah. One missionary remarked with disappointment that nowhere in the world had he met Jews who were so lacking in comprehension as those of Haifa.[59]

The Jewish community grew notably and reinforced itself at that time. It received the support of the British government and its representatives, who regarded with favour the settlement of Jews in Palestine, hoping to extend its influence through them as France was doing by the protection of the Catholics. In 1853, for instance, the French consulate removed its protection of twenty-one families of Algerian Jews. As a result, the Turkish authorities cancelled their names from the list of citizens of foreign states in the Ottoman Empire. The intervention and strong stand taken by Rogers and Finn led to their receiving British citizenship instead.[60] In 1865 the office of British vice-consul in Haifa was removed, which proved harmful to the interests of the Jewish community. Two years later, Moses Montefiore appealed to the British Foreign Office to re-establish its representative in Haifa, for the protection he could offer, especially to the Jews of Tiberias and Safed.[61] In the meantime, British interests were looked after by a Jew, Moses Finzi, a resident of Acre, who had rendered excellent services as consular agent for Britain from 1837 onwards.[62] In the course of time, the number of Jews in Haifa rose from fifteen families in 1843, all of eastern origin especially from North African communities, to about a hundred families in 1868, including one Ashkenazi family, who owned an inn.[63] Most of the newcomers were Jews from Turkey, who began immigrating after 1856, at the time of the visit of the Viennese Jew, Ludwig Frankl. Most of the Jews of Haifa engaged in small-scale business activities, doing the rounds of the neighbouring villages, where they sold their wares.[64]

It is not easy to assess the total population of Haifa in that period as the evaluations vary. Most, however, stress the steep rise in the percentage of Christians and Jews, which together constituted more than half the total population at the end of the 1860s. In 1854, Mary Rogers estimated the total at 2,012 inhabitants, of whom 1,200 were Muslims, 400 Greek-Catholics, 50 Latins, 30 Maronites, 300 Greek Orthodox and 32 Jews. In 1860, she estimated the population of Haifa to be 2,300 persons,[65] whereas the British Survey of Western Palestine put the figure at 3,000 in 1859.[66] Mary Rogers' figures for the Latins (50) and Maronites (30) in the year 1854 are not confirmed by the register of the Latin community of the town for 1855, where the names and personal details of 95 Latins and 48 Maronites appear.[67] One might perhaps be not far mistaken in concluding that the population of Haifa grew from between 1,500 and 2,000 souls in 1831 to between 3,500 and 4,000 souls in 1868. At the same time, the percentage of Muslims fell from 80 per cent to 40 per cent, while the Christians rose from 20 per cent to approximately 40 per cent. The Jewish population already constituted more than 10 per cent of the population.[68]

The German Templers arrived in 1868 and set up their first colony in Haifa, which was still a small town by any standards, but a town for all that, in the eyes of a European observer.[69] The filth and stench of its streets was unrivalled among all other dirty towns of Syria, as one traveller put it, but the place was animated and its development continuous.[70] Merchant ships of many nations visited its port in growing numbers, and the new quay was in continual use: passenger ships maintained a regular communication with Europe. About a dozen consular agents of different states resided in Haifa. The atmosphere of its public places was a unique mixture of East and West: apart from the Arab population, both Muslim and Christian, there were Jews, Greeks, Turks, Italians, Armenians, merchants from Europe, representatives of foreign companies, Christian clergymen, monks and missionaries.[71] Pilgrims and tourists were now numerous in Haifa, either because they desired to visit there, or because they had to embark there. Naturally, as in all ports of the world, there were plenty of sailors to be seen. Hotel Victoria, run by a Maltese man, was the rendezvous for the European community, while a Greek set up a restaurant, the Table d'Hôte. Both men contributed to the creation of a cosmopolitan atmosphere in the town, which the German settlement was to render even more evident.[72] The contrast with the definite Muslim character of Acre was acute. If the atmosphere of Haifa attracted the Christians, it repelled the Muslims. The bustling commercial activity of the town with its promising future suited Jews and Christians more than Muslims.[73]

The publisher of the Hebrew newspaper *Ha-Maggid* wrote in 1867:

> Fifteen years ago, Haifa was no more than a small village inhabited by fishermen; since then, it has become the big town apt for commerce and trade among nations, such as it is today . . . in which many Jews find a livelihood, at least those who desire to live in the Holy Land . . . Of these the majority are Sephardis, whereas the Ashkenazis do not prefer to make a living here.[74]

The Construction of the New Carmelite Monastery

The story of how the new Carmelite monastery was built by Giambattista Cassini is a favourite theme of the memoirs of travellers to the Holy Land in the 1830s. They nearly all devote a chapter to the dramatic account of the circumstances of the erection of the impressive undertaking in which reality and imagination often go hand in hand. Even today it remains one of the largest buildings of the city. When Cassini began its construction the population of Haifa numbered about 2,000 souls and no building, near or far, could compare with it. Apart from the distant villages, there was not a single house on Mount Carmel.

The universal admiration of the travellers for the imposing monastery is understandable, for not only was it the most grandiose edifice of Haifa but it served as the most comfortable hospice for visitors in the country and even in the Levant as a whole, so many of them thought.[75] Travellers admired the beauty of the architecture, the spacious rooms and halls, the magnificent church, the furniture chosen with good taste, the extensive library. Besides, there was the excellent climate of the place and the splendid view from it was a delight to the eye. They were all agreed about the cordial reception of the guests, extended to them by the religious. The lodging and care of pilgrims, tours around the countryside and the arrangements with the authorities were part of the declared vocation of the monastery and a source of its income, although it absorbed the best part of the time and energy of the religious.[76]

The success of the great enterprise was attributed by travellers to the talent, energy and perseverance of Cassini. He had first come to Haifa in 1821, where – according to some authors – he found that the one and only surviving Carmelite there had died.[77] The story, however, is apocryphal, designed to throw the contribution of Cassini into greater relief. In fact, Father Julius, the man in question, only died on 6 January 1841, having lived to render great service to the monastery under Ibrahim Pasha. The travellers go on to recount that, having reached Mount Carmel again in 1826, Cassini sat on a broken marble column from the Byzantine period lying on the ground and drew a sketch of a giant monastery – to cost half a million francs – though he did not have a penny in his purse to spare.[78] They also recount how Cassini repaired some flourmills owned by a Druze and drew a small income from that source, one-third of the profits to be exact.[79]

These modest beginnings stand in open contrast to what the official Carmelite chroniclers write about the great administrative network that Charles X of France placed at the disposal of Cassini for the building of the new monastery. Perhaps these modest stories were meant to arouse the generosity of the guests, who would return to Europe and make the needs of the monastery known to others. Only by an immense campaign for the collection of funds was it possible to bring to completion the plan conceived by Cassini that, given the conditions of time and place, was nothing less than audacious. The revolution of July 1830 interrupted the flow of financial help from France, and on several occasions, Cassini toured Europe, Asia and North Africa for the purpose of gathering the financial means he required, returning to supervise the continuation of the building operations. On his travels he distributed leaflets and sketches of the monastery to be built, promised to inscribe the names of benefactors on the walls and to promise prayers for them. All in all, he managed to mobilize the fantastic sums required to complete the project.[80]

Changes in the conditions of security in the country and in the improvement in the attitude to Christians were also helpful to the Carmelites.[81] At the beginning of his work in the late 1820s, Cassini is said to have won the support of Abdallah Pasha, enemy of Christians in general, after he had designed the summer villa for him on Mount Carmel,[82] but there is no evidence for the story in Carmelite sources. The building of the new monastery proceeded energetically, for in 1832, five years after the laying of the foundation stone, the lower storey was completed and guests were being lodged there. Lamartine observed with pride that the French flag had been raised over the monastery.[83] Under Egyptian rule the religious enjoyed favoured treatment from the authorities. Ibrahim Pasha, who visited the monastery a few days after the capture of Haifa, ordered his officers to behave well towards the Carmelites, who were under the protection of his friends, the French. He was particularly impressed by Father Julius, the old Maltese religious who, in the days of al-Jazzar Pasha, had been the only representative of the Order in Haifa and continued to render valuable service to the new monastery. The Egyptians eased the burden of taxation on the religious community and granted them other privileges. In 1834 they received the summer residence of Abdallah, which they turned into a hospice for local Christians.[84]

Meanwhile, the upper storeys of the monastery were built and the road leading up to it completed. The military operations connected with the retreat of the Egyptians disturbed the peace and tranquillity of the religious. In the summer of 1839 the ruler of Acre sent his forty-five wives to Mount Carmel, in view of the approaching war. Under the pretext of quarantine, the religious were ordered to leave the monastery, though the real motive was to prevent the monastery being used as an observation point from which the increased movement of the Egyptian army could be noted.[85]

The renewed rule of the Ottomans did not bring with it a renewal of those repeated attacks, persecution and other injuries that had characterized the life of the religious in the past – the regime of Ibrahim Pasha had enormously strengthened their position. At times, the number of religious persons permanently residing in the place reached twenty-four. The fortress-like monastery had been built to prevent the intrusion of robbers, such as had occurred only too often at the convent of Prosper: the garden lying between the monastery and the old summer residence of Abdallah was surrounded by a high wall, and a pack of dogs was let loose at night to frighten off unwelcome visitors. Unfortunately they also terrified other legitimate visitors who reached the monastery late in search of a night's lodging.[86] Relations with the local population improved. The hostility shown to the religious community in the days of Prosper, aroused by its strangeness, isolation and weakness, disappeared, never to return. The Carmelites became an inseparable part of the landscape of Haifa. Many in the city were more dependent on them than the Carmelites were dependent on the local population, on account of the livelihood the monastery assured them. People would come from the town and villages to seek medical treatment at the monastery, where it was customary that one of the brothers would be a specialist in herbal cures; the poor were treated for free. The friars' *eau de Mélisse*, an extract of various plants growing wild on Mount Carmel, became famous as a universal panacea, and its sale to visitors constituted a source of income to the monastery. From time to time they would send quantities of it to the kings of France in gratitude for favours received.[87]

Prosper and his companions had restored the Carmelites to the cradle of their Order, Mount Carmel. Hanging on with great difficulty, they clung to Mount Carmel in the face of a hostile environment. They had carved out dark, humid niches from the rock, in which they lived a life of mortification and solitude, in accordance with their vocation and conditions imposed on them. For want of a few hundred piastres with which to pay their annual tax, they were from time to time forced to abandon the mountain and seek refuge elsewhere, in Haifa or Acre, leaving their few sticks of furniture to the mercy of thieves and robbers.

Contributions now flowed in from all over the Catholic world. Crowds of pilgrims recompensed them, generously, for the services they received. Thousands of local Christians flocked to the monastery for the Feast of Elijah each year, leaving behind abundant alms. Their monastery was not only the most magnificent building in Haifa; it was one of the most beautiful in the country and famous all over the Christian world. The food supplied to the guests, many of whom were people of distinction, could rival the best European cuisine. The comfortable atmosphere in the hospice made the guests forget at times that they were in a monastery and in the East.[88] The monastery became a unique source of attraction for the crowds of foreign tourists and thus, of course, also a source of income to many of the inhabitants of the town.[89] The standing of the Carmelites was established and their presence on the mountain, uncontested, finding support through the influence of France at the Sublime Porte, in return for which they loyally reinforced French standing in Haifa. Though their community, the Latin community, was not numerically the largest, it possessed the finest church in town and was responsible for opening the first Christian school there. The Order bought up a growing number of plots and premises, which they made available to members of the Christian community to serve as lodgings and shops, increasing, in this way, their influence among them.[90]

The handful of persecuted Carmelites had grown into an important, influential institution, well integrated into the life of Haifa. It was only after a bitter struggle that the Germans, who now intended to settle in Haifa, succeeded in sharing that influence with the Carmelites.

4

Haifa Thrives

The Settling of the Germans

On 30 October 1868, two families from south-west Germany arrived at Haifa on an Austrian Lloyd ship. They were the families of Hoffmann and Hardegg, leaders of a Christian religious community, numbering several thousand souls who were centred in the Kingdom of Württemberg.[1] The members, known as 'Templers', had decided to settle in the Holy Land, where they intended spreading their faith. They established their first and largest colony near Haifa, bringing a new and progressive spirit to the town. By their talents, competence and energy, they rapidly became a dominant factor in the town. They introduced new methods in industry, business and agriculture that the country had not known before. Only ten minutes' walk from the western gate of the town, the Templers set up a model colony composed of charming houses standing amid pretty gardens that German tourists would soon describe as a 'piece of the fatherland in the heart of Palestine'. The European methods that the Templers brought with them began to be imitated by many of the local inhabitants. Thanks to the Templers, Haifa soon became one of the most beautiful, well-ordered and progressive towns in the country, if not the first among them all.[2] Without exaggeration, the Germans may be counted as the most efficient human element at work in Haifa during the Ottoman Rule.[3]

The Temple Society was an offshoot of the German Pietism of the seventeenth century, which had sprung up in the Evangelical Church with the aim of strengthening religious faith and introducing changes in this direction. The movement died down, but took on a new life in the nineteenth century, notably in the state of Württemberg. Christoph Hoffmann was one of the two Pietist delegates to the all-German parliament of Frankfurt in 1848. He had studied theology at the University of Tübingen and became an ordained clergyman. He gathered around himself a group of believers who aspired to live a healthy and pious social life according to the principles of their faith. In the spirit of the biblical prophecies, they sought to create a new people who would be an instrument of salvation to the world.

The quarrel between the Catholic Church and the Greek Orthodox Church on the eve of the outbreak of the Crimean War was felt by Hoffmann and his supporters to contain the seeds of a world conflagration. The decision was taken to settle in Palestine, in order to influence the situation there and by their presence change it for the better; they were still discussing the project when war broke out. In 1858, two years after peace had returned, the Friends of Jerusalem sent a small delegation to Palestine to examine the practical possibilities of settlement. Its conclusion was that settlement, though difficult, could succeed if it was well planned and undertaken on a sufficiently large scale. In 1859, Hoffmann and the other members of his community were excommunicated on the grounds of disobedience to the orders of the Evangelical Church. Two years later, Hoffmann founded the Temple Society (Tempelgesellschaft). The origin of the name is to be looked for in the aspirations of a Swiss religious reformer of the seventeenth century who wanted to erect the temple of God on its old foundations. There was, of course, no connection between the new association and the Order of the Knights Templar in the Holy Land.[4]

In spite of persecution by the Evangelical Church, the new society won adherents, especially in the state of Württemberg and among German emigrants in North America and southern Russia. Among those who joined was Georg David Hardegg, who was destined to share the leadership of the group with Hoffmann. Hardegg, a native of Württemberg, was born in 1812, and so was three years older than Hoffmann, whom he met for the first time in 1848. He had been imprisoned for seven years for having supported the idea of a United German Republic. The success of the Templer settlement in Haifa is attributed mainly to his talent for organization and his energy.

In March 1868, after long years of hesitation, the Council of the Templers decided to send Hoffmann and Hardegg to Palestine to choose the most suitable place for a colony. In August of the same year, the two set out for Istanbul to obtain a *firman* from the Sublime Porte, enabling them to lease land for their purpose. After consultation with the embassy of the Association of North German States (as it was known in the period before the unification of Germany), Hardegg and Hoffmann presented a memorandum to the Sublime Porte on 15 September in which they requested a tract of land of three square miles on Mount Carmel. It appears that the site had been suggested by the embassy, which had been requested by King Wilhelm I, head of the Association of North German States to extend diplomatic assistance to the two delegates. In the memorandum, Hardegg and Hoffmann described themselves as the heads of a society numbering two to three thousand souls, desirous of 'settling in Palestine for religious reasons'. The members of the society would engage in agriculture, industry and the establishment of institutions of public value. They gave an assurance that the society had no political aims whatsoever and that the sole purpose of the settlement would be to create an example for the moral and economic progress of the country. They added that, by encouraging their project, the Sublime Porte would win the admiration of Christian Europe.

Without waiting for the *firman*, Hoffmann and Hardegg left Istanbul for Haifa, passing through Beirut, where the Prussian consul-general equipped them with good advice, warning them against obtaining Ottoman citizenship. While in Haifa, they received the answer to their memorandum, which made it clear that – so long as they were not Ottoman citizens – they could not own land in the Turkish Empire. Hardegg then did what many other foreigners had done before him – he turned to a local Arab, a subject of the sultan, in whose name the first plot of land, bought in January 1869, was registered.

As Hoffmann and Hardegg were celebrating their success, they received a communication from the local authorities to the effect that the sale was invalid, since the purchaser had acted on behalf of the 'Prussians', as the Templers were called, and not on his own behalf. In spite of these and other difficulties put in the way of the project by the authorities out of fear that, after all, the motives of the new settlers were political, Hardegg managed to buy up more plots of land to the west of Haifa.[5] In September 1869, the foundation stones of the first of twelve houses were laid. They were to be built along what was Carmel Avenue and is now Ben Gurion Avenue. In the spring of 1870, the community centre of the colony was inaugurated. It housed a school and a location for prayer. Above the entrance was the inscription: 'If I forget thee, Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning.' The construction was undertaken by local Arab workers, under the supervision of excellent artisans from among the Templers themselves.[6]

In the first phase of the settlement, the Council of the Temple Society chose its immigrants with great care, examining whether they possessed the means and personal qualities required, so as to have at their disposal a range of skills. As a result, the Germans succeeded in establishing an economy almost entirely independent of its neighbourhood, except for manual workers, of whom there was an abundant supply available. The Germans set up a spacious quarter, surrounding their houses with delightful gardens and shady trees, so different from the existing noisy, crowded town, yet, in fact, only a few minutes from its centre. Further groups of settlers who arrived from time to time brought with them all the equipment needed for an economy run to European standards, which they shared with the older settlers: agricultural and industrial implements, building materials and other products that were unobtainable locally. By these means, the Germans were able not only to maintain their former standard of living, but even to improve on it.[7]

At the beginning of 1873, the German Colony in Haifa numbered 254 souls and thirty-one houses, of which twenty had quarters for domestics, workshops, stores and such like annexed to them.[8] Two years later, there were 311 Germans, with eighty-five buildings, and, in 1902, the Haifa colony consisted of 101 families, which meant 517 souls, with ninety-two houses and ninety-five workshops at their disposal.[9] The erection of further German colonies elsewhere in the country slowed down the development of the mother colony in Haifa. A second colony was set up in Jaffa, in 1869, and Hoffmann took up his residence there, as head of the settlers. Two years later another colony was set up, in nearby Sarona, in what is now the Kirya in the heart of Tel Aviv. Because of ideological and practical differences of opinion, Hardegg was deposed from his office in 1874 and Hoffmann was elected as the sole leader of all the Templer colonies in Palestine. Jacob Schumacher, an American of German origin, was chosen to manage the colony of Haifa. Hardegg left the Temple Society and many of his supporters later returned to the Evangelical Church. At the time of the outbreak of the First World War, the Germans of both groups had seven colonies in Palestine, of which Haifa was the principal one. On the way to Nazareth they had set up a colony in Bethlehem of Galilee and another called 'Waldheim', today Alonei Aba.[10] It is hard to exaggerate the extent to which the German Colony in Haifa influenced the history of the town. True, the town had been growing before the arrival of the Germans and almost certainly would have continued to do so without them, but the Templers gave that development an unusual and obvious impetus. They constituted a human factor of high quality and not insignificant in quantity, who introduced European aspects of culture and technical expertise. They had chosen Haifa as the site of their first colony in view of its promising future.[11] Political considerations might therefore have entered into the calculations of the German embassy in Istanbul when it recommended a settlement on Mount Carmel.[12] In addition, Hardegg envisaged a colony capable of integrating all the Templers, who were expected to immigrate to Palestine in the future. For this purpose, Haifa was thought most suitable because of its proximity to Mount Carmel and its biblical associations.[13]

The first important enterprise of the Germans was in the field of transport. Horse-drawn carriages were on the whole unknown to the country, since there were no suitable roads; the sea route was used for the transport of passengers and goods. Until the First World War, passengers preferred to travel from Haifa to Jaffa by boat, which remained a more rapid means of communication even after the introduction of carriages. Interior transport made use of pack animals travelling on bad, neglected roads, often no more than tracks. The Templers brought carriages from Germany, but these turned out to be too wide for local routes, nor could they pass through the gates of Haifa without having to be dismantled first. In the 1870s the gates were enlarged to meet the needs of the Germans, so that their carriages could cross the town with ease on their way to the Plain of Zabulon, where the settlers cultivated fields. The astonishment of the local people, many of whom had never seen a carriage before, can be imagined.[14] Soon the Germans began to use their carriages for commercial purposes. Until their arrival, one had to travel from Haifa to Acre by donkey, the journey taking four hours. On this stretch the Germans introduced a carriage drawn by two horses, which completed the journey along the hard beach in less than one-third of the time, and for a price not much higher than that asked by the owners of the donkeys. Naturally, travellers between Acre and Haifa preferred 'to go by carriage, sitting like lords in comfort and quiet and reaching their destination in one hour and a quarter'.[15] The success of the new enterprise was enormous and new carriages were brought into service, but still could not keep up with demand. One had now to reserve a place in advance. In no time, Muslims began to order carriages from the German craftsmen to initiate a carriage service of their own. The competition brought down the price of the journey by half, and carriage-building became one of the most important and lucrative branches of the economy of the Germans. The local inhabitants started to become aware of the advantages that the 'Prussians' were able to offer them.[16]

In 1873, the Germans undertook to build a road from Haifa to Nazareth at their own expense – no mean enterprise in those days – on which they transported passengers and goods by carriage.[17] By 1902, the number of carriages owned by members of the colony amounted to around 100. They were responsible for the passenger services from Haifa to Acre, Nazareth and Tiberias. The wheels, lanterns, springs and other items were imported from America, whereas the bodies of the carriages were assembled by German craftsmen in their workshops in Haifa.[18] In the course of time the Germans laid down other roads and improved their services. Their carriages waited at the port whenever a ship was expected and took the travellers to their destinations or to German hotels in the city or on Mount Carmel. After the visit of Kaiser Wilhelm II to Palestine in 1898, almost every carriage driver pretended to visitors that the Kaiser had used his carriage to journey to Jerusalem.[19] The use of carriages now became general. Using the roads built by the Germans, local farmers began to transport their produce from the Plain of Esdraelon to Haifa in carts, thus saving time and money.[20]

The Germans succeeded in every branch of craftsmanship to which they put their hands, as they did in transport. They surpassed the inhabitants of the country as engineers, architects, carpenters, engravers, fitters and turners and as craftsmen generally. It was not only the rich, but also the authorities who used their services when they needed high-quality work. The Germans were the first to use various kinds of machines in their factories, practices that were then adopted by local craftsmen as well.[21] They were the first to open big houses of commerce, European-style. Haifa became an urban centre, where an abundant choice of local and imported products was available in the shops. Local merchants were forced to introduce far-reaching changes in their business methods in order to compete with the Germans. It is no coincidence that Haifa businessmen became famous for their honest dealings.[22]

At first, the majority of the Germans were engaged in agriculture. They had brought with them the necessary knowledge. Now they sent their sons who had been born in the country to study further in Germany. Through the employment of agricultural machines and improved manuring they obtained crops far superior to what was usual at the time. Here too the local farmers, including Jewish settlers, some of whom worked for the Germans as hired labourers, had everything to learn from the advanced methods employed by the Germans. In the first decade of their presence in Haifa, the Germans succeeded especially well with the vine, which they planted on the slopes of Mount Carmel. The wine-making industry developed and became famous, until in the 1880s the vines were attacked by an epidemic of phylloxera, which forced them to destroy the plants. A similar fate befell the Arab vine growers, who covered the more eastern slopes of the mountain with vineyards, sometimes in collaboration with the Germans.[23] The experiment of the Germans with orange-growing near Haifa also failed.[24] They had more success with their olive groves, using the olive oil in the making of soap. From the 1870s onwards in their Struve factory, the first in Haifa, equipped with the most modern machinery, the Germans produced an excellent quality of 'Carmel' soap, exporting a large proportion to the markets of America and Germany. In the 1870s, the Germans erected a large Dutch-style windmill and a dairy, both the first and only ones of their kind in Haifa.[25] In time they gradually moved over from agriculture to commerce and industry for various reasons; the land they owned was not particularly suitable for agriculture. As the town grew, the price of urban plots rose dramatically, which tempted the Germans to buy them up. The opportunities in commerce and industry were greater, so that many

Germans were counted among the rich men of the town. In fact, the second generation of the Templers was less ideologically inspired than their parents.

In the fifty years from the time of their first settlement (1868–1918), the Germans rose to be the dominant element in the economic life of the town. They controlled industry, crafts, commerce, transport and the import and export business.[26] The cleanliness and orderliness of their colony served as a model that the other inhabitants of Haifa imitated when they began to improve this aspect of the quarters in which they lived.[27] When the Ahuzat Ahim Society decided to establish a new Jewish quarter in Haifa in 1908, there was talk of laying down a wide road through the quarter, with an additional five metres on each side where trees could be planted, a plan clearly inspired by the example of the Germans.[28]

With the increasing predominance of a united Germany went an increase in its influence on Turkey, especially after the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Towards the end of the nineteenth century cooperation between the two states intensified so that on the outbreak of the First World War, Turkey entered as an ally of Germany. The presence of hundreds of Germans in Haifa became an issue that obliged the Turkish authorities to make serious efforts to improve their system of administration to avoid arousing adverse public opinion in Europe, and in Germany in particular. The settlers were constantly spurring the authorities on to improve conditions in Haifa, such as roads, security, public services and port facilities – mostly successfully. The control of public transport by the Germans forced the authorities to ensure the safety of travellers on the highways, the absence of which, in the past, had been one of the weaknesses in local administration.[29] In the cultural field, the Germans revealed new horizons to the people of Haifa through the opening of libraries, the founding of musical societies, sporting activities, theatrical circles and so forth, things almost unknown to the country before.[30] Thus the Germans took the place of a government lacking in initiative in promoting the development and progress of Haifa.

The Struggle Between the Germans and the Carmelites

The settlement of the Templers in Haifa from its beginnings provoked a bitter conflict between them and the Carmelites for influence in the town. If we are to believe Hoffmann and Hardegg, the Templers experienced the hostility of the religious even before they came to the town. According to these sources, the Carmelites warned the leaders of the Germans that they should not settle in Haifa and even announced to them openly that they would not succeed in wresting an inch of their land on Mount Carmel.[31] To the misfortune of the Carmelites, the prestige of their protector, France, was eclipsed just at the time when they were most in need of protection, and due precisely to Germany, protector of the Templers. What is more, the influence of Germany with the Sublime Porte was increasing, at the expense of France. The defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1) and the establishment of a unified German

Empire influenced the attitude of the Turkish authorities in favour of the German Colony in Haifa.[32]

At first, the quarrel between the two sides took the form of a dispute over the ownership of land on Mount Carmel. There were exchanges of mutual recrimination, sometimes amounting to blows and armed confrontation. The Carmelites relied on their traditional influence with the town's citizens and local authorities. However, when the conflict went beyond the political plane and Germany threw its weight behind the Templers, the Carmelites had to surrender. In the end, in the last years of Ottoman rule in Haifa, influence in the town was divided between the Germans and the French: the former wielding political and economic power, the latter continuing to maintain religious and cultural supremacy through a wide network of schools and religious institutions.

The hostile relations between Templers and Carmelites, which characterized the life of the town until its capture by the British, centred on a long and bitter struggle over an area of land on Mount Carmel that the Germans looked upon as belonging to the natural zone of development of the town and, more precisely, of their own colony.[33] Since their arrival in Haifa, they considered the mountain – its splendid view and agreeable climate – to be a place destined for the construction plan of villas and vacation centres. For nearly twenty years, the religious held up the execution of the plans of the Germans. The latter only succeeded towards the end of the nineteenth century, when they founded a quarter on the mountain that was not only the most beautiful in Haifa, but even one of the most beautiful in the country. Karmelheim, as it was called, was another of the important contributions of the Germans to the development of the town. Before they settled there, the mountain had been covered with rocks and dense, wild vegetation. There was a path running from the village of Tira to Haifa, via the Ahuza quarter of our days, but there were no roads worthy of the name. Another path ran along the mountainside from the town to the monastery only, following the present Stella Maris Road. Most of the mountain was therefore a wilderness, access to which was rendered difficult by the terrain. The first Germans to settle on the mountain showed no little courage in doing so, but found themselves cut off from the town.[34]

The quarrel between the two sides began in 1870, when the Prussian consul-general in Beirut won over the Turkish authorities to the idea of making the Templers a gift of an area of 12,000 *dunams* (1,200 hectares) on Mount Carmel. On the basis of a promise given by word of mouth, Hardegg, head of the colony, went to Beirut and unrolled his plan for a settlement on the mountain, to include a large rest-house for summer vacationers.[35] When the local authorities in Haifa prepared to put the plan into practice, they found that it involved a transfer of land. They were held up by the Carmelites, who managed to have 'the gift of Carmel' cancelled definitively. A correspondent of the Hebrew *Havazelet* newspaper put it in the following words:

> When he was ordered to hand over Carmel to the Prussians, the Pasha of Acre hurried to carry out the order, going together with Mr Ziphos [the Prussian consular agent in Haifa] to the mountain for the purpose; but the French in the monastery flourished in their faces a deed of

> purchase of the entire mountain which they had obtained in Constantinople . . . They were supported in their claim by the governor of the town, so that they [the Germans] could not do anything about it.[36]

It is easy to image the rage of the Germans, who were already celebrating the gift from the authorities and had even begun to divide up the area between the settlers. They were infuriated to think that a group of lazy monks, prophets of Baal, who pretended to be disciples of Elijah, were preventing the choicest part of the mountain from falling into their hands.[37] After years of opposition, matters came to a head. On 27 January 1885 a group of sixty armed Germans and Muslims began to destroy the boundary wall of the monastery. They did so in spite of the efforts of the religious to prevent them.[38]

The Germans explained their behaviour as an action designed to raise doubts about the legality of the claim to ownership of the mountain by the French. For this reason they had taken the thirty Muslims with them; the local authorities were forced to open an inquiry because Ottoman subjects were involved in the incident. Another cause for the anger of the Germans was the taxes they were called upon to pay for land on Mount Carmel, even though they were unable to exploit it profitably. The land in question had been bought by them from the government and lay outside the area claimed by the Carmelites. However, the Germans had no access road to it, since the intervening land was the property of the religious, who refused to allow the Germans to build a road through it for the passage of their carriages. Some days before the incident took place, the vice-consul of Germany in Haifa, Friedrich ('Fritz') Keller, complained to the German consul-general in Beirut about the matter and obtained permission to raise the problem of ownership of the land claimed by the religious on the mountain. The Templers in Haifa were, therefore, convinced that they had sufficient political support for their plan.[39] As they had foreseen, the religious laid a complaint with the Turkish authorities of the town. The court of justice in Haifa sat in judgement on the issue, while both sides launched a campaign in the newspapers throughout the Christian world, to bring political pressure to bear on the affair.

It was fortunate for the Templers that they had with them in their colony an internationally famous man, Laurence Oliphant. A religious mystic and Christian philosemite, he was all in favour of the Templers, to whom he gave much publicity in the Anglo-Saxon world. Oliphant had acquired his reputation as a member of the British Parliament and as the author of works on his diplomatic missions throughout the world. The Russo-Turkish War (1877–8) drew his attention to Palestine. He thought he could help to cure 'the sick man of the Bosphorus', by developing a Jewish settlement in Palestine financed from abroad. Armed with letters of recommendation from Disraeli and other notable politicians, he set out in 1879 to examine the situation in Palestine, coming to the conclusion that the Land of Gile'ad was the most suitable region for the execution of his plan. The Turkish Cabinet tended to favour the proposal, but Sultan Abdulhamid saw in it an attempt by the British to dispossess him of another prize of his empire. In the early 1880s, Oliphant renewed his effort to interest the Ottoman government in his proposal, but to no effect. In the end he settled in

Haifa, for which he had a special affection and for which he predicted a brilliant future. There he continued to live his mystical life and to preach his ideas. The Ottomans looked upon him with suspicion as a British spy and tried to prevent him from acquiring land in Haifa or in its neighbourhood. Oliphant supported the Jewish colonies, giving them both material and moral support, with the result that the Turks began to cast their suspicions on them as well. From Haifa and Daliat al-Karmil, a Druze village on Mount Carmel where he owned a house, Oliphant wrote of his impressions of life in the town and in the country, and these writings were published in the best newspapers in the world. His house in the German Colony became a place of pilgrimage for many visitors and was included in the travel guide of the time. Even today, his admirers visit the house in Dalia and the tomb of his wife in the German cemetery of Haifa. Oliphant himself died and was buried in England.[40]

With his lively pen Oliphant attacked the fanaticism of the Carmelites, who acted as if the whole of Mount Carmel was their personal reserve. He severely criticized the religious for preventing the Germans from acquiring the land adjacent to their colony, the exploitation of which was vital for the extension of their settlement, all the more so because the religious neither worked it nor even allowed sheep to pasture there. The granting of privileges and the buying of much of the property in Haifa in order to strengthen their hold on the Christian Arab population – the majority of which was, indeed, Catholic – aroused his special disgust. He even roused the German government by writing in one of his articles of May 1885 that Bismarck was not the man to let the injustice being done to the Templers pass in silence, just because political pressure was being brought to the issue by Catholic Europe, especially France.[41]

The Carmelites denied that the mountain had been neglected by them and accused the Templers of invading their agricultural land and stealing the choicest parts from them. For years the Germans were in the habit of chasing off the agricultural labourers who were ploughing on the mountain, overthrowing or displacing boundary stones and taking over paths crossing areas under cultivation by the Carmelites. They used firearms, acts of violence and robbery in order to despoil the monastery of land that had belonged to it for hundreds of years.[42]

The legality of the ownership by the Carmelites of twelve square miles of land on Mount Carmel was the subject of litigation in the magistrate's court of Haifa during the years 1885–6, following the incident described above. While the documents presented by the religious in defence of their claims were being examined, they informed the general of the Order, Jerome-Maria Gotti, of developments and solicited his intervention. Gotti, a man of considerable stature and a future cardinal of the Catholic Church, turned to the secretary of state of the Vatican, the apostolic delegate at Istanbul and the French ambassador at the Sublime Porte, with the request that 'the Grand Visir order the governor of Syria to protect efficaciously our religious, so that the local authorities in Haifa and Acre, who were being manipulated by the Prussians, cease to vex them'.[43]

The judicial inquiry in Haifa was a long-drawn-out affair, the judges shifting their position according to the level of bribes they received. Oliphant wrote (for his readers) that the old documents in the possession of the religious lacked the necessary signatures and that the transfer of land had not been noted in the land register of the town, so that the court at first decided against them.[44] He recounts that the embittered religious lodged an appeal with Istanbul. In addition, they continued their campaign in the Catholic press of Europe, using men of influence, such as the Emperor of Austria, to act in their favour. For their part, the Templers did not remain inactive. Bismarck turned to the pope and the pope asked the general of the Order to go to Haifa to investigate the situation and come to some compromise with the Germans.[45] Gotti tried for forty days to come to an agreement with Friedrich Keller, the German vice-consul at Haifa, spokesman for the Templers, 'who held the fate of the town and the mountain in his hands'.[46] Gotti agreed to hand over a part of the mountain against suitable compensation, on condition that the Germans dropped the legal procedures against the Carmelites. Gotti was probably aware that the documents brought forward by them were insufficient for a court of law. What was more, the prestige of Germany stood higher than that of France at that time, a fact that must have been as evident to Keller as it was to Gotti. Keller therefore cleverly avoided coming to any agreement with Gotti, obliging him to leave the country empty handed. According to Keller, Gotti removed the vicar of the monastery, the sworn enemy of the Germans, from his post before leaving.

While Gotti was at sea on his way back to Europe, Keller presented the religious with an ultimatum: he was prepared to drop all legal proceedings in the high court of justice at Damascus on condition that the land in dispute was handed over to the Templers without compensation, and that the road passing through the Carmelite property to that of the Germans be constructed at their expense. The religious were given forty-eight hours in which to reply, otherwise the appeal would be made immediately. The Carmelites did not reply to the ultimatum and the Templers appealed. This time the local court in Haifa decided in favour of the Carmelites, who were confident that the high court in Damascus would respond similarly, which it did. The Germans appealed against the decision to Istanbul, where – according to the Carmelite version of the affair – the judges were again inclined in favour of them. It was then that the German Kaiser intervened. Keller claimed that Bismarck addressed a vigorous protest to the pope. The Carmelite historian may be exaggerating in claiming that the Kaiser threatened to turn the affair into a *casus belli*, but what is certain is that Gotti sent a telegram in July 1887 ordering the Carmelites to hand over the land in dispute to the Templers in return for the derisory compensation of 7,000 francs. The deed of sale was signed in Beirut in August 1887. The religious wrote a letter of bitter protest to the general of the Order at the humiliation they had suffered, while the Germans celebrated with pomp and splendour 'the new victory of Elijah the prophet over the prophet of Baal'.[47]

In this way, at the end of 1887, Hardegg's old dream of a settlement on Mount Carmel came true. The Turks had not kept their promise of a free gift of land, but in the end the Templers received it almost for nothing, though the expenses connected with the litigation were considerable. In the spring of 1885, a wealthy German nobleman, Hugo von Bannwarth, visited Palestine. On the way from Haifa to Nazareth he collapsed and died. Accompanied by an Arab guide, his shocked widow returned to Haifa, where she was cared for in the German Colony. As a sign of her gratitude, Frau von Bannwarth made a gift to Keller of 30,000 German marks. The Germans intended to use the money for the erection of a rest-house on Mount Carmel. However, as we have seen, just then the quarrel with the Carmelites broke out. They refused to allow the construction of the road leading to the home, so that most of the money of the benefactress went to pay for the expenses incurred in the litigation and the remainder for the payment of compensation. The widow struck up a friendship with members of the colony, especially with the Keller family, and visited the country from time to time. She continued to donate generously towards the settlement on Mount Carmel, convinced that houses could be built there. The Mountain Road on the present Ha'Zionut Avenue, from the corner of Hagefen Street to Hanassi Avenue, leading to the Central Carmel – the part that had been under litigation – was now turned into carriageways at her expense.[48] In the autumn of 1888, Frau von Bannwarth went to live in a tiny two-room cabin that Keller had built a year before for himself as a summer residence. The cabin came to be called by the Arabs Kasr al-Sitt, that is the 'Castle of the Lady'. In time the name came to designate the neighbourhood also, the centre of which was what today is Keller Street in Central Carmel. Here the nucleus of the German settlement on the mountain was founded.[49]

At the end of 1887, the Germans constructed the Mountain Road and began to build the first houses of the new German quarter, Karmelheim. The first building, probably completed in 1890, was the home of Keller, which he built on the site of the cabin mentioned above. After that, the Luftkurhaus was built, the rest-house that Hardegg had conceived twenty years previously. The house remained, as 3 Keller Street, until the early 1960s. In September 1891, according to the Templers' publication , the rest-house had already been inaugurated. Keller, the consul who had taken the lead in the fight for settlement on the mountain, placed himself personally at the service of the guests.[50] A year later, the German Friedrich Pross opened a hotel nearby, which was later sold to Pastor Martin Schneider to provide accommodation for German missionaries and clergymen. The engineer Gottlieb Schumacher later also built his summer house in the vicinity.[51]

At the beginning of the twentieth century the German quarter on Mount Carmel grew with the addition of a dozen new buildings, mostly homes of rich members of the colony. They cleared the ground of stones, planted many trees, especially pines, laid down roads and paths so that, before the outbreak of the First World War, their settlement had become one of the most beautiful and sought-after vacation centres for the wealthy people of the country.[52]

Friedrich Birring, a Swedish Protestant missionary and engineer by profession, was to make an important contribution to the lodging of guests on Mount Carmel. At the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century, Birring imported wooden cabins from Sweden with their furniture and modern equipment, in order to set up a vacation village for tourists. He planned a cableway from the quay at the end of the German Colony to the mountain. Alexander Engelhardt, a Russian of German extraction and capitalist who had settled in Haifa in 1910, intended to invest his money in the project. In 1914, the two bought a large tract of land in West Carmel from the heirs of Keller. They began the levelling of the area and the first shipments of Swedish equipment had begun to reach the port of Haifa when the First World War broke out and upset their plans. Birring, who was suspected by the Turkish authorities of being a British spy, had to flee the country and ceased to make payments to Keller's heirs, who saw the agreement as now being cancelled. Towards the end of the war, when the Germans began to fear for their future in the country, they sold the land to Jews.[53]

By then, the days of the Templers were drawing to their close. For fifty years they had worked hard, though not always in the spirit of the faith that the founders of the community had brought with them to the shores of the Holy Land in 1868. Their efforts to strengthen their position in the town in the first years of their settlement had been necessary in the face of a corrupt Turkish regime. In Germany they had at first been condemned as a sect in which the majority of Germans were unwilling to take pride, a fact which influenced the Ottoman regime against them. The Templers felt the need to publicize the personal favourable attitude towards them of the King of Prussia (Hoffmann's brother Wilhelm was his court chaplain). Since Prussia was the decisive force in Germany before its unification, the Templers appeared to be Prussians, though as a matter of fact there was not a single Prussian among them.[54]

They exploited the visit of every important German personage to Palestine in order to counter the impression of being a forgotten minority. Only slowly did their settlement win appreciation in Germany,[55] perhaps when Hardegg's followers returned to the Evangelical Church. The Templers had to fight on two fronts: for recognition in Germany and for appreciation in the eyes of the local authorities. The appointment of Friedrich Keller as German consular agent in Haifa and, two years later, in July 1878, as vice-consul in Haifa and Acre, served both purposes admirably. A butcher by profession, he arrived in Haifa, as Frances Newton tells us, with one German mark in his purse and a sausage. He quickly became an accepted figure with the imperial court in Berlin, on account of the excellent services he rendered. In Haifa he was the omnipotent 'King of Mount Carmel'. For a long time the Turkish authorities refused to recognize Keller as the official German representative in the town. On 29 November 1877, the German ambassador at Istanbul wrote to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Berlin that he had learnt from a source worthy of confidence that the Sublime Porte refused to recognize Keller. He also refused to grant Germans certificates of ownership over the property they had acquired in Haifa, because of the suspicion the colony in Haifa might grow and claim independence.

Heavy German pressure was brought to bear on the Sublime Porte and on the Turkish ambassador in Berlin, which led to the problem being settled to the satisfaction of the Germans. The solution was facilitated by the political problems of Turkey, then at war with Russia and unable to resist German pressure. The pressure was exerted through the sending of a squadron of German warships to Palestine, with the purpose of protecting the German Colony from the fanaticism of Muslims who had been inflamed by the

Turkish defeats at the hands of the Russians. Violence was expected because the regular Turkish forces stationed in Palestine had been withdrawn and sent to the battlefield. The commander of the squadron took advantage of the situation to pressure the Pasha of Acre, no lover of the Germans, to change his policy. Escorted by his officers, he appeared in the office of the governor of Acre, while four of his warships were anchored off Haifa and a fifth opposite Acre. The threat was sufficient to persuade the governor to adopt an unusually warm attitude towards his unwelcome guests, as the German consul of Jerusalem, present at the meeting, noted. The pasha promised to recognize Keller at once, and, as for the deeds of ownership, he pointed out that it was a matter for Damascus and Istanbul to decide. He promised to send a telegram urging a quick solution to the problem. A few months later the documents were forthcoming.[56] For more than thirty years Keller served the interests of the colony and his country at one and the same time, in his capacity as official representative of Germany with the Turkish authorities. This benefited the Templers greatly. During his time German colonial policy underwent a change. Until the mid-1880s Bismarck was at first opposed to German colonial expansions, but the achievements of France and England in that field led him to change his ideas on the subject, as was expressed at the Congress of Berlin on Africa held in 1884.[57] In consequence, Germany's attitude to the Templer settlements in Palestine altered, as we saw in Bismarck's intervention in the prolonged quarrel over the ownership of Mount Carmel.

The greatest achievement of the colony in the political field occurred at the end of the nineteenth century. On 25 October 1898, a squadron of German ships approached

Haifa, bringing with them the realization of the great dream of the colonists. For the first time in 670 years, a German Kaiser set foot on the soil of the Holy Land.[58] Wilhelm II, considered perhaps the most powerful man of his time, started his stay in the country by a visit to the German Colony of Haifa.[59]

Haifa had never celebrated so solemn an occasion nor such a well-organized one. To facilitate the landing of the Kaiser, the engineer Dr Gottlieb Schumacher, by order of the sultan, built a special quay at the end of the German Colony, 85 metres long and 6 metres broad. A road from Haifa to Jaffa was built, and many other roads were repaired, so that 'the German Kaiser, friend of the Sultan' could move about at ease in the country.[60] When the *Hohenzollern* had anchored off the town, bearing the Kaiser and his suite, the German consul-general of Jerusalem went aboard to welcome the imperial visitors. He was accompanied by Keller and a number of high-ranking Turkish officials. In the afternoon, the suite landed, to the applause of the crowd and the music of a military band. They went up to Mount Carmel to visit the new German quarter there and to enjoy the splendid view of the colony from the mountain. A memorial was later erected at this spot, but it was destroyed shortly after the British conquest of the country in 1918 by the soldiers of Allenby. The Germans had planted a public garden there, known as the Kaiserplatz, and were accustomed to celebrate their festivities in the large forest they had also established.[61] That night there was a fireworks display. The next day a public banquet took place, directed by 'Keller, the skilful', to use a term from the official account of the imperial visit. From Haifa, the imperial couple began their travels in the country, using the carriage of a German, Georg Sus, a member of the colony.

The visit of the Kaiser notably raised the prestige of the German colonies in the eyes of the Turkish authorities and stirred up a movement of sympathy in favour of the settlers. In 1899 a fund was set up for the support of the existing colonies and the foundation of others, while the German government made an annual grant to the school in each of the colonies.[62]

By the end of the nineteenth century the Templers saw their efforts crowned with success. In Germany they had won recognition and appreciation. Their French rivals for influence in Haifa had suffered defeat. The growing friendship between Germany and Turkey gave an assurance of future prosperity. Only towards the end of the First World War was the confidence of the Templers undermined, when it became clear that the Allies were going to win the war. The French sent a man-of-war that bombarded the house of the German consul in Haifa, presaging worse to come. With the approach of the Allied forces, the Germans hastened to sell their lands on Mount Carmel to the Jews, inevitably at a low price.[63]

The Consolidation of the Jewish Community

In the last twenty-five years of Ottoman rule, while the Germans and the Carmelites were struggling for the primacy of influence in Haifa, a new factor took root there. The Jewish community, which had been of little moment until then, began to grow from day to day, so as to fill the Germans with astonishment and the Christian Arabs with envy. At first the Jewish population increased due to an influx of hundreds of Oriental Jews, especially from North Africa and Turkey. It continued with the wave of immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe (the first and second Aliya, 1882–1914), whose influence attained its high point in the foundation of the Hebrew Technical College, which made Haifa the centre of Jewish settlement in the north of the country.

In the 1870s, the Jews constituted one-eighth of the population of Haifa, composed almost entirely of recent immigrants from Istanbul, Izmir, Tetuan and Tangiers. They lived in Harat al-Yahud, the Jewish quarter, in the eastern section of the town. It was the poorest and most backward neighbourhood in Haifa, where most of the Muslims were living. Neither the Muslims, in spite of their numerical supremacy, nor the Jews, who dwelt among them, were able to impose themselves in any way at all. Most of both the Oriental and the East European Jews were small merchants or pedlars who sold their wares in the villages of the vicinity. Some were artisans; well-off families were few in number. Further immigration from Morocco and Turkey took place in the 1870s and afterwards, increasing the numerical strength of the Jewish settlement in Haifa. Relations between Muslims and Oriental Jews were good, and the anti-Jewish incitement by the Arabic newspaper *Al-Karmil* edited by Najib Nassar failed in its purpose. Jewish dignitaries were respected by the local authorities; the authorities won the Jews' confidence and succeeded from time to time in exercising their influence in favour of the Jewish settlement in Haifa. The growth in the Jewish population was in proportion to the general increase in population of the town. Towards the end of Turkish rule, for the first time in Haifa's history, a Jewish representative was appointed to 'the council for Haifa and the neighbouring villages'. The man appointed was Musa Levi, son of the spiritual leader of the Sephardic community, known as the *haham*, Yehuda Levi.

In the 1870s, the foundation was laid for a permanent Ashkenazi community in Haifa. At that time, Jews and Arabs were streaming into Haifa from Tiberias, Safed, Acre, Shefar'am and its vicinity, to share in the prosperity of the town. Among them were some Ashkenazi families, most of whom opened private hotels for the Jews who were arriving in growing numbers at the port of Haifa.[64] Soon these became notorious throughout the Jewish world: a group of Polish Jews in Istanbul, on their way to Palestine, were warned, 'I pity you twenty-three families; you will fall into the hands of robbers, who will strip your skin from off your flesh.'[65] The exploitation of inexperienced immigrants by the innkeepers is a sad chapter in the history of the Ashkenazi settlement in Haifa.

On the eve of the First Aliya the Jewish community of Haifa was therefore more than 1,000 Oriental Jews and a handful of Ashkenazis, packed into the 'Street of the Jews' who, together with their Muslim neighbours, made up the neglected element of the town.[66]

The waves of immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe, especially from Russia, were to change the situation of the Jewish minority radically, strengthening it both quantitatively and qualitatively; from 1,500 souls, in 1900, their numbers rose to 3,000 on the eve of the First World War. The 'immigrants' and the 'Muscovites' were to leave their mark on the physiognomy of the community. The men of the First Aliya (1882–1903) engaged for the most part in agriculture; those who left the settlements found their way to the town.

From the beginning, those of the Second Aliya were more interested in urban settlement and flocked in large numbers to Haifa, where they became the most active element in the promotion of the Jewish minority. The newcomers – intellectuals, workers, businessmen and enthusiastic young people – initiated radical changes in the life of the community.[67] They set up a series of cultural and educational institutions: schools, kindergartens, a library, a workers' club, a musical society, an orchestra. They founded branches of the English-based Ancient Maccabees and of the Association for the Hebrew Language and Culture, which organized lectures and undertook Zionist and socialist activities. The outlook of the younger members and workers was influenced by Russian socialist movements. They were the first in the history of Haifa who, in 1911, celebrated May Day, with workers from the Oriental community taking part as well.[68]

The promotion of the Oriental Jews and the drawing together of the communities were among the principal aims of the new immigrants, though their efforts were never too successful. The 'immigrants', apart from being afflicted by the misery of their Oriental fellow Jews, understood very well that the strengthening of the Jewish position called for the abolition of the separation between Ashkenazis and Sephardis and the concentration of all Jews in one new quarter of the town. The social standing of Oriental Jews had already been improved by the opening of the Alliance School in 1881 and the foundation of the Hadar Ha-Carmel quarter to the east of the town.[69] The Jewish intellectuals from Russia relentlessly attacked the indifference of the Ashkenazis to the lot of their Oriental brethren. The richer Ashkenazis and some well-off Sephardic families lived as boarders in the Templer houses of the German Colony; the other Ashkenazis lived in the western, better-class district of the town. Many of them never penetrated the alleys of the Street of the Jews throughout their lives. Two or three educated Sephardis occupied positions as senior officials in the administration of the Hejaz railway; one was the director of a branch of the Ottoman Bank. They were from European Turkey, and the affairs of the Oriental Jews could not have interested them less. In spite of all that, the first general council of Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews was established, thanks mainly to the initiative of men of the Second Aliya. Young Oriental Jews began to participate in activities organized by the Ashkenazis, and the desire to further their own education was aroused. In 1914, the younger Oriental Jews founded a Society of the Redeemer for the material promotion of their community and the diffusion of the use of the Hebrew language among themselves.[70]

Whatever standing the Jewish settlement possessed in Haifa on the eve of the British conquest was due to the talent, energy and power of adaptation of the men and women of the Aliya from Eastern Europe. The rich among them built factories, the principal one being Atid (later called Shemen), for the manufacture of soap and machines, which employed about 100 local Jews. In the field of commerce they extended their business interests by entering the export and import trade. The Anglo-Palestine Bank (today the National Bank [Leumi] of Israel) opened a branch in Haifa in 1908 and facilitated various financial transactions. It became an important instrument in the development of the urban economy in general and that of the Jewish economy in particular. A great part of the subsidies that Baron Edmond de Rothschild invested in the Jewish colonies of the region ended up in the hands of the Jewish purveyors and workmen of Haifa. The managers of the Jewish colonies in the Plain of Jezreel and the Galilee, officials of Rothschild and, later, the head office of the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA) set up their offices in Haifa, which became the Jewish centre for the north of the country. The Provident Society of German Jews (Ezra) opened a kindergarten in Haifa in 1907, with extensive plans for the future. With help from Rothschild, the first Jewish hospital was opened in Haifa. In 1909, with loans from the Keren Kayemet le-Yisrael (Jewish National Fund) new dwellings were inaugurated in the Herzlia quarter on the slopes of Mount Carmel, between the presentday Herzlia Street and Shabtai Levi Street. For the first time since the arrival of the Germans in 1868, the foundations were laid for a modern residential area, planned as such from the outset.[71]

On 11 April 1912, due to the efforts of Samuel Pevsner and Nahum Wilbusch (Wilbuschewitz), the cornerstone of the principal building of the Technikum (Technical College, today the Technion) was laid. The event had more than local importance. Throughout the Turkish Empire there was not a single technical college to be found worthy of the name.[72] The opening of the Technion of Haifa was to have far-reaching consequences; despite all the influence of the Germans and the Catholics, the pride of Haifa was to be a Jewish institution. One of the motives for the choice of Haifa as the location of the Technion was to ensure the participation of the Jewish community in the development of the town so rich in potential. When the project for the building of the institution became public knowledge, Jews streamed to Haifa. The preparation of the ground and the building operations gave employment to more than 100 Jewish workers from 1910 until the outbreak of the First World War. The newcomers had to be housed, so Jewish institutions bought up land on the present Hadar and on the mountain for this purpose, with more to be held in reserve for future needs. This was done by companies such as Settlement Preparation (Hahsharat ha-Yishuv), the Palestinian Society for Real Estate and the Anglo-Palestine Company, not to mention private Jewish buyers. These efforts continued even during the war. The expulsion of the Carmelites, mostly enemy subjects, at the outbreak of the war and the fears of the Templers for their future in the country assured the success of Jewish efforts. Muslims and Bahais showed similar enthusiasm for the purchase of land, but were outdone by their Jewish competitors. Dr Arthur Ruppin, director of the Palestine office in Jaffa wrote to the headquarters of the Keren Kayemet le-Yisrael in Cologne: 'Haifa is the future port of Palestine; already today [1914] it is the centre for the north of the country of the Arab and Jewish intelligentsia. Our influence in the north of Palestine depends in great measure on our prestige in Haifa.'[73]

In the few years of the twentieth century preceding the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the basis was laid for the later rapid development of the Jewish community in Haifa. Four years after the British conquest of the town, the Jews there numbered 6,230, constituting more than a quarter of the population.[74] The last years of Turkish rule were not easy ones for the Jewish population: the purchase of a plot of land, the building of a house, the obtaining of a permit of residence for a Jewish immigrant all depended on the goodwill of the local authorities. Few rulers were as enlightened as the *kaimakam* appointed over Haifa in 1885, who was accustomed to say: 'Even the Jews are human.'[75] The Jews could turn to nobody to help them overcome the obstacles that the local authorities heaped in the way of every step they took. The methods Jews were obliged to use were not short of cunning at times, such as those employed by the delegates of the powerful Ezra society in order to acquire the extensive plot of land in 1908 used for the building of the Technion, the Re'ali School and its annexes. Two representatives met the governor of Haifa in a small coffeeshop in the town, where they casually mentioned an eccentric German who was anxious to buy land on sacred Mount Carmel. The governor granted them the permit for a *bakshish* of fourteen liras.[76] The men of the Second Aliya exploited every opportunity to further the interests of their community,[77] so that in time they were strong enough to take advantage of the economic resources of the town.

The Turkish survey of the *vilayet* of Beirut, undertaken during the war, underlines the achievements of the Ashkenazis of Haifa. According to the survey, they obtained whatever they wanted through intelligence and obstinacy. Their institutions were efficient, they built large factories, new houses and competed successfully in business with Christians and Muslims. Jewish schools were considered the best in town, their teachers were well paid, medical attention was granted free, their housing conditions were comfortable, the officials employed in their organizations carried out their duties faithfully, and so the report goes on. On the eve of the First World War, the Jewish community of Haifa was well-established and well-organized and second only to the Templers from a cultural, social and economic point of view.[78]

The Hejaz Railway and the Port

For four centuries, the Sublime Porte manifested an almost total indifference to the progress of Palestine, but in 1905 it made amends for its negligence as far as Haifa was concerned. The Ottomans initiated a railway service that connected the town with Der'a in Transjordan. The Hejaz railway was to pass through Der'a; it was one of the longest and most important communication arteries of the empire, linking Damascus with Medina and Mecca.[79] The length of the railway line from Damascus to Medina was 1,303 kilometres, and Haifa served as its outlet on the Mediterranean, which was why a secondary line had to be built from Der'a to Haifa, adding a further 160.9 kilometres. The new section carried the immense quantities of equipment needed for the building of the new railway. It carried Muslim pilgrims, who came by sea to Haifa on their way to Medina, and served to transport produce from the fertile Hauran to the port of Haifa. The movement around the port suddenly became intense as never before. The administration of the entire railway project was situated in Haifa, where huge workshops were installed for the service of the railway. Thousands of people, inhabitants of Palestine or of the neighbouring regions, flocked to the town, attracted by plentiful offers of work connected with the railway and the services associated with it. Haifa became ever more prosperous. The Hejaz railway became the major factor in the development of the town.

A proposal to link Haifa with Mesopotamia by a railway line had first been put forward in the beginning of the 1870s.[80] In 1880, Oliphant proposed a railway from Haifa through Acre to Damascus, a proposal taken up by the Sursuk family of Beirut, who obtained a permit for the purpose. The plans were prepared by the Templer engineer Gottlieb Schumacher of Haifa, but they had to be abandoned for lack of funds.[81] Ten years later the foundation stone of the railway line was laid. A Hebrew newspaper reported:

> Madame Philling, wife of the head of the society for the construction of the railway line laid the foundation stone in the presence of the regional commissioner, government officials and a crowd of fifteen thousand people, gathered for the occasion. It was followed by a banquet offered by the directors of the building company to ministers of the government and the notables of the town and its surroundings.[82]

The British company Philling and the engineer Yussuf Elias, formerly employed by the Turkish government, had received the necessary permit in 1890 for the construction of the Haifa–Damascus railway line, yet the foundation stone was only laid in Haifa in 1892. The delay was due to French rivals, who ran a carriage service from Beirut to Damascus and feared that their clients would prefer to journey by the new railway. The French group that was engaged at the time in the building of a port at Beirut protested vigorously to the government in Istanbul and brought pressure to bear on the Sublime Porte through influential circles. They argued that the new railway would cause the destruction of the economy of Beirut. At the same time they put forward a request for a permit to build an alternative railway line from Beirut to Damascus. They indeed succeeded in building their railway line, taking it as far as Muzerib, a little to the north of Der'a in Transjordania, before the British company in Haifa had got beyond the initial phase of its own project. In this way, the French captured the transport of produce from the Hauran for Beirut, to the disadvantage of Haifa and Acre. With the completion of the Haifa–Damascus line, Haifa and Acre recovered their share in the exports from the Hauran. As opposed to the French line, this one was the property of the Turkish government, into whose coffers the profits poured, so it was in the interest of the government to encourage its use to the maximum. What is more, the tariffs for the transport of merchandise and passengers and the port dues were significantly lower at Haifa than those the French company demanded at Beirut. Whereas the Hejaz line was financed by voluntary contributions and indirect taxation, the French were burdened with debts and the need to pay interest on loans they had taken out, all of which led them to demand higher prices for their services. Topographical conditions rendered the construction of the Beirut–Damascus line and its upkeep more difficult, and increased the outlay. Mount Lebanon and the Anti-

Lebanon Mountains formed serious obstacles that the French engineers had to overcome, and they called for more investment. The company had to resort to railway carriages running on toothed wheels, a system both slow and expensive. On the other hand, the advantage of the French line lay, of course, in the proximity of Beirut to Damascus – 143 kilometres – whereas the Haifa–Der'a–Damascus line was 286 kilometres, twice as long.[83]

On 1 May 1900, Sultan Abdulhamid announced his intention of building a railway for use by Muslim pilgrims travelling to Medina and Mecca. He launched an appeal to Muslims throughout the world to donate money for this sacred purpose, an appeal to which he received a response beyond his expectations. The donations, large and small, that streamed into the fund proved sufficient to finance most of the project. The rest was obtained through the sale of special revenue and postage stamps, and 'donations' deducted from the salaries of state employees. The sultan's success in mobilizing capital for the project moved the European states to adopt a less sceptical attitude to his ambitious plan. What is more, the Turks demonstrated by the rapid and competent construction of the line that they had not lost their energy. They worked under difficult conditions in a desolate region, where water was not available and the distance from the source of supplies was great. The sultan took a personal interest in the work, seeing in it one of the great enterprises of his reign and being desirous of proving that it could be undertaken with success. The technical management of the work was given to a German engineer, Heinrich Meissner, who was aided in turn by a team of foreign engineers. The project advanced with surprising rapidity. Civilian workers and Turkish soldiers (the latter amounting at times to 10,000 men) completed the Damascus–Der'a stretch by 1 September 1903 and the Der'a–Haifa stretch by 15 October 1905. Thus the inauguration of the line up to Medina could take place on 1 September 1908, and the total length of the line was 1,464 kilometres, if the secondary Haifa–Der'a branch line was included. The delay in completing the relatively short stretch from Haifa to Der'a at the end of 1905 was due to an attempt by the Turks to buy the French line from Damascus to Muzarib, which would have saved them the expense of constructing a parallel line from Damascus to Der'a. The negotiations broke down. The management of the Turkish company thereupon decided to render themselves independent of the French railway line, including the stretch from Damascus to Beirut, a decision that required a different terminal on the coast. In this way, Haifa entered the picture. The administration of the Hejaz railway bought the former British concession, which included 8 kilometres of railway track along the Haifa–Damascus line that had been completed in 1902 after ten years of inefficient management. In April 1903, the Hejaz railway administration began work on the connection between Haifa and the main artery. The distance to be covered was 160.9 kilometres; the number of bridges to be constructed was 141 and eight tunnels were to be dug in the Yarmuk Valley. The work on the section took two and a half years, no mean feat. The Hejaz railway line was a narrow-gauge line of 105 centimetres, which was easy to lay down. From now on all the equipment required for the construction of the main artery was transported through the port of Haifa, resulting in great savings since there were no more payments to make to the French for the use of their Beirut–Damascus line.[84]

From 1903 the pressure on the sendees of the port of Haifa became intolerable. There was the transit of equipment, heavy and light, for the railway. There was an increase in passenger traffic and a growth in exports and imports of produce to handle. At the end of the 1850s, as already mentioned, the Russians had built a 30-metre stone quay, the approach to which had since become silted up with sand. In 1886, Schumacher extended it by a construction of columns and iron bars in the form of a bridge for the anchorage of ships, which allowed water to stream through and so prevent the sand accumulating. The breakwater extended 53 metres into the sea and was the pride of the town, but by now it had become inadequate for the increased needs of the port. In 1905, the local authorities began the construction of a new port with the help of a steamship acquired for the purpose. Two years later the sultan ordered Meissner Pasha, the chief engineer of the Hejaz railway line and its technical administrator, to draw up plans for a port that would outshine the port of Beirut. Meissner examined the situation and came to the conclusion that the administration of the railway line could not bear the financial burden of executing its own project and build a port at the same time. As a temporary solution, it was decided to build an 800-metre breakwater, twice the length of the one that had already been constructed. It was proposed to incline the end so as to offer more protection against the winds for the small boats that were still used because of the shallow waters to ferry loads from ships to the shore. However, even this plan was never put into practice. Again and again its execution was put off. Examination of a map by Schumacher from 1911 and another by British engineers shortly after the British capture of Haifa shows that the work of lengthening the breakwater had not progressed. So it came about that at the end of the Ottoman period two breakwaters were in use in Haifa, the old one or the 'Lloyd' breakwater – named after the Austrian maritime company of that name – and the new breakwater belonging to the railway line. In bad weather it was possible, at a price, to discharge both passengers and imports at the safer mole of the railway. The German 'Kaiser's Quay' of 1898 (at the end of the colony) was now used for bathing purposes only.[85]

In 1914, the plan for a large port came up for discussion once again. A French company put in a request for the permit of construction, but this, finally, was accorded to the Hejaz railway company. The outbreak of the First World War caused the project to be suspended, until the British took it up again under their mandate.[86]

The Hejaz railway was of great value to the Turks in general and to Haifa in particular. Sultan Abdulhamid had achieved what seemed to be an impossible task. The railway line was considered to be 'without a doubt the greatest political achievement in a long time' for the Turks.[87] It strengthened his standing as caliph and protector of the interests of millions of Muslim believers throughout the world. From 1908, Muslim pilgrims could reach Medina from Damascus in five days on the 'Sultan's donkey', as the Bedouins dubbed it, instead of five weeks; they could travel safely and inexpensively, and far more comfortably. Furthermore, the railway line made possible the rapid transfer of troops to the Arabian Peninsula, where Britain was extending its influence from the bay of Aden northwards. However, there were some who suspected that the project was a clever manoeuvre of the British, by which they hoped to promote their own interests in Arabia.[88]

Vice-consul Keller reported in 1903 to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the notable growth of the population of Haifa following the inauguration of the Haifa–Der'a railway section. Labourers flocked to the town to answer the demand for workers, from both Palestine and the neighbouring provinces in Syria and Lebanon. Between 1903 and 1908, the railway was the chief employer in Haifa. The nature of the terrain between Haifa and Der'a required a large number of manual labourers and the employment of special materials, so that the cost per kilometre on that section was 40 per cent higher than on the main Damascus–Medina artery.[89] In the same way, the port of Haifa became an employer on a large scale. Between 1903 and 1905, special hydraulic cranes were used to unload the material imported for the construction of the railway. Sleepers and iron railway tracks, totalling on average 16,000 tons a year, were imported mainly from Belgium. In 1906, 30,000 tons of coal were brought from England, not to mention railway wagons and parts of all kinds from various European countries. In 1903, when the work began, imports to Haifa rose by 85 per cent compared with the previous year. Heavy equipment arrived, such as dozens of locomotives, passenger carriages – mainly from Germany – and hundreds of freight-wagons from Belgium. Haifa became the port of transit for the equipment required to build the main artery to Medina.[90] Since Haifa had become the centre for the ordering of the equipment required for the construction of the entire railway line, its storage and subsequent distribution, it was decided to locate the office of the general administration of the Hejaz railway in the town. The principal workshops for repairs and sendees were set up in Haifa and Damascus. The port, the railway administration and the workshops gave employment to hundreds of workers and officials, and indirect subsistence to thousands of persons who also benefited from the existence of the railway. Entrepreneurs, craftsmen and local purveyors of services of various kinds, for example, owed a debt of gratitude to the railway. The Arabs nicknamed Haifa 'the mother of work' in virtue of the possibilities offered by the railway, and its fame as a prosperous city grew.[91]

The big merchants of Haifa also did well out of the railway. The line from Der'a was extended to Bosra in the Hauran not far off, allowing the transport of the produce from this fertile region to Haifa, where it could be exported abroad. The export of Hauran wheat had for a long time been the principal element in the commerce of Acre and Haifa. Until 1905, Acre maintained a slight lead over Haifa in global exports, in spite of the constant loss of markets in favour of the latter. In 1906, after the opening of the line to Der'a, the situation changed progressively in favour of Haifa. Haifa was now the main outlet for a vast hinterland, which included Syria, Transjordan and Arabia down to Medina. European merchants began to reveal a new interest in Haifa. Retail merchants, craftsmen, builders, industrialists and real estate agents all received some benefit from the chain reaction catalysed by the presence of the railway. Small traders and hotel-keepers, everyone engaged in 'the tourist industry' – to use a phrase from Löytved Hardegg – profited from the transit of tens of thousands of Muslim pilgrims passing through the town on their way to Medina and Mecca.[92] New factories, such as the Jewish Atid plant already mentioned, opened in Haifa, on account of the facilities for export offered by the port and the railway. The rapid growth in population from 1903 led to an increase in the building of houses and business premises, though the demand always outran what was on offer. The price of land rocketed. Without a doubt, Haifa was on the road to prosperity.[93] The opening of the Hejaz railway terminal at Haifa dealt a harsh blow to Acre. The natural advantages of Haifa, the Templer settlement, the progressive Christian element and the influential Jewish factor eclipsed the old capital of the region with its mostly Muslim population, in spite of its proud past. For reasons of defence, building outside the walls of Acre had been restricted until 1910, when some improvements took place. A Hebrew newspaper reports:

> throughout its history, our city has been protected by a wall and gates; a recent decree of the Sublime Porte orders the wall to be dismantled. This very week, work has begun on two openings for a road [to pass through the wall]. A *dunam* of land outside the wall will be sold to anyone who wishes to build a house and work fields there. Soon a further order is expected to unite Haifa and our town by a railway line.[94]

The line was inaugurated four years later, but came too late to save Acre. Its population decreased and with it went its political and economic significance. Only a few steamships chose to dock there. What remained were the many Nile boats that in the summertime loaded the harvest of melons from the rich plain of Acre. The British, who conquered the country four years later, turned their attention to Haifa rather than to Acre, which even from a military point of view had by now ceased to be a factor of importance.[95]

5

Haifa at the End of Turkish Rule

The Town

On the eve of the First World War and at the end of four hundred years of Ottoman rule in Palestine the standing of Haifa as the principal port city of north Palestine was assured, while its population numbered more than 20,000 and was constantly on the increase. The import–export commerce was growing, as was the number of travellers passing through the port and using the railway. The European minority gave it a marked cosmopolitan character. The network of schools, mostly Catholic, ensured a high standard of education for a large number of its citizens – higher than the average for the country. These schools diffused the French language and culture, whereas the Templers tried to strengthen German cultural influence in the town. The Jews also wished to play their part in the future of 'German Haifa' or the 'town of the [French] monks', as it was sometimes called. The boundaries of the town spread to the east, to the west, up the slopes of the mountain and to the south, new housing centres springing up everywhere. They even reached as far as ancient Haifa, which was swallowed up in the new town.

In February 1919, the British Royal Engineers completed their mapping of Haifa; the original trapezoid that Dahar al-Umar had surrounded by a wall in the 1760s was now only a small section of a much larger area. The inhabited area stretched for four kilometres, from Wadi Rushmia and Ard al-Yahud in the south-east to Ard al-Zauwara (Bat-Galim, today) in the north-west. On the southern boundary were the Technion and the school of the Sisters of Nazareth, both on the slope of the mountain. There were a few residents in what today is called Upper Hadar Ha-Carmel and even along Yefe Nof Road and around the present Central Carmel. The boundary between the Muslim and Christian quarters of Haifa cut across the old town from north to south. The eastern side of town was peopled with Muslims and Oriental Jews; the west was inhabited by Christians, Ashkenazi Jews and Germans.[1] The streets had not yet been named, except for those in the German Colony. The principal street, Jaffa Road, was still the original one uniting the two gates of the town. In the 1880s, the Germans laid down a road leading from their colony to the western gate and maintained a network of roads throughout the colony. They were responsible for ‘the mountain way’, today Hagefen Street, Ha’Zionut Avenue, and Hanassi Avenue. In 1890, shortly before the turn of the century, the Carmelites laid the ‘way to the monastery’ (Stella Maris Road), up the mountainside to the terrace above. In 1885, Gottlieb Schumacher was appointed engineer for the district (*liwa*) of Acre with instructions to improve the conditions of road transport. The Ministry of Public Works in Istanbul undertook a special census of the population for this purpose, imposing a corvée of four days a year on all males between the ages of sixteen and sixty, or a payment for their exemption. The *vali* came to Haifa to supervise the carrying out of the instructions, and thus the main roads to Haifa were improved, and those of the town widened for the passage of carriages.[2]

The improvement and widening of the roads in and around the city resulted in better security for travellers. As far back as 1882, Oliphant remarked that the Muslims of Tira no longer constituted a threat to those journeying by night. The Germans played a great role in obtaining safer conditions for wayfarers from the local authorities, refusing to condone their apathy in this field. Any and every attack on a German provoked immediate angry complaints, the active intervention of the German consular representatives and reproachful articles in the German press about the weak handling of the situation by the Turkish authorities. All this induced the latter to finally tackle the problem more energetically. We recall that many Germans were engaged in the transport of tourists, pilgrims and local travellers to Acre, Nazareth and Tiberias, which made them very sensitive to the matter of public security on the highways. In one incident, a villager from Tira was found shot dead in a vineyard belonging to Germans that he had infiltrated with the intention of stealing. In revenge, Fritz Unger, a Templer from Haifa, was beaten to death next day. The settlers reacted by sending 'almost fifty-two telegrams to the King of Germany, to the Minister of Justice, to the House of Representatives in Berlin, to the German ambassador in Istanbul and to the consul-general in Beirut'.[3] The *vali* of Beirut and the *mutasarrif* (governor) of Acre came to Haifa to conduct an inquiry into the incident. Local inhabitants, the victims of theft and robbery, even those without the direct support of the Templers, benefited from the more energetic investigation of crimes and the heavier punishments inflicted.[4]

The authorities then turned to the improvement of other services in the town. The scenes described by Walker in the 1870s: narrow dirty lanes, heaps of refuse that no one troubled to remove, shops that were no more than holes in the wall, filthy coffeeshops, overburdened animals exploited without mercy, rabid dogs, children suffering from trachoma and other sicknesses had not disappeared altogether, though some things had changed for the better. From now on, travellers received a better impression, though the locals continued to have reason for complaint. The streets were dirty. The donkeys were overloaded with refuse that scattered in the streets. Half of their load was lost on their way to the beach, where the waves later returned the other half. Intolerable smells came from the Muslim quarter, where passers-by were in danger of being drenched by buckets of dirty water thrown out of the windows of upper storeys. Maybe the local citizens exaggerated in order to bring pressure to bear on the authorities for more action. The tourists tended to note an improvement, especially in contrast with other Oriental cities. Some even went as far as to praise Haifa for being the cleanest of the towns in the country.[5]

The role of the local authorities in bringing about improvements was small. However, in the last years of Turkish rule, one has to recognize that Istanbul sent qualified officials to manage the affairs of Haifa, and that they carried out their functions more effectively. The Hebrew newspaper *Havazelet* reports for 21 May 1885:

> Some months ago, new officials worthy of our great sultan arrived in our town, eager to see justice done, for whom civilization is a light to their feet . . . Since the coming of the new kaimakam, governor of the city [to Haifa], he has set himself to better the conditions of the town and its inhabitants; we are too poor in words to recount even a small part of his many good works . . .

The administration of the *kaimakam* and his group of assistants was still located in the old seraglio, the fort erected by Dahar al-Umar near the side of the wall facing the sea. Departments were established to handle public affairs, such as education, agriculture, shipping and commerce, though they turned out to be less effective than had been hoped. More influence was granted to the regional council of Haifa, some of whose members were representatives of inhabitants. There was a notable improvement in public services because more money was entering the coffers of the municipality as a consequence of the settlement of the Templers and the opening of the railway. Haifa now had talented mayors from the families al-Halil and Shuqri, connected by marriage and respected by the public.[6] Municipal inspectors and workers appeared in the streets, an unheard of sight in the 1870s. The old market was cleaned of the refuse of generations and properly paved. Lanterns were placed along the streets of the town to illuminate them at night. Municipal inspectors took care to remove wares that shop owners placed in front of their shops if they blocked the passage of pedestrians. Streets were cleaned daily and sewage disposed of. Care was taken to ensure that buildings were put up in compliance with the permits granted, or they were destroyed. Out of the budget – which amounted to 300,000 piastres for 1909/10 – money was now even allocated for decorating the town.[7]

The hygienic conditions in houses and the ensuring of adequate sanitation were more difficult to handle successfully. The municipality built a large abattoir to the east of the town, hired two doctors and a sanitary inspector. These means, however, still left the town helpless in hours of emergency, such as the cholera epidemic that swept through it in 1911. All the municipality could do then was to spread lime in the streets and use porters to carry away the corpses. When a case was reported, the municipal officials concerned hurried along to lock up the house and bar the windows with slats, shutting up sick and healthy inside, with the latter in danger of contracting the disease. Food was passed through a hatch to those inside if someone could be found to spare a thought for them. So great was the fear engendered by such treatment that people preferred not to call in the doctor. Cases came to the attention of the municipality by the denunciation of neighbours. Many fled to Mount Carmel, preferring to live in tents until the danger had passed. The spread of the epidemic was halted by the inhabitants who organized measures on a community basis in order to prevent a catastrophe occurring. Funds were collected to buy medicines, to pay for private medical treatment and the disinfection of homes. The Templers, who used intensive means of control, did not lose a man. The number of victims among Ashkenazi Jews and Arab Christians living in the better-off western quarters of the town was small.

The eastern quarters, densely packed with Muslims and Oriental Jews, suffered the most.[8]

The Turkish report prepared for the *vilayet* of Beirut during the First World War concluded its chapter on Haifa with the remark: 'We have seen no town more beautiful than Haifa.' It was not the town engineer, but Jacob Schumacher – the autodidact architect, father of the well-known Gottlieb Schumacher – who had planned the Templer Colony, the pride of Haifa. On the eve of the First World War, it already occupied a quarter of the area of the town and was responsible, in great part, for the good reputation of the town for cleanliness and order. The Templers saw to its hygiene and security themselves and maintained German schools in which their children were educated. Christian and Jewish children were taught in the educational institutions of their respective communities, not in those run by the government, where the level was quite low. Austrian, French and Russian postal services assured the expeditious dispatch and delivery of letters, whereas a Turkish postal employee, unable to read the names himself, would spread the letters out in front of the mosque and let all comers scratch around freely in the heap in the hope of finding their own.[9] There were three hospitals in the town, one German, one English and one Jewish. The municipal doctors busied themselves mainly with administrative work and did almost nothing to bring down the high rates of mortality that afflicted the Muslim section of the population especially.[10]

In summary, until the end of Turkish rule, most of the public services in the town were supplied not by the state or municipality, but by the local inhabitants themselves or foreign institutions.

The Population

The German settlement in Haifa, the opening of the Hejaz railway terminal and the improved port facilities led to a notable increase in population, as already pointed out. In the last fifty years of Ottoman rule it grew by six times, more than in any other town in Palestine. In October 1868, Hoffmann, the founder of the Temple Society, newly arrived in Haifa, had written to the Templers in Württemberg that the population of the town numbered 4,000; in 1911 the German vice-consul reported that the number was 20,000. These figures were rough but reliable estimates. A census took place in 1886 in view of the conscription of men for the corvée on the roads. At that time, the engineer Gottlieb Schumacher also organized a census of inhabitants for the *liwa* of Acre that, though far from being comprehensive, represented a measure of progress on the traditional 'Registers of Souls' of the Ottomans. The figures probably fell short of the existing reality on account of the traditional resistance of the Arabs, who feared that a census would mean more taxation or military conscription. Gottlieb Schumacher reports that the Jews were especially successful in avoiding the count. According to Schumacher's census, there were 9,800 inhabitants in Acre in 1886, excluding soldiers, whereas there were only 7,165 in Haifa. The latter were distributed according to their religious and national affiliations as given in Table 1.[11]

Additional censuses never told the whole story about the growth in population but rather created a gap which deepened with time, so that the official number of 1886

Table 1: Population of Haifa in 1886

Native population	*Families*
Muslims	605
Greek-Catholics	393
Greek Orthodox	129
Maronites	70
Latins	42
Jews	35
Protestants	6
Total	**1,280**
	(6,400 persons)

Foreign subjects (including Jews)	*Families*
German	66
French	35
Austro-Hungarian	15
Spanish	15
American	10
English	8
Dutch	4
Total	**153**
	(765 persons)

was not even a half of the real number. This fact was known to the central authorities, who prepared for a new census using up-to-date methods, which was due to take place in the summer of 1914; but the outbreak of War prevented its execution. Within a margin of error of 10 percent, the rise in population for Haifa can be summarized as in Table 2.

Table 2: Population growth in Haifa, 1868–1914

1868	3,500–4,000
1882	5,500–6,000
1886	7,500
1890	8,500
1902	11,000–12,000
1905	15,000
1909	18,000
1911	20,000
1914	22,000–23,000

The official estimate was 10,447.[12] The data at our disposal do not permit reliable distribution of these figures according to community affiliation. At all events, during the period under discussion, more than 80 percent of the population were Arabs. In the first phase of the period the Christians were in the majority; but the Muslims overtook them from the time of the opening of the Hejaz railway-line.[13]

The last four years of Ottoman rule were those of the war (1914–18). The number of inhabitants in the city fell by a third for many reasons: the flight and exclusion of foreigners, who were subjects of the enemy powers; the death of some in battle or through hunger and the epidemics which ravaged the town; the emigration of men eligible for military service and many families because of the economic depression. On 23 October 1922, the British took the first real census which yielded the following data: 24,634 persons, divided as follows:

Muslims	9,377
Christians	8,863
Jews	6,230
Bahais	152
Druzes	12
Total	24,634

The striking change revealed by the British census was the doubling in the number of Jews in the first four years of British rule. The relative proportions of Muslims and Christians underwent almost no change.[14]

At the end of the period of Turkish rule, the population of Haifa was divided into four main categories: Muslims, Arab Christians, Jews and Germans. Though the Muslims numbered more than 40 per cent of the total, their status was low compared with the other groups. There were a few dozen wealthy Muslim families, permanently at loggerheads with one another and doing little to help their community. Most of the Muslims were newcomers to Haifa, who had arrived in the preceding twenty-five years from different places, without forming themselves into an organized bloc. Most worked as unskilled labourers or artisans, mainly at the port, in ships and fishing. A small number entered commerce. After the revolution of the Young Turks in 1908, the local Muslim Brotherhood Society was set up, a theatre and other activities were organized, only to collapse one after the other. The standard of education in the three Muslim schools was low, and most Muslims did not learn to read or write. A few sent their children to be educated in the foreign schools in the western part of the town, and some improvement occurred when Miss Newton opened a school in the eastern part of the city. Some Muslim children were even educated in the Jewish schools of the Alliance.[15]

In contrast to the Muslims, the Arab Christian community made rapid progress, helped by the growing number of educational institutions at its disposal. The biggest school, with a boarding school attached, was that of the Frères (the Congregation of the Christian Brothers of St John de la Salle), which opened in 1882. The French Carmelite Sisters of St Joseph opened their school in 1910; the Italian Carmelite Sisters had begun working in Haifa in 1907; the Dames de Nazareth arrived in Haifa in 1858 and opened their splendid school-building on the eve of the First World War. In addition, there were the schools of the Sisters of Charity and of the German Sisters of St Charles Borromeo. The Anglican school was directed by Miss Newton. The new English Jerusalem and Eastern Mission also had its school, and the Russians had one for Greek Orthodox children.[16]

These schools, housed in some of the finest buildings in town, were attended by thousands of Christian children from Haifa. In the Catholic schools, which were the majority, 80 per cent of the pupils studied French. Subsidized from abroad, mostly from France, the schools were able to offer poorer children the possibility of acquiring a good education and even of being taken in as boarders. On leaving school, Christian children found ready employment in commerce, wholesale and retail, and in the export and import trade. They became skilled workers in all branches of the building profession; their workshops were at a higher level of professional competence than those of the Muslims. Christians were employed in the administration, in customs and other government departments. Since the majority of the wealthy men in the town were Arab Christians, their influence in municipal affairs grew. Some acquired French nationality in one way or another and enjoyed the additional protection of the French consul. The behaviour of the Christians in private and in public was in general more dignified than that of the Muslims, and they soon constituted the principal Arab intelligentsia of Haifa. They owned printing presses and published two newspapers, *Al-Karmil* and *Anafir*. Since the 1870s, when the Englishman Walker had declared all three communities – Muslims, Christians and Jews – to be little better than primal savages, claiming that they were ignoramuses and that one couldn't find one single bookshop in their town, the Christians had made quite considerable progress. Thus the efforts of the Carmelites over generations in the development of the community bore fruit: Haifa clearly carried the stamp of a Christian town, with its abundance of monasteries, Christian hostels for pilgrims, churches, the schools previously mentioned and various missions. In 1892, the cloistered Discalced Carmelite Nuns inaugurated their monastery, modelled on that of the Carmelite Fathers on the mountain. The Franciscans opened a hostel for pilgrims in the southern part of the old city. In addition to their school, the German Sisters of St Borromeo opened two pilgrim hospices, one in town in 1894 and another on Mount Carmel in 1904; together with their extensive grounds, these constituted two impressive institutions. A German Evangelical Society bought a large area on Mount Carmel (opposite today's Mother's Garden), where it erected a series of houses, together with the Karmelheim for German clergymen on the crest, visible from afar. The Russian Church, in addition to its former holdings in the town, built a new church and a hospice on Mount Carmel. In 1899, the Anglicans opened their pleasant Church of St Luke, prior to which the Maronites had built a parish church with contributions from the Khouri family. In addition, the Christians had at their disposal the churches built before 1870. That of the Carmelites (now in Paris Square), was perhaps the most splendid of them all. On account of the long list of educational and religious institutions we have mentioned – which is not exhaustive – Haifa came to be known as ‘the city of the monks’. In contrast, mosques were few, and only one was worthy of the name; the Jewish synagogues were modest, too. The building and maintenance of so many institutions offered an abundance of opportunities for employment to builders, artisans, gardeners, and other skilled workers of the Christian community.[17]

We have already discussed at some length the standing of the Germans and the Jews in the town. Where the Templers were concerned, the growth of their community did not keep up with the growth of the total population. Towards the end of the period the Templer population fell to 2.5 per cent of the inhabitants, a mere 550 out of 23,000, though their economic and political influence was at its highest. For many, Haifa was also the ‘city of the Germans’. The proportion of the wealthy among them outstripped that of any of the other categories. They were unrivalled in commerce, industry and craftsmanship; but they could not prevent the domination of the town by French culture and language. The Templers took hardly any part in educational missionary work. As Turkish rule neared its close, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Germany drew up a plan to use the German Colony in Haifa as a means of spreading German culture. In 1913, the German consul in Haifa answered the diplomatic initiative of the German ambassador in Istanbul by saying that the first consideration should be to establish a network of German schools in the region. In Haifa, Catholics predominated, so it was natural that they should control the schools. The consul founded his hopes on the approaching inauguration of the Judaeo-German Technion, where the teaching was to be in German, thus obliging students – Turks, Muslims and Christians included – to learn the language. The First World War and its consequences dissipated these hopes and the plans to transfer the spiritual influence of the French into German hands.[18]

As for the Jews, we have dealt with the way in which they strengthened their standing in the town in the decade before the war. They displayed their energy and initiative by their achievements in commerce and industry, in the opening of the Technion, in the buying-up of land in the town and on the mountain. The newspaper *Al-Karmil* reported that the Jews had far-reaching plans to displace the Arabs. The editor was an Arab Christian, a Greek Orthodox, Najib Nassar. He had been employed in Galilee in the service of Baron de Rothschild, from whose employment he had been dismissed, to his great indignation. In 1909, he founded the paper *Al-Karmil* in Haifa, which he used to attack Jews whenever possible. The newspaper was supported financially by Fuad Sa'ad, another Christian Arab, and a well-established grain and oil merchant. Miss Newton was one of the supporters of Nassar. *Al-Karmil* had a great influence on the Christian Arab community, especially among the Christian merchants, for whom the

Jewish merchants were rivals who took away their clients by selling at cheaper prices. Nassar's call for a total boycott of Jews – not to buy from them, not to sell to them, not to lease houses to them – failed in its purpose. Where *Al-Karmil* did succeed was in its harmful influence on the relations between Christians and Jews. On descending at the port of Haifa, Jews were often met with angry looks and reproached for coming 'to conquer the country'. Efforts were made to use legal action to put a stop to the defamation and incitement for which the newspaper was responsible, but to no avail. Hayyim Nahum the *haham bashi* (chief rabbi) of the Turkish Empire complained to the Minister of the Interior at Istanbul, as a result of which Nassar was charged with calumny, but the magistrate's court of Haifa found him 'not guilty', to the annoyance of the Jews.

Nassar also succeeded in exercising damaging influence on the local authorities. Like many others, they began to fear becoming the object of attacks in his newspaper.[19] He threatened to denounce them to Istanbul for negligence, as a consequence of which they became more careful about granting residential permits to Jewish immigrants, who arrived with tourist visas valid for a short stay only. *Al-Karmil* also managed to delay the erection of the Technion for several years. The laying of the foundation stone was put off repeatedly on the excuse that local authorities had no right to issue a building permit on the land proposed for the building. Paul Nathan, acting on behalf of Ezra, had to persuade the German government to intervene with the Turkish government in Istanbul. *Al-Karmil* was famous beyond the borders of Palestine: newspapers in Syria began to quote its articles and the central Zionist institutions abroad became anxious about its damaging influence.[20]

The Jews found an unexpected ally in their struggle against Nassar in the summer of 1910. In the wake of the tension provoked by the murder of Fritz Unger, *Al-Karmil* accused the Templers of exploiting the fear of the local authorities to obtain land in violation of the law. The wave of hatred directed against the Templers aroused the German government to react energetically. A German warship was sent to Haifa as an expression of the attitude of the German government to the affair. In 1913, the Germans even helped the Jews to finance *Anafir*, the newspaper published in Haifa to counteract Nassar's propaganda. In other places, too, Jews, together with other foreigners, were victims of outbursts by local Arabs, but the hatred was especially noticeable in Haifa, because of the ideological character given to it by Nassar. Still, Nassar's influence should not be exaggerated. His quarrelsome character created a long line of enemies for him, and not only among Jews. His newspaper encountered difficulties and its publication was frequently interrupted for long periods, thus reducing its influence. Thus the commander of the German fleet in the Mediterranean, Admiral Trummler, who visited Haifa in 1913 on his battleship *Goeben*, reported to the Kaiser that the reaction of the Arabs in Haifa was provoked in part by the prosperity of the German Colony and the jealousy it inspired. His opinion was confirmed by the Turkish Minister of War, Mahmud Ševket Pasha, who complained to the representative of the German embassy in Istanbul that the Templers in Haifa remained German citizens, served in the German army and ran their colony totally independently. The multiplication of that sort of colony was not acceptable to Turkey at all, as it led to conflicts with the local population.[21]

If the relations between Jews and Christians were not good, those between Muslims and Christians were much worse. This expressed itself in continual acts of violence and frequently murder. The advantages, material and social, of the Christians added fuel to the ancient religious antagonism between the two communities. The slightest of reasons, the priority of passage in a narrow lane, for instance, would end in hundreds of hotheads streaming to the place and dozens of wounded in the ensuing confrontation. The police inquiries and the judicial instances usually showed a partiality for the Muslim side, punishing the culpable among them with light penalties or letting them off with none at all.[22]

Muslims and Oriental Jews, on the other hand, maintained neighbourly relations. Nassar's influence among Muslims was slight and left the Oriental Jews unaffected. A Muslim would not visit his Christian neighbour for fear of being offered pork, but visited his Jewish neighbours freely. Muslim villagers bought their clothing from Abu Kilme, a Jew whom they trusted, rather than from the Christians in the town.

The Templers avoided social contact with the local inhabitants, except when necessity obliged them. The schools in their colony were intended for their own children. They did not intermarry with the locals, maintained their distance and demanded that respect be shown to them. From the first days of their settlement they took it on themselves to give a lesson in polite manners to those who failed to show them respect. The Ashkenazi Jews did not take the trouble to learn Arabic, only to be treated with contempt by the Arabs; the Templers, on the other hand, as Menahem Mendel Ailbum wrote,

> . . . learned to read and write Arabic . . . and did not need to call for help in order to compose a letter of request or complaint to the judicial authorities . . . When at first their carriages passed through the town, crowds would follow to contemplate the novelty and children would jump on the back of the carriage, only to be whipped by the driver. When their parents came to complain, the Germans would whip them, too . . . The Germans obtained an imperial decree to the effect that from three hours [after the setting of the sun] till sunrise the next morning, no Arab or other person, except a Templer was allowed within their boundaries . . . They set up posts at the four corners of the colony for armed men to stand on guard, in turn, throughout the night to forestall trouble . . .

This attitude, described by Ailbum shortly after the establishment of the Templer settlement, did not change throughout the period under consideration. *Havazelet*, fifteen years later, describes the German in Haifa as 'striding like a man who owns the land . . . filled with arrogance towards the inhabitants of the town, who lived in poverty'. The appearance at the port of vice-consul Keller to meet a friend from abroad was sufficient to restore instant order among the chaos that normally prevailed there on the arrival of a passenger ship. As their numbers dwindled as a proportion of the total population, the Templers saw no other way of assuring the safety of their property in the midst of an alien, envious and hostile population, which the authorities were not always able to control. Keller claimed that the Arab population was anti-German because of the influence of the Carmelites. The Templers therefore isolated themselves by acting as the lords of the town. The German vice-consul in Haifa, Theodor Weber, in a report dated 10 May 1909 to his ambassador in Istanbul, wrote that the Templers had failed to win the sympathy of the local people. He explained it by saying that from the onset of their settlement the Germans behaved as if they were superior to their neighbours.

Their isolation was a source of irritation to the local people. They had created a German state within the Ottoman state, as one Beirut reporter wrote in protest when the Templers demanded toll money from the governor of the district when he passed through their colony in his carriage. The attitude of the Germans towards the Jews was milder and less contemptuous, because the latter constituted no menace to their security. Keller and some of his fellow Templers made no secret of their conviction that whatever they were doing for the development of Haifa and Carmel was destined to fall like ripe fruit into the hands of the Jews one day. The Germans were less well-disposed towards the Carmelites with their monasteries, schools and French Catholic influence. As the war drew near, the opposition became more political; Keller defined the hostility between the two groups as an example of Franco-German hostility rather than Catholic–Protestant antagonism. The war gave the Templers the chance to persecute bitterly the Carmelites and the Greek Catholics in town, a matter to which we shall return later.[23]

In addition to the categories we have already dealt with, some hundreds of Italians, Greeks, Turks, Maltese, Armenians, French, English and other nationalities settled in Haifa. For the most part, they were merchants and mercantile representatives from Europe, employees in the administration of the railway and members of the liberal professions.

Some years before the outbreak of the First World War, the Bahais had settled in Haifa. Persecuted in Persia; they had fled to Baghdad, from where they were exiled by the Turkish government to Adrianopolis and, finally, to Acre, where Baha Allah ('the glory of God') arrived in 1868. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the bones of his predecessor, Mirza Ali Muhammad, were brought to Acre and finally interred on Mount Carmel in 1909, at a spot chosen by Baha Allah. Today, the Golden Dome Shrine rises over it. Baha Allah had been a Shi'ite Muslim, but by the changes he introduced in the faith, he separated himself from Islam. By the time he died in Acre in 1892, he had acquired a number of disciples. In the course of his many trips, his son Abbas Effendi (Abd al-Baha) disseminated Baha Allah's teachings throughout the world, acquiring hundreds of thousands of new adherents to the Bahai belief, especially in the United States. In 1908 Abbas Effendi came to live in Haifa, where his well-preserved house still exists (on Persian Street). Abbas Effendi rapidly became an admired and respected figure in Haifa. He attracted Bahais eager to listen to his preaching, and many of them decided to settle in Haifa in consequence. On the strength of contributions from all over the world, the Bahais bought up large tracts of land on the slopes of Mount Carmel, where they later built their shrine, surrounded by extensive gardens. In this way, at the end of Ottoman rule, Haifa became the centre of a new community, at the head of which stood Abbas

Effendi, a personage of a stature the like of which Haifa had perhaps never known before.[24]

The diverse communities and nationalities that congregated in Haifa – to which should be added the visitors that passed through the port – bestowed on Haifa a cosmopolitan character that charmed all visitors. Miss Newton recounts how one saw as many hard Homburg hats and European-style suits in Haifa, as the *tarbush* and the *aqal* of the local farmer. It was a sight to gladden the heart to see Muslim pilgrims from the steppes of Russia dressed in thick fur coats on their way from Haifa to Mecca, rubbing shoulders with monks and local clergymen in their long habits. Another feature of life in the city was that its population was composed mostly of groups of newcomers who had not formed strong ties of friendship among themselves, as one might find in older, traditional towns. The town had developed too quickly to form a characteristic culture of its own.[25]

The Town's Status

Already in the 1870s, foreign observers predicted a glorious future for the town, though it numbered no more than 5,000 souls at the time. Haifa, rather than Acre, was now looked upon as the key to Syria, and the natural base for the defence of the Suez Canal. These evaluations were drawn from the natural advantages the town offered: a port, well-protected against the wind, easy to defend and situated at the crossroads to all four points of the compass. The prediction was simply justified by the rapid development of the town during the previous twenty to twenty-five years of Turkish rule. When the Sykes–Picot agreement was signed in 1916 with the partition of the Ottoman Empire in view, Britain appropriated for itself the control of the bay of Haifa. Britain, which ruled in Egypt and over the Suez Canal, appreciated the strategic importance of Haifa.

Non-Jewish observers saw in the choice of Haifa as the location of the Technion a realistic assessment of the importance of Haifa. With Jaffa, Haifa was set on the path to become the principal port of Palestine, a meeting-place for land and maritime transport and a centre of commerce and industry.[26]

The reports of the German consular representatives reflect the economic rise of Haifa. These facts were provided by the Turkish registers of the department of customs in Acre and Haifa, though their accuracy is rather dubious. For instance, some entire ships are excluded, so that – by means of suitable bribes – no customs dues were paid. From the German reports and a few other sources,[27] we learn that, for the year ending 30 June 1881, the exports from Acre were twelve times higher than those from Haifa, mainly wheat and dura; imports were six times greater through Acre than Haifa. In 1901, twenty years later, the total volume of exports from Acre amounted to 20,000 tons and that from Haifa, 16,000 tons. Between 1903 and 1910, the value of the imports through the port of Haifa, including material for the Hejaz railway, rose from 1.5 million German marks to 12 million and more, and the value of exports almost doubled, reaching 3.2 million marks. Whereas the imports were those of finished industrial products, the exports were almost exclusively agricultural produce, half of which was sesame (in the period 1909–11). In these three years, imports came mainly from Belgium, the British Empire (including India), Germany, Austro-Hungary, France, Italy and Russia, in descending order of the value of the products. Exports from Haifa were destined for Turkey, including the provinces, Egypt, Italy, France, Russia, Britain, Austro-Hungary, Portugal, Germany, again in descending order of the value of the imports. Within ten years the number of steamships visiting Haifa rose from 241 in 1901, to 555 in 1910, as compared to the 707 that visited Jaffa in that year. The increase in the number of visiting sailing boats, mainly Turkish, was slower: 604 ships in 1901, to 759 in 1910, as against 807 visiting Jaffa. As for the capacity of the ships, in the first decade of the century it grew by three times and reached three-quarters of a million tons, as registered in 1911. A similar growth in capacity occurred with sailing boats: from 5,000 to 15,000 tons, a mere 2 per cent of the capacity of the steamships. Nearly all sailing boats flew the Turkish flag and were engaged in coastal trade. The majority of the steamships sailed under the British flag, but also under Austrian and Russian (especially from 1907 onwards), Turkish, French and Italian flags.

In the absence of official statistics, we have to rely on a combination of occasional sources,[28] which give only a general idea of the development that occurred. The introduction of steamships caused a constant expansion in the export trade of Haifa and turned it into an international port of importance.

The maritime transport of passengers and goods to and from Haifa was undertaken by a long list of shipping companies. The Austrian Lloyd Maritime Line stood at the head of the shipping agencies ensuring a regular connection with Haifa. Once a week, the ships of the Russian Society of Merchant Ships visited Haifa, similarly the Khedival Mail Line from Egypt. Once a fortnight the ships of the French Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes dropped anchor at Haifa. To these may be added the German Levante-Linie, Prince Line (British), Adolphe Deppe (Belgian), Nederlands Stoomboot (Dutch), and Archipelago (Turkish) lines. As a rule, the shipping lines were represented in Haifa by the consular agents for their respective countries. The agents were partly chosen from among the Templers in the town, so, for instance, in 1904, the agents of Austro-Hungary, the United States, Belgium, Russia and of course Germany were Templers. Other countries, such as Italy, Britain, Holland, Spain and France also had consular agents in Haifa at the end of the period under discussion.[29]

In 1914, Haifa was still a small town, not much more than a village, but everybody agreed that it had a promising future, the basis for which had already been laid. There were factors that later militated against its development: the troubled history of the region in the wake of the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, the Jewish–Arab conflict under the British Mandate and the cutting-off of Haifa from its hinterland following the establishment of the State of Israel. That Haifa is today the third largest town in the country, that it possesses the principal port and is a great industrial centre should not make us forget its modest beginnings under Turkish rule and the factors that went to make its later development possible.

Postscript
Haifa during the First World War

The outbreak of hostilities in Europe in August 1914 had an adverse effect on the economic life of Haifa, even before Turkey entered the war in November. The volume of shipping declined at the port. The uncertainty about the attitude of Turkey to the conflict led European traders to stop credit to the local merchants, whose own financial resources were limited. The furnishing of supplies therefore dwindled immediately. Banks and merchants froze their usual deals, waiting to see what the future would bring; activity at the port slackened, building stopped and stocks in the shops were greatly reduced. Subjects of the warring nations were called up for military service. On 19 August 1914 a board of assistance was set up by the Jews of Haifa to help needy cases by the distribution of food for free, or at cost price. When Turkey entered the war, the situation deteriorated alarmingly. Men between the ages of seventeen and fifty were conscripted by the Ottoman army, and many of the better-off people left town. Evasion of conscription was at first common, but grew more difficult as time passed. Thousands fled the town and even the country, some leaving forever. The Sublime Porte revoked the 'capitulations' (jurisdiction over foreigners by their own governments) when Turkey entered the war, precipitating the exit of many aliens who had lost their privileges. Enemy subjects were expelled. Two ships crowded with nuns, monks and clergymen of all kinds left Haifa at the beginning of December 1914. French and English schools were closed, leaving the children without education for four years. To make matters worse, swarms of locusts appeared, causing grave damage to crops. What remained of them was commandeered by the army. People ate indigestible dura bread and began to fall ill from various causes. In the absence of European doctors and because of malnutrition, when a typhus epidemic broke out in Haifa, it claimed hundreds of victims, most of whom died.[1]

By 1916, the inhabitants of the town were left destitute. People began to sell their property for food. Women and children searched the streets for scraps to eat. Hundreds of people died of starvation in the last two years of the war. The Muslims suffered most. The Christian Arabs, clients of the French, now left defenceless, were persecuted by the authorities, especially when a network of Christian Arab spies working on behalf of the French was accidentally uncovered. Christians were imprisoned, tortured, exiled and put to death. People living near the coast were driven away for fear that they might be in communication with enemy ships. The head of the large Greek Catholic community was condemned to death *in absentia*, on the charge of incitement against the Turks, and the property of their community was sequestrated.

The Jews did not fare much better. The abrogation of the capitulations robbed them of the privilege of being tried in European courts and placed them at the mercy of the Turkish authorities. With the assistance offered by their own organizations and with help from the American Jewish Fund they were able to withstand the worst effects of starvation and provide work for the most needy cases. Jewish schools were among the few that continued to function in the town during the war. Things changed for the worse when the Turks discovered Nili, a Jewish, pro-British spy network. Arrests and persecution followed. The Templers were also obliged to adopt measures of austerity, though they were allies of the Turks. The abrogation of the capitulations was received with chagrin. The Templers had to call in German soldiers to prevent the forest that had been planted on Mount Carmel by Keller from being cut down by Turks, who wanted the wood to provide fuel for the Turkish railway. The Templers began to feel the pinch of scarcity because the Turkish authorities were unable to supply food for the civil population. The port of Haifa, the main artery of supplies, was mined out of fear of a seaborne invasion and complete paralysis ensued. With cash one could still buy necessities, but the prices were beyond the capacity of most, whose economic condition was worsening all the time. The usual sources of employment dried up, leaving everyone waiting for an end to the crisis. It seems that most also hoped that it would mean the end of Turkish rule.[2]

The Carmelites were especially marked out for antagonism by the authorities. On 14 November 1914 the Turks searched the monastery, in vain, for arms. A few days later, the monks were expelled from the country, together with other enemy subjects. Only subjects of neutral nations, such as Spain, were acceptable to the Turks. On 17 December 1914 the inhabitants of Haifa watched as a sorry procession of monks, clad in their brown habits and shod with sandals, moved slowly down from the monastery to the town. They had been given three hours to evacuate their monastery. They took with them what they could of their sacred objects. Their archives were entrusted to the Spanish consular representative, Scopenik, who looked after them faithfully until the end of the war. The Turks, in order to justify their expulsion of the monks from the monastery, claimed that the monks had been signalling to enemy ships. The Carmelites denied the charge, blaming the Germans for the calumny, and especially Dr Löytved Hardegg, the German consul, who had 'incited the army against them so as to despoil them of their property'. The two Carmelites who protested were seized and brought to Damascus, where they were condemned to death on the charge of spying. They were saved from execution thanks to the intervention of the pope and the King of Spain, whose subjects they were. Here, too, the Carmelites blamed the German consul, whom they accused of having calumniated the two monks and so brought about their arrest. In May 1915, Turkish soldiers destroyed the little pyramidal monument in front of the monastery on the pretext of a search for arms, and scattered the bones of Napoleon's soldiers interred under it. Again the Carmelites blamed the Germans for the outrage. The soldiers removed the tall iron cross on the top of the monument, forged by the crew of the French warship the *Château-Renault* in the 1870s, and took it to Jerusalem. It was discovered after the war and returned to the Carmelites, who placed it in front of the pyramid, where it is today.

A few days after the destruction of the monument a French warship, the *Ernest Renan,* appeared off the town. The captain informed the governor of Haifa, via a fishing vessel sailing close by, of the purpose of his visit. He meant to repay the German consul in kind for his deeds. And, indeed, as he was issuing his warning, the French hit the mark to perfection, devastating the consul's house on the mountain slope, and exciting the admiration of the town's populace, who were watching from the rooftops. Only one shell missed its mark and destroyed a neighbouring house.[3] The Turks reacted by destroying the 9-kilometre long wall that surrounded the property of the Carmelites on Mount Carmel, ruining their garden, ransacking the monastery and stealing most of their valuable library. In 1916, the monastery was re-opened by German and Austrian Carmelites and used as a convalescent home for the German army. They fled at the approach of the British army, leaving a single Spanish brother to welcome the conquerors.[4]

The end of Turkish rule was in sight. The British took a year to break the Turkish resistance. In September 1918, their army began to move rapidly northwards from Jaffa across Palestine and into Syria. Under the command of Brigadier-General King, the first attempt to capture Haifa was launched on 22 September. Aerial photography revealed that the Turks were busy evacuating the town. In the afternoon of the same day, King left Nazareth at the head of two motorized columns for Haifa, but was forced to retreat when his troops came under heavy cannon and machine-gun fire from the height above Balad al-Sheikh (today Tel Hanan). The next day, the British returned to the attack in much greater force, throwing a cavalry division into the battle. The column once again came under fire near Balad al-Sheikh and split up into smaller units, some of which advanced along the south bank of the Kishon River, seeking to penetrate the town by circumventing the barrage set up on the main road. A bitter fight ensued on the eastern approaches to the town of Haifa, which resulted in the collapse of the Turkish defence. The splitting up of the British force had reduced the efficiency of the Turkish firepower. Another unit of British cavalry climbed the mountain above Balad al-Sheikh and advanced along the crest, guided by a Druze from Daliat al-Karmil, only to encounter fierce resistance in the forest near the Karmelheim hospice, where the Turks had set up some heavy cannons that wreaked havoc on the British forces. The most obstinate resistance was put up by the artillery soldiers in charge of the last cannon, which stood near the monument to the memory of the visit of Kaiser Wilhelm II. According to the official British account of the First World War, there was no other cavalry action on such a large scale on the Turkish front. The principal difficulty in the capture of the town was the terrain. The main road, which was blocked, was flanked on one side by a mountain that was difficult to access and on the other side by a river that could not be crossed. The British did try at first to cross the Kishon and so outflank the barrage erected on the main road by the Turks. As a result of faulty intelligence, their scouts sank and drowned with their horses in the boggy ground. Under heavy fire from directly ahead and from the flank, the British found themselves in a critical position. After a short pause, the lancers broke through the ranks of the Turkish machine-gunners and opened up the road. About 700 enemy officers and men were taken prisoner and their cannons and machine guns were captured.[5]

That evening, 23 September 1918, Brigadier-General King addressed the population of Haifa in front of the great mosque. Hassan Shuqri, to whom the *kaimakam* had left full powers over the town before leaving, offered his sword to the brigadier in surrender. Four hundred and two years of Ottoman rule in Haifa had ended.[6]

Notes

Preface

1 See the German edition of this book: Alex Carmel, *Die Geschichte Haifas in der türkischen Zeit 1516–1918*, Harrassowitz, 1975.
2 Vilnay; Aharonowitz.
3 Ibid., p. 3.
4 See Carmel, *Geschichte Haifas*, ch. II.
5 Ibid., ch. IV.
6 Four editions of the work were published in Hebrew and one in Arabic (1978), and it was published in German as volume 3 of the series 'Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina Vereins' (ADPV) (Treatises of the German Palestine Association). When Professor Carmel was in London during the summer of 2002, he handed the English version to the publishers I.B.Tauris for publication. The English translation of the book is by the late Carmelite monk Elias Friedman.

Introduction

1 Avi-Yonah, pp. 339–40; Weil, p. 2; Schattner, pp. 35, 40–3.
2 Various hypotheses have been offered concerning the meaning of the name Haifa. Since we don't know when and by whom it was founded, it is difficult to reach a conclusion. About twenty variant spellings appear in the books of European travellers from the Ottoman period. For example: Caface, Caifa, Caifas, Haipha, Heiffa, Hepha, Heva, Hipha, Kafas, Kaipha, Kaiphas, Kepha, Keifa. The form 'Haifa' came into general use only from the beginning of the twentieth century, thanks to Gottlieb Schumacher of the German Colony, Haifa, who studied the history of Palestine in depth. Cf. *Warte*, 27 May 1886, pp. 166–7; Dowling, pp. 184–5; Vilnay, p. 18. Weil, p. 1.
3 See Avi-Yonah, p. 320.

4 According to the majority of scholars for whom ancient Haifa, destroyed in the eighteenth century, is the continuation of the Talmudic town. Others, relying on Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, identify the Talmudic Haifa with Shiqmonah, probably Tel al-Samekh of our day. They imagine that the Haifa of the beginning of the present era lay to the west of ancient Haifa, near to Ein ha-Yam. Other suggestions have been put forward, but none is conclusive. Perhaps there were several settlements, close to one another, the names of which changed from time to time, so that the precise localization of these villages become difficult for us to determine; see Avi-Yonah, pp. 338–9; Dowling, pp. 184–5; Kopp, pp. 83–7; Schattner, pp. 42–3.

5 *Baba batra*, 12: 1; *Ketuvoth*, 103: 1; *Shabbat* 26: 1; 45: 2; *Tractate Megillah* 24: 2.

6 In the Cairo Genizah, a lament (*qinah*) on the fate of Haifa has been discovered, probably from the sixth century. See Avi-Yonah, pp. 331–3, 340–1; S. Assaf is of the opinion that the *qinah* dates from the time of the Crusades; see *Yedi'oth ha-Hevrah le-haqirat Eretz Israel ve-Atiqotehah*, 7 (1939), p. 60.

7 Sefer Nameh, *Relation du Voyage de Nassiri Khosrau*, ed., translated and annotated by Charles Schefer, Paris, 1881, p. 18 (in the Persian text).

8 Ben-Zion Dinaburg, 'Le-Toldot ha-Yehudim be-Eretz-Yisrael bimei Massa ha-Tzlav ha-Rishon', *Zion*, 2 (1926/7), pp. 56–7.

9 Albert von Aachen, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs*, vol. 2, Jena, 1923, pp. 20–5; Prawer, pp. 169–70.

10 Ibid., p. 380; Abraham Ya'ari, *Mas'ot Eretz-Yisrael*, Tel Aviv 1945/6, p. 37; Benjamin of Tudela passed through Haifa on his travels in Palestine, *c.* 1170, without mentioning the presence of Jews, though he usually made a point of doing so whenever he found any.

11 Prawer, pp. 526–61; M. Yakut, *Geographical Lexicon*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, vol. 2, Leipzig 1867, p. 381. (in arab.)

12 The remains of a fort could be seen on the beach of the bay of ancient Haifa up to the beginning of the twentieth century. Many travellers attributed it to those of a fort built by St Louis; Dowling, p. 188; Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London, 1958, p. 655.

13 Dowling, p. 188; Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (*1100–1291*), Innsbruck, 1898, p. 926; Ludolph von Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land*, PPTS, vol. 12, London, 1895, p. 64; *EI*, 2nd edn, 'Hayfa', for a brief account of the history of Haifa from the beginning to the present time.

NOTES

Chapter 1

1 Ahmed Bey Feridun, *Tagebuch der ägyptischen Expedition des Sultans Selim I*, Weimar, 1916, pp. 15–17.

2 Evliya Tshelebi, 'Travels in Palestine', *QDAP*, 6 (1938), p. 93, describing his visit to Acre in the middle of the seventeenth century, notes that towarda the end of the Mamluk rule the people of Acre called on Sultan Selim to rule over them.

3 H. von Zedlitz, 'Jerusalemfahrt (1493)', ed. Reinhold Röhricht, *ZDPV*, 17 (1894), pp. 98–114, 185–200, 277–301. Piri Reis, *Kitabi Bahriye*, Istanbul 1935, pp.727–8; U. Heyd, 'A Turkish Description of the Coast of Palestine in the Early Sixteenth Century', *Israel Exploration Journal*, 6 (1956), pp. 201–16.

4 Leonharti Rauwolfen, *Aigentliche beschreibung der Raiß... inn die Morgenländer . . .*, Laugingen, 1582, pp. 307–9.

5 Gonzales, vol. 2, p. 802 (visit to Haifa, 1668); Van Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2, p. 4 (early eighteenth century).

6 Castillo, pp. 122–3 (1628); d'Arvieux, *Das Herrn*, vol. 2, pp. 8–9 (1659); von Troilo, p. 94 (1666); Pietro-Antonio, p. 354 (1701); Myller, p. 94 (1726).

7 Castillo, pp. 122–3.

8 D'Arvieux, *Das Herrn*, vol. 2, p. 9; Wüstenfeld, p. 158, n. 1, for the name of Turabay; also Heyd, *Documents*, Index, p. 197.

9 Ben-'Zvi, pp. 18–23; Carali, vol. 2, pp. 83, 125; Al-Kalidi, pp. 197–8.

10 De Bruyn, vol. 2, p. 309.

11 Lucas, vol. 1, p. 371; Van Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2, p. 6; his book is a description of voyages undertaken between 1700–1723. Van Egmont recounts that the Pasha of Sidon, during a visit to their monastery on Mount Carmel, told the Carmelites that he intended building a port to give protection from pirates.

12 Pococke, vol. 2, p. 83.

13 Beyrav, p. 10, side 2; Heyd, *Dahar al-Umar*, p. 24; Leandro, p. 74.

14 Ibid., pp. 24–5.

15 Salomon Schweigger, *Constantinopel und Jerusalem*, Nuremberg, 1608, pp. 278–80; Zuallart, pp. 269–70; his visit lasted twelve days, during which time his ship anchored twice at Athlit.

16 Heyd, *Documents*, p. 129.

17 Roger, p. 80; d'Arvieux, *Das Herrn*, vol. 1. p. 260; in 1658 he was an eyewitness to an ambush laid by the Maltese near Haifa.

18 Philippe de la Ruë, *Sovrie ou Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1651 (Röhricht supplies this date), p. 614.

19 Gonzales, vol. 2, p. 802.

20 De Bruyn, vol. 2, pp. 307–8; Dominico Laffi, *Viaggio in Levante al Santo Sepolcro*, Bologna 1683, p. 20.

21 Dapper, vol. 1, p. 57; Paul Masson, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, 1896, pp. 389–90; von Troilo, p. 94.

22 D'Arvieux, *Das Herrn*, vol. 1, pp. 260–6. He recounts the attack by the Maltese on a French ship, under unusual circumstances.

23 Beyrav, p. 10, side 2; he claims that those who besieged Dahar in Tiberias in 1742, initially used cannon balls 'brought from Damascus, weighing 100 *dirhams* each, whereas those from Haifa weighed 2,000 *dirhams*'; see Leandro, p. 74.

24 Ibid., p. 24.

25 Pococke, vol. 2, p. 83.

26 Leandro, p. 24.

27 Castillo, pp. 122–3.

28 Heyd, 'Yehude Erets Yisrael', pp. 173–7.

29 Riqiti, p. 5 (unmarked); Röhricht, pp. 244–5.

30 Castillo, pp. 122–3.

31 Roger, p. 80 (1632); Bernardin Surius, *Le Pieux Pelerin, ou voyage de Jérusalem*, Brussels, 1666, pp. 345–8 (visit 1646); J. Doubdan, *Le voyage de la Terre-Sainte . . .*, Paris, 1666, p. 503 (visit 1652); d'Arvieux, *Das Herrn*, vol. 2, p. 9 (in 1659); vol. 3, p. 49 (in 1664), containing the first mention of Catholics in Haifa; Dapper, vol. 1, p. 57 (visit 1677), mentions 'Arabs, Jews and a few Greek Christians and Maronites'; Morison, p. 571 (visit 1697); Ya'ari, *Iggrot Erets Yisrael*, pp. 257–9 (letter from 1741), speaking only of the Jews of Haifa, who took him to the Grotto of Elijah with a scroll of the law from the Talmud Torah (Jewish school) in Haifa. Jakob Manen was of the opinion that there were no Jews in Haifa at the time, basing his opinion on a letter by Mordechai Dalatsch, who writes that 'Haifa . . . is also said to be a wicked place . . . We stayed [at its port] for two days and wept as we recalled Zion.' One cannot infer from the expression 'wicked place' that there were no Jews there. However, the absence of Jews would not have made a visit to the Grotto of Elijah impossible. Perhaps the group did not want to pay the tax for disembarking at Haifa, or were waiting for a favourable wind (see, for instance, Simha, p. 14), or were fearful of passing through the 'wicked place', which was literally a nest of bandits at the time; see Manen, p. 78. Abraham Ya'ari inclines to accept the interpretation of Jakob Manen, but defers the renewal of Jewish settlement in Haifa to a later date, for lack of

confidence in the dating of Riqiti's letter (1625/6), on which Ben-'Zvi (p. 194) and Vilnay (pp. 39–40) base their evidence for the existence of such a settlement. Ya'ari dates the resettlement of Jews in Haifa to after the middle of the eighteenth century, relying on the scarce Jewish sources only, whereas Christian sources claim the opposite (see the beginning of this footnote); see Ya'ari, 'Mearat Eliyahu be-har ha-Karmel', pp. 138–49. In any case the Jewish settlement was small and unimportant; hence no Haifa Jew is known among those sent on a mission on behalf of the Jews of Palestine; (see Abraham Ya'ari, *Envoys from Palestine*, Jerusalem, 1951).

32 Leandro, p. 25.

33 Morison, p. 571.

34 Jan van der Linden, *Heerlyke ende gelukkige reyze nae het Heylig Land ende stad van Jerusalem . . .*, Gend, 1740, p. 44 (in 1633); d'Arvieux *Das Herrn*, vol. 2, p. 252 (in 1660); Manen, p. 78 (in 1701/2); Myller, p. 94 (in 1726), describes Haifa as a nest of Arab bandits and '*ein liederlicher Ort*'.

35 D'Arvieux, *Das Herrn*, vol. 1, pp. 260–4; vol. 2, pp. 7–8, 10; Van Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2, pp. 4–6; Roger, p. 80.

36 D'Arvieux, *Voyage*, p. 157.

37 Jacques F. Goujon, *Histoire et Voyage de la Terre-Sainte*, Lyons, 1671, p. 64; *ZDPV*, 13 (1890), p. 202, for the different kinds of fish in the bay of Haifa.

38 Van Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2, p. 6; Leandro, p. 24.

39 Ben-'Zvi, p. 95; Heyd, 'Yehude Erets Yisrael', p. 174.

40 Ibid., Heyd, *Documents*, p. 129.

41 D'Arvieux, *Das Herrn*, vol. 2, p. 239.

42 Ben-'Zvi, pp. 20–2; George Sandys, *Travels*, London, 1670, p. 158; Al-Kalidi, pp. 197–8; Wüstenfeld, pp. 159–60; Lucas, vol. 1, p. 371; Philippe, pp. 576, 587; Carali, vol. 2, pp. 83, 125.

43 Dapper, vol. 1, p. 57; d'Arvieux, *Das Herrn*, vol. 2, pp. 9–10; d'Arvieux, *Voyage*, pp. 106, 157; Nau, pp. 653–62; Roger, p. 80.

44 D'Arvieux, *Das Herrn*, vol. 2, p. 239; Van Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2, pp. 2–3; the latter, which is an unsuccessful compilation of two separate voyages by Dutchmen during the years 1700–9 and 1720–3 (see also Tobler, pp. 119–20), gives a depressing picture of relations between the rulers and the local people of Haifa. The entire description is unreliable. Haifa is presented as a republic and the relations between rulers and ruled modelled on those between landowners and farmers in Scotland and France. There is confirmation of the situation in parallel sources from that period.

45 D' Arvieux, *Das Herrn*, vol. 3, p. 49ff., describes in detail the episode of the Venetian sailor. The Carmelite Michaël writes in 1772 that the robbers who attacked the monastery were not from Haifa and were even afraid to show themselves there (vol. 2, pp. 91–2).

46 1 Kings 18.

47 For general information, see *EH*, 'Elijah', vol. 3, pp. 536–42; *EI*, 'Ilyās'; 'al-Khadir'; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*; 'Elias', vol. 3 (1959), pp. 806–10; 'Karmel', vol. 5 (1960), pp. 1365–6; *RGG*, 'Karmel', 4th edn, vol. 4 (2001), pp. 822–3.

48 Some scholars locate the place of the altar of Elijah not at the traditional place, Muhraqah, but on Cape Carmel, on the site of the Carmelite monastery. The name 'School of the Prophets' given to the Grotto of Elijah by Christians is inspired by the biblical story, 2 Kings 2. As for the sanctity of places recognized by Jews, see more in: d'Arvieux, *Das Herrn*, vol. 2, p. 241; *Havazelet*, 19 June 1891, pp. 272–3; Ya'ari, *Iggrot Erets Yisrael*, pp. 257–259; Ya'ari. 'Mearat Eliyahu be-har ha-Karmel', pp. 138–49.

49 Berman, pp. 194–7; S.Z. Kahana, 'Me'arat Eliyahu', *Karmelit*, 1 (1953/4), pp. 199–203.

50 Albert, 'Foreword', p. 9; M. Oliphant, pp. 77–80.

51 *Warte*, 15 May 1884, pp. 9–13.

52 Anonymous author of a letter ('Yihus ha-Avot'), cited by Mikhlin, vol. 3, ed. A.M. Luncz, Jerusalem, 1919/20, pp. 209–23; Moshe Ben-Yosef mi-Trani, *The Book of Questions and Answers*, part 3, Lvov, 1861, p. 45, question 220 (in Hebrew); Riqiti, p. 5 (unmarked, in Hebrew). The letter reads as follows: 'Haifa lies on the coast of the great sea and in it a synagogue has been built. And in the cemetery are stone niches and there Rabbi Avdimi of Haifa [is buried] and Rabbi Isaac Nafkha. And near the village on the slope of the mountain there is a large, fine grotto in honour of Elijah the prophet of blessed memory. Mar Elias is a tower on the top of the mountain above the grotto just mentioned and nearby is a[nother] grotto. And in it is the sepulchre of Elisha Ben-Shafat, who poured water on the hands of Elijah of blessed memory. Carmel is a high and very large mountain. On the top of the mountain is an altar of twelve stones, which was built by Elijah the prophet of blessed memory in the days of Ahab, King of Israel.' It is worth noting that in a manuscript probably from the early fourteenth century are mentioned, inter alia: 'The eminent rabbi, our Rabbi Samson, son of Rabbi Abraham, author of the Tosafot Rabbi Yossef . . . of Bourgogne and Rabbi Yehiel of Paris. Rabbi Ya'aqov the Lessers, son of our Rabbi Samson, author of the Tosafot of blessed

memory and our teacher, Rabbi R. Moshe son of Nahman from Gerona [Nahmanidcs]', whose tombs are in the cemetery of Haifa at the bottom of the mountain. Simha Assaf published this composition by an anonymous pupil of Nahmanidcs; see *Yerushalem*, (1927/8), pp. 51–66, review of the Hebrew Society for the Investigation of Palestine and its Antiquities, dedicated to the memory of Abraham Moshe Luncz; see also Mikhlin, p. 217, where we read in the letter mentioned above: 'Haifa: there is buried our Rabbi Moshe Ben Nahman of blessed memory and Rabbi Yehiel, author of the Tosafot, from Paris, of blessed memory.'

53 Castillo, p. 125; see *EH*, 'Dervish', vol. 13, pp. 118–20.

54 D'Arvieux, *Das Herrn*, vol. 2, pp. 252–5.

55 Dapper, vol. 1, p. 60.

56 Myller, p. 97.

57 Roger, p. 81 (in 1632); Gonzales, vol. 2, p. 806 (in 1668): Dapper, vol. 1, p. 60 (in 1677).

58 Pietro-Antonio, p. 353.

59 Ya'ari, *Iggrot Erets Yisrael*, pp. 257–9. Sangviniti gives expression here to the legend that Elijah slept there, saying: 'And this is the grotto of Elijah, of blessed memory of whom it is said: and he came there to the grotto and slept there etc . . .' Of course, this is notwithstanding the fact that the Bible speaks clearly of the grotto being on the holy mountain of Horeb (see 1 Kings 19: 8–9; see also Ha-Yareah, p. 7.

60 D'Arvieux, *Das Herrn*, vol. 2, p. 241.

61 Nau, p. 659.

62 D'Arvieux, *Das Herrn*, vol. 2, pp. 250–1.

63 Ibid.

64 Ya'ari, *Iggrot Erets Yisrael*, pp. 257–9. Jewish pilgrims and visitors did not hide their contempt for the Christian veneration of Elijah. One Jewish pilgrim who visited the Tomb of Elijah in the church of the Carmelite monastery in 1870/1 wrote in this vein: 'There stood a small corpulent statue . . . with a three cornered cavalier's hat on his head, a sort of mask on the face, which had a large moustache, wearing a black, short mantle and wide trousers, like a small Cossack, he wore a belt with a broad sword hanging from it. Our guide, a friar, tells us that this was the Prophet Elijah! One can imagine our feelings! If we had to wait for such an Elijah to crawl outside and save us, then we would be in a desperate condition, indeed!' (Berman, pp. 195–6).

65 *Lexikon für Theologe und Kirche*, 'Karmeliten', vol. 5 (1960), pp. 1366–72; *Realenzyklopedie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 'Karmeliter', vol. 10 (1901), pp. 84–8; *RGG*, 4th edn, vol. 4 (2001), pp. 823–4.

66 For the description of this episode we are dependent on the reliability of the research of three Carmelite authors: Fathers Albert, Marie-Bernard and Florencio, who were among the few who were able to have access to the documents concerned with the restoration of the Carmelites and the reports of Prosper conserved in the archives of the Order in Rome.

67 For a photograph of the document, see Marie-Bernard, p. 37.

68 Ibid., p. 35; Florencio, pp. 284–5.

69 Ibid., pp. 302–4; Marie-Bernard, pp. 39–40.

70 Photograph of the documents, ibid., p. 41.

71 Ibid., pp. 40–4, for the full text of the documents; see also Florencio, pp. 308–9.

72 Marie-Bernard, p. 44.

73 Albert, p. 134–5; see also Kopp, p. 172.

74 Florencio, p. 412, recalls serious quarrels between them; see also Giambattista, p. 372.

75 Albert, p. 147.

76 Florencio, p. 344.

77 D'Arvieux had a special sympathy for the Carmelites. He intervened many times on their behalf and even received the title of Knight of the Order of Our Lady of Carmel. In 1659 and later, when he was French consul in Aleppo, in the 1680s, he succeeded in obtaining the return of the Carmelites to the monastery from which they had fled because of repeated attacks by Arabs. He died in 1702 and his intervention in favour of the Carmelites is recalled in the inscription on his tombstone: 'He put an end to the cull on Mount Carmel, and renewed prayers there on more than two occasions'; see d'Arvieux, *Das Herrn*, vol. 6, p. 527, postscript by the editor and foreword by the translator of d'Arvieux, *Die Sitten der Beduinen-Araber*, pp. 9–21.

78 Marie-Bernard, p. 44.

79 D'Arvieux, *Das Herrn*, vol. 2, pp. 247–50.

80 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 247 (three religious in 1660); [Lorenz] Slisansky, *Newe Reisebeschreibung nacher Jerusalem* . . . Leipzig, n.d., pp. 26–7 ('not more than four or five', also in 1660); Pietro-Antonio, p. 354 (four religious in 1701); Myller, pp. 95–6 (three religious in 1726) Korte, Jonas, *Jonas Kortens Reise* . . ., Halle 1751, p. 369 (three religious and one domestic in 1738).

81 Nau, p. 656 (describes attacks in 1667); Gonzales, vol. 2, p. 806 (in 1668); Dapper, vol. 1, p. 64 (in 1677); Van Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2, p. 6 (recalls robberies and maltreatment in 1716); Myller, pp. 95–6 (in 1726).
82 Philippe, p. 587.
83 D'Arvieux recounts for example that the religious were forced to leave the mountain for six months and live in Acre, and thereafter to live in Haifa because the new emir tried to double the tax that his predecessor had fixed; see *Das Herrn*, vol. 2, pp. 256–8.
84 Philippe, pp. 576, 587.
85 D'Arvieux, *Das Herrn*, vol. 2, p. 256; Van Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2, p. 6; Charles Thompson, *Travels Through Turkey in Asia, the Holy Land* . . ., Glasgow 1810, p. 299.
86 Marie-Bernard, p. 40.
87 Albert, pp. 150, 154.
88 D'Arvieux, *Customs*, foreword by translator, pp. ix–xxi.
89 Giambattista, pp. 326–7. On the other hand, the Carmelites were subject to the control of the French consuls. For instance, at the beginning of the eighteenth century the French vice-consul prohibited the Carmelites from acting as interpreters in commercial deals between the inhabitants of Haifa and the Maltese pirates; see Van Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2, p. 4.

Chapter 2

1 Heyd, *Dahar al-Umar*, p. 6.
2 Ibid., pp. 12–29.
3 Ibid., p. 29; as-Sabbag, pp. 45–6, places the capture of Haifa and its destruction in the framework of the war of Dahar against the people of Nablus.
4 Heyd, *Dahar al-Umar*, p. 26.
5 Stephan Schultz, *Fernere Nachricht von der zum Heil der Juden errichteten Anstalt, . . . Tagebüchern der Reisenden Mitarbeiter*, Halle, 1768, vol. 6, p. 20.
6 Volney, p. 254; Mariti, vol. 2, p. 130. It appears that Dahar restored a fort built by St Louis that stood 'somewhat behind ancient Haifa on a raised tongue of land that advances into the sea and is called the pier of Carmel'. Mariti recounts that in 1767 the fort was occupied by a permanent garrison, placed there by the sultan, with the object of preventing Christian ships from approaching the coast

in order to sell to the residents the booty they had robbed from the Turks. The fort was attacked by Dahar from time to time. The little tower with its five turrets was still standing at the beginning of the nineteenth century, though, of course, functionless and unequipped and well away from the built-up area. At the beginning of the twentieth century, its remains attracted ramblers. For the fort see the following: Al-Bahri, p. 5; Buckingham, vol. 1, p. 189; Giambattista, p. 10; Clarke, vol. 5, p. 6; Raboisson, vol. 2, p. 243; as-Sabbag, pp. 45–6. The latter attributes the story of the excuse offered by Dahar to the fort Dahar built later in new Haifa. Heyd, *Dahar al-Umar*, pp. 35–6, for the commercial relations and friendship between Dahar and the Knights of Malta, even after Dahar was compelled publicly to deny their existence.

7 Mariti, vol. 2, p. 127; Lusignan, p. 183, estimates the number of the inhabitants of new Haifa, at the time of its foundation, at 250 persons, i.e. much smaller than the estimated figure for the beginning of the eighteenth century.

8 Heyd, *Dahar al-Umar*, p. 84.

9 Giambattista, p. 9, 295.

10 Heyd, *Dahar al-Umar*, pp. 39–40; Lusignan, p. 182.

11 Charles-Roux, p. 69, places the event in September–October 1761, relating it to the complaints made by the French to the pasha about the hostile attitude of Dahar towards them; see correspondence between the French Chamber of Commerce at Marseille and French merchants and consuls in the east. Heyd, *Dahar al-Umar*, p. 40, places the attack in May of the same year.

12 Giambattista, pp. 9, 295; Rogers-Wilson, vol. 3, p. 95.

13 Heyd, *Dahar al-Umar*, p. 29; Mariti, vol. 2, pp. 110–11.

14 Giambattista, pp. 5, 9, 295, 297; Mariti, vol. 2, pp. 129–30.

15 Giambattista, p. 10; Mariti, vol. 2, p. 127; as-Sabbag, p. 45.

16 Ibid.; Seetzen, vol. 2, p. 96. The name ‘New Haifa’ appears in most of the travellers’ accounts of that period.

17 Clarke, vol. 5, p. 6.

18 Ibid.; Buckingham, vol. 1, p. 178; Giambattista, p. 10; von Prokesch-Osten, p. 19.

19 Buckingham, vol. 1, p. 178; Clarke, vol. 5, p. 5; Giambattista, p. 10; Auguste Forbin, *Travels in Greece, Turkey and the Holy Land in 1817–1818*, London, n.d., p. 30.

20 Giambattista, p. 10.

21 Ibid.; Seetzen, vol. 2, pp. 94–6; Turner, vol. 2, p. 117; Mariti, vol. 2, p. 127; Clarke, vol. 5, p. 6.

22 The remains of the Burj were visible until the 1940s. They were removed when the Memorial Garden was laid out and during building operations in the 1940s, see Al-Bahri, p. 8; Vilnay, p. 56.

23 Drake, p. 64; Giambattista, p. 10; Lusignan, p. 183; Mariti, vol. 2, p. 128.

24 Ibid., p. 127; Beyrav, p. 8, side b.; Heyd, *Dahar al-Umar*, p. 76.

25 Mariti, vol. 2, p. 127.

26 Ibid., pp. 110–11.

27 Buckingham, vol. 1, p. 114; Giambattista, p. 373; Whaley, p. 237; Volney, pp. 306–7; Seetzen, vol. 2, p. 132; Turner, vol. 2, p. 123; Clarke, vol. 5, p. 9; Scholz, p. 244.

28 Seetzen, vol. 2, p. 132; von Prokesch-Osten, p. 19.

29 Buckingham, vol. 1, p. 179; Giambattista, p. 10; Mariti, vol. 2, p. 128; Nahman, p. 17; Simha, p. 17.

30 Lusignan, p. 183.

31 Turner, vol. 2, p. 117.

32 Buckingham, vol. 1, pp. 178–9.

33 Scholz, pp. 202, 257.

34 Von Prokesch-Osten, p. 19.

35 Seetzen, vol. 2, p. 96.

36 Von Prokesch-Osten, pp. 19–20. The author describes him as ‘poor as a beggar, proud as a king and a heroic lover of freedom’.

37 Clarke, vol. 5, p. 5.

38 Scholz, p. 257; Ben-’Zvi, p. 320. For the work of Hayim Farhi on behalf of the Jews, see Horowitz, p. 6, side 2.

39 Giambattista, pp. 10–11; Seetzen, vol. 2, pp. 132, 136. The author says there were 250 head of cattle and 1,500 goats for 1806; von Prokesch-Osten, pp. 19–23.

40 Clarke, vol. 5, p. 5. This is the customs house that Dahar built and which became in time the house of the governor and the administrative centre. One traveller describes its interior as resembling a store room; see Michaud, vol. 4, p. 116.

41 Lusignan, p. 182. The author describes the first houses of New Haifa as possessing two storeys as a rule; see Michaël, vol. 2, p. 91; Mariti, vol. 2, p. 127.

42 Buckingham, vol. 1, p. 178; Seetzen, vol. 2, pp. 96, 132.

43 Michaud, vol. 4, p. 116; Carne, vol. 2, p. 55; Rogers-Wilson, vol. 3, p. 95.

44 Only Buckingham records in 1816 two mosques, of which one had previously been a Christian church. One church served both Catholics and Maronites (vol. 1, pp. 178–9); Giambattista, p. 10, records that

the Greek Orthodox built their church outside the walls of the town; Nahman, p. 17; von Prokesch-Osten, p. 21; Clarke, vol. 5, p. 5; Carne, vol. 2, p. 55; Scholz, p. 257.

45 Heyd, *Dahar al-Umar*, pp. 43–4; the cession of the old fort to the army of the sultan certainly was one of the conditions of the agreement with Dahar.

46 Giambattista, pp. 298, 313, 348; Heyd, *Dahar al-Umar*, pp. 78–83.

47 Giambattista, pp. 344–5, on how Abu Dahab was bribed by the sultan to betray Ali Bey.

48 Anderson, p. 289; Volney, p. 258.

49 Giambattista, p. 346; The author claims that Abu Dahab died on the same the day on which the monastery was destroyed; Turner, vol. 2, p. 119, says that Abu Dahab died the next day; as-Sabbag, pp. 137–8, says that Abu Dahab died two days later.

50 Heyd, *Dahar al-Umar*, pp. 46–72, for the rebellion of Ali Bey, the war of Dahar against Abu Dahab and the death of Dahar.

51 Alderson, pp. 26–8. The author, a captain in the British Royal Engineers, claims that the French entered Haifa on 15 March. On the 21st they succeeded, by the use of cannon, in preventing a British squadron from seizing four ships which were bringing supplies to Napoleon's army; see *EH*, 'The Campaign of Napoleon in Palestine', vol. 6, pp. 497–8, according to which Haifa was captured on the 18 March. C.M., Watson, 'Bonaparte's Expedition to Palestine', *PEFQS*, 49 (1917), pp. 17–35, writes that the town was captured on 16 March.

52 Irby, p. 193; Buckingham, vol. 1, p. 181; Turner, vol. 2, p. 117; Hans Klaeber, *Leben und Thaten des französischen Generals . . . Kleber*, Dresden, 1900, p. 287.

53 Mordechai Gihon, 'Napoleon in Western Galilee, Spring 1799', in the collection, *Western Galilee and the coast of Galilee*, Jerusalem, 1965, esp. pp. 163–4.

54 Irby, p. 193, Buckingham, vol. 1, p. 181; von Prokesch-Osten, p. 19; Clarke, vol. 5, p. 6. The original monument was destroyed in the First World War (see 'Postscript', below). Today a small pyramid of stone stands there, built on the model of the original monument though much larger.

55 Wilson, vol. 2, n. to p. 244; Sepp, vol. 2, p. 556.

56 Giambattista, pp. 9, 295, 371.

57 Heyd, *Dahar al-Umar*, p. 40; Charles-Roux, p. 69.

58 Mariti, vol. 2, pp. 128, 134.

59 Giambattista, p. 295.

60 Heyd, *Dahar al-Umar*, p. 34; Mariti, vol. 2, p. 135.
61 Michaël, vol. 2, p. 77.
62 Ibid.
63 Giambattista, p. 313.
64 Ibid., pp. 326–7, for the full text of the *firman*; Michaël, vol. 1, p. 228; vol. 2, p. 126, for allusions to attacks on the religious, warning them to stop 'lest things get worse'.
65 Marie-Bernard, p. 51, draws on documents from the archives of the Order.
66 Ibid., p. 52.
67 Kopp, p. 171.
68 Giambattista, p. 372; Florencio, p. 412; Kopp, p. 172.
69 Hayd, p. 80, for his exploitation of inter-communal conflicts.
70 Giambattista, pp. 311–12, for full text of the order.
71 Florencio, p. 418. The author cites a letter from Daharto 'my friend the Superior of the monastery', proposing that the old monastery be abandoned and a new one erected.
72 Giambattista, pp. 312–13. In the order itself, there is no mention of destroying the old monastery, only about abandoning it.
73 Michaël, vol. 2, p. 90; Michaud, vol. 4, p. 117.
74 Florencio, p. 426.
75 Ibid., pp. 426–38; Seetzen, vol. 2, p. 96; Michaël, vol. 1, p. 228; vol. 2, pp. 90–1,124.
76 Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 71–2; Giambattista, p. 332.
77 Ibid., pp. 335–6, 346; Florencio, pp. 433–7.
78 Giambattista, pp. 346–7; as-Sabbag, pp. 136–7.
79 Wilson, vol. 2, n. to p. 244; Friedrich Freiherr von Dalberg, *Palästina*, Würzburg, 1892, p. 51.
80 L. Oliphant, p. 81; Wilson, vol. 2, n. to p. 244; Marie-Bernard, p. 56. The bones of the French dead were collected by Father Julius (1804) and immured at first in a grotto, near the convent of Prosper. After the opening of the new monastery (1836), they were transferred to a site in the garden opposite the main entrance (Florencio, p. 443). Captain Lynch made the exaggerated claim that 2,000 were buried there (Lynch, p. 67). Lorenzen, the German traveller, thought that the Carmelites had been the victims of the massacre (Lorenzen, p. 368). Sepp wrote that Ahmad al-Jazzar ordered the marble columns and tablets to be brought to Acre for use in the building of his mosque (which, in fact, had been completed much earlier), Sepp, vol. 2, p. 556.
81 Irby, p. 193; Buckingham, vol. 1, p. 181; Seetzen, vol. 2, p. 96; Clarke, vol. 5, p. 6.

82 Albert, pp. 188–9; Wilson, vol. 2, n. to p. 244, this author, incidentally, is guilty of many inaccuracies; Florencio, pp. 444–5.

83 Cassini reproduced the picture, which he drew himself; Michaud, vol. 4, pp. 118–20. The author asserts that France threatened to break off diplomatic relations with the Sublime Porte if it did not allow the new monastery to be built.

84 Albert, pp. 188–9; Wilson, vol. 2, n. to p. 244; Marie-Bernard, p. 59; Florencio, p. 469.

Chapter 3

1 Yates, vol. 2, p. 181.

2 Ibid.; Marriott, pp. 204–31.

3 Alderson, p. 40; the headquarters were installed in a pleasant building, which Abdallah Pasha had built opposite the Carmelite monastery on the terrace, to serve as his summer residence. The Carmelites later acquired it and turned it into the Stella Maris Hospice for pilgrims. On the roof of the second floor, added in 1927, is placed the new lighthouse, inaugurated on the 26 January 1928.

4 Ibid., pp. 39–40; de Géramb, vol. 2, p. 72. It was the Egyptians consequently who re-equipped the Burj; Hogg, vol. 2, pp. 173–80; Rustum, *Al-Mahfuzat al-malakia al-misriya*, vol. 1, p. 128, section 339; vol. 2, p. 66, section 1517; vol. 2, p. 249, section 2625; vol. 2, p. 387, section 3381.

5 Alderson, p. 40.

6 Lamartine, vol. 1, pp. 272–7.

7 Wilde, p. 388; Visino, p. 243; the latter recounts (visit to Haifa, 1837) that all the consuls had moved to Haifa, but that would be one of his exaggerations; he also claims that the population of Haifa had reached more than 10,000 souls; Lewis p. 22; Skinner, vol. 1, p. 65; Carali-Catafago, p. 54; Rustum, *Al-Usul al-arabiya li-ta'rih Suriya fi 'abd Muhammad Ali*, vol. 3–4, pp. 66–7.

8 Anonymous American, *Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia, Petra and the Holy Land*, New York, 1840, vol. 2, p. 270.

9 Carali-Catafago, p. 54; Menahem Mendel, *Sefer Qorot ha-Itim, Part 2: Sefer Aliyat ha-Aretz*, Vilna, 1839, p. 17. He does not mention Acre as the port of Galilee. Professor Alex Carmel explains that whoever wishes to travel to Jerusalem goes to Jaffa, whereas to reach Safed or Tiberias, one passes through Haifa.

10 Wilde, p. 388; Visino, p. 243; Carali-Catafago, p. 54.

11 E. Smith Robinson, *Palästina und die südlich angrenzenden Länder*, vol. 3/1, Halle, 1842, p. 431; von Schubert, vol. 3, p. 209.

12 Ibid., pp. 208–9; de Géramb, vol. 2, p. 72; Visino, p. 233; Skinner, vol. 1, pp. 61–5.

13 Hogg, vol. 2, p. 174; many pilgrims came to Haifa in order to spend a few days of rest in the famous Carmelite monastery.

14 Von Schubert, vol. 3, p. 209.

15 Earlier we called it the 'governor's house'. The *seraglia* was the administrative centre of the town up until the end of Ottoman rule in the country. During the period of the British Mandate and the beginning of the State of Israel it was still in use as a police station and prison. The building was pulled down in about 1960; so came to an end the history of an important relic from the days of Dahar al-Umar, perhaps the first building to be constructed in New Haifa.

16 Lewi, pp. 19, 22. He was an Egyptologist, on a mission to the East on behalf of the Royal Asiatic Society of Britain. He himself was attacked by Druzes in Safed and, though he lost his personal effects and the precious scientific material he had gathered in the course of his journey, he escaped with his life by a miracle. In 1839, a year later, he returned to Palestine as secretary to Moses Montefiore, accompanying him throughout his travels.

17 Skinner, vol. 1, pp. 61–9; cf. Yates, vol. 2, pp. 181–3.

18 U. Ben Horin, 'An Official Report on the Earthquake of 1837', *IEJ*, 2 (1952), pp. 63–5. In contrast, Acre was hard hit. One traveller claims that any building that still stood after the bombardment during the siege of Ibrahim Pasha collapsed at the time of the earthquake. Only a third of the population continued to live among the ruins; see Visino, p. 243.

19 Anton von Prokesch-Osten was sent to Palestine in 1829 by the Austrian government for the protection of Austrian Christians and Jews liable to suffer harassment from the caprice of the local authorities.

20 Finn, vol. 2, pp. 17–18.

21 Rogers, p. 85.

22 Young, the first British consul in Jerusalem; see Hyamson, vol. 2, p. 5; Montefiore, p. 330.

23 A. Ya'ari, *Sihronot Erets Israel*, Jerusalem, 1946/7, vol. 1, pp. 148–9; Ben-'Zvi, pp. 379–80.

24 Frankl, vol. 2, p. 500; Rogers, p. 85; It is possible that Jewish fugitives from Safed and Tiberias, fleeing from the Druze disturbances of

1838, were included in the estimate from 1839, though their sojourn in Haifa was temporary; see Lewi, p. 22.

25 In fact, the campaign was engineered by the British in order to prevent the Russians from taking advantage of Ottoman weakness.

26 Marriott, pp. 225–43.

27 Alderson, p. 47; Anderson, p. 560; Yates, vol. 1, pp. 433–5; W. Patison Hunter, *Narrative of the Late Expedition to Syria*, London, 1842, vol. 1, pp. 98–100.

28 Dupuis, vol. 2, pp. 80–2; Finn, vol. 2, p. 19; Schulz, p. 251.

29 Rogers-Wilson, vol. 3, pp. 79–80.

30 According to an old inhabitant of Haifa (1854), see Finn, vol. 2, pp. 18–19; Hurewitz, vol. 1, pp. 113–16, for the text of the decree; Marriott, pp. 249–51.

31 *EH*, vol. 6, pp. 501–2; Ben-Gurion, pp. 12–14; Finn, vol. 2, p. 11.

32 Hyamson, vol. 1, p. 218. Edward Thomas Rogers, British vice-consul in Haifa, wrote as follows to his superior in Jerusalem (28 October 1853): 'I beg to represent to Your Lordship that the blessing of British Protection is a boon of inestimable value to these people. It would be a blessing to be exempted from Turkish oppression at any time, and peculiarly so at the present period, when fanaticism is liable at any minute to break out into violence and when the local governors are endeavouring to extort money by every possible means.'

33 Finn, vol. 2, pp. 18–19.

34 Ibid., p. 11; Craigher, p. 172; W.M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, New York, 1859, p. 492.

35 Taylor, p. 41; Rogers-Wilson, vol. 3, pp. 79–80. On Acre see Carmel and Baumwoll.

36 Stewart, p. 450; Kerschbaumer, pp. 222, 247. He arrived in 1855 with the first organized group of German Catholic pilgrims. The first French group had arrived two years previously.

37 Ibid., pp. 221–2.

38 Finn, vol. 2, pp. 10–11, describes the hydraulic press for compressing cotton into bales, which had just been installed at the port of Haifa.

39 Ibid., p. 10; J. Mislin, , *Les Saints Lieux*, Paris, 1858, vol. 1, pp. 269–71.

40 P. Wolff, *Reise in das Gelobte Land*, Stuttgart, 1849, p. 157; Busch, p. 427; Wilson, vol. 2, p. 239; Taylor, p. 41; Strauss, p. 334.

41 Dupuis, vol. 2, p. 80; Hyamson, vol. 1, p. xviii; Rogers, p. 80.

42 Van de Velde, vol. 1, pp. 218–19; Stewart, p. 450.

43 Ben-Gurion, pp. 25–8, for the development of the institution, a consequence of the administrative changes in the Ottoman Empire. From the information at the writer's disposal, the first meeting

of the council for Haifa took place in September 1855. Haifa had been attacked by 300–400 villagers from Tira and the surrounding countryside. The district governor had promised to punish the culprits, but nothing came of it. Mary Rogers reports that many Muslims in Haifa owned land in Tira and had persuaded the Haifa council not to take action against the men from Tira, because of their financial interests in the village; see Rogers, pp. 88–90.

44 Ibid., p. 388.

45 Finn, vol. 2, pp. 10–11. He met Abdallah Bey, the town's governor, who told him that he was the great-grandson of Dahar al-Umar. Descendants of the family still live in Israel. The grandson of the great-grandson of Dahar, Ahmad Dahar, was a member of the Knesset; Heyd, *Dahar al-Umar*, pp. 72–3.

46 Simha, p. 14. His description of how travellers were treated in the port of Jaffa in 1774 is not exaggerated. Things were no different in Haifa and remained nightmarish throughout the nineteenth century, see Ailbum, pp. 9–10.

47 Lynch, pp. 66–8; Kerschbaumer, pp. 218–19, 247; Rogers, pp. 85, 385.

48 Rogers-Wilson, vol. 3, p. 95. In a later description Mary Rogers recalled the existence of houses with sloping roofs in the late 1870s belonging to well-off families; some of these were built outside the wall of the town.

49 Konrad Furrer, *Wanderungen durch Palästina*, Zürich, 1865, p. 291.

50 Cf. Finn, vol. 2, p. 11.

51 Ibid.

52 Rogers, pp. 80–107, 386–8; Rogers-Wilson, vol. 3, p. 95.

53 Marriott, pp. 251–75.

54 Hurewitz, vol. 1, pp. 149–53, for the text of the decree; pp. 153–6, for the text of the treaty.

55 F. Bremer, *Travels in the Holy Land*, London, 1862, vol. 2, p. 173.

56 Register of the Latin Church, Haifa.

57 M.E. Herbert, *Cradle Lands*, London, 1867, p. 237.

58 *EH*, vol. 6, p. 506.

59 Wilson, vol. 2, p. 239.

60 Hyamson, vol. 1, pp. 217–19; Lewi, pp. 22–3, for the poor relations between the French consul and the Jews of Haifa.

61 Hyamson, vol. 2, pp. 344–5; over time, the work of the vice-consul was reduced to the protection of the Jews in the regions, which did not justify the continued existence of the office and therefore it was closed down.

62 Ibid.; Van de Velde, vol. 1, p. 214: Like other Jews of Acre, Finzi was buried in Haifa, since Acre was considered to be outside the boundaries of Eretz Israel. I found his grave in the old Jewish Cemetery of Haifa. The small marble tablet bore the inscription: 'The Minister Moses Finzi died 28 Tevet 5648'.

63 For figures, see *Ha-Maggid*, 7 August 1867; Wilson, vol. 2, p. 239. Ashkenazi families were counted with the Jewish community, but they were temporary residents, war refugees, or fleeing natural disasters, from Safed and Tiberias. Permanent Ashkenazi inhabitants joined the community of Haifa only in the 1870s, as will be explained later; *Census*, vol. 2, p. 2.

64 *Ha-Maggid*, 7 August 1867, letter to the editors signed 'SH'; Ya'ari, *Iggrot Erets Yisrael*, p. 425; Finn, vol. 2, p. 21; Frankl, vol. 2; pp. 316, 500.

65 Rogers, p. 85.

66 Palestine Exploration Fund, vol. l, p. 282.

67 Father Cyril Borg OCD was kind enough to allow me to examine the registers of the Latin community. In his opinion not all members of the two communities, Latin and Maronite, were included in the registers.

68 Dupuis, vol. 2, p. 80; Van de Velde, vol. 1, p. 219; *Warte*, 30 October 1923, pp. 132–3. According to a letter from the founder of the Templers, the population in Haifa at the end of 1868 was about 4,000. F. Liebetrut, *Reise nach dem Morgenlande*, Hamburg, 1858, pp. 288–9; Palestine Exploration Fund, vol. 1, p. 282; Rogers, p. 85; Rogers-Wilson, vol. 3, p. 95; Schegg, p. 166.

69 *Wanderings*, p. 253.

70 H.B. Tristram, *The Land of Israel . . .*, London, 1865, pp. 95–7.

71 Ibid., p. 97; Busch, p. 427; Berman, p. 180; F. Dieterici, *Reisebilder aus dem Morgenlande*, Berlin, 1853, pp. 331–3; Dixon, vol. 1, p. 132; Lorenzen, p. 365; Schegg, p. 166.

72 Busch, p. 427; Rogers, pp. 85–6.

73 The Carmelites registered the numbers of deaths from the epidemic of cholera (September–December 1865) as follows: Muslims 99, Greek Catholics 32, Jews 24, Greek Orthodox 7, Latin 3, and Maronites 3. The low percentage among Latins and Maronites might be an indication of better living conditions among them; or, perhaps to help from the pharmacy in the monastery; cf. Lorenzen, p. 368.

74 *Ha-Maggid*, 7 August 1867.

75 The monastery was built in phases, as the money arrived. The church was the first part to be completed. On 10 May 1847, the foundation

stone of an additional wing was laid, so that the façade was finally 60 metres long and 31 metres wide. During the British Mandate, wings were added to the original façade, making it a square building with an inner courtyard. The new wings (1933) housed the International College of Philosophy of the Order until it was closed because of the Second World War; *Warte*, 15 May 1884, pp. 9–13; Mayer, p. 388; Millard, pp. 330–1; Sepp, vol. 2, pp. 557–60; von Schubert, vol. 3, p. 211; Schulz, p. 251; L. Oliphant, p. 80, this opponent of the Carmelites criticizes the shape of the monastery, complaining that, if, instead of a dome, a chimney had been erected, it would have seemed more like a factory than a monastery.

76 Hogg, vol. 2, pp. 177–178. Guests were not obliged to pay, but were accustomed to make a contribution to the expenses incurred by the monastery, which sometimes exceeded the outlay.

77 Wilson, vol. 2, p. 244, for the document; Craigher, p. 165.

78 Florencio, p. 46.

79 Hogg, vol. 2, pp. 175–83; Wilson, vol. 2, note to pages 244–5; Warburton, pp. 218–19; Frankl, vol. 2, pp. 318–19; Craigher, pp. 165ff.

80 A.S. Norov, *Meine Reise nach Palästina*, Leipzig, 1835, vol. 2, p. 222; Hogg, vol. 2, pp. 177–8; Schulz, p. 251.

81 Von Schubert, vol. 3, p. 220; in calmer times, a monk could journey now on horseback to Beirut, with no other defence than a straw hat against the rays of the sun.

82 The summer residence of Abdallah was completed, according to Florencio (p. 459), in 1822 and to Craigher (pp. 165–71) in 1828–9; Michaud, vol. 4, p. 129; von Prokesch-Osten, p. 21.

83 De Géramb, vol. 2, p. 77; Hogg, vol. 2, p. 178; Lamartine, vol. 1, pp. 272–5.

84 J. d'Estourmel, *Journal d'un voyage en Orient*, vol. 1, Paris, 1844, p. 392; Warburton, p. 219; Mayer, p. 388; Skinner, vol. 1, p. 90; von Schubert, vol. 3, p. 210; Rustum, *Al-Usul al-arabiya li-ta'rih Suriya fi 'abd Muhammad Ali*, vol. 2, pp. 80–2, 182; Rustum, *Al-Mahfuzat al-malakia al-misriya*, vol. 1, p. 125, section 324, p. 126, section 327; Yates, vol. 2, pp. 181–3.

85 H. C. Egerton, *Journal of a Tour in the Holy Land*, London, 1841, p. 63; Montefiore, pp. 324–5.

86 Dixon, vol. 1, p. 133; Lorenzen, p. 368; A. Wallace, *The Desert and the Holy Land*, Edinburgh, 1868, p. 300.

87 Ibid.; Visino, p. 233; *Wanderings*, p. 254; Frankl, vol. 2, p. 321; Schulz, p. 253.

88 V. Monro, *A Summer Ramble in Syria*, London, 1835, vol. 1, p. 58; H.T. Wangemann, *Reise durch das Gelobte Land*, Berlin, 1869, pp. 165–8; *Wanderings*, p. 253. Wangemann, a German clergyman and sworn opponent of the Roman Catholics, is one of the few voices raised in bitter criticism of the Carmelites for building a palatial building in contradiction to their vow of poverty.

89 G. Fisk, *A Pastor's Memorial . . . of the Holy Land*, London, 1843, p. 366; J.A. Kaltner, *Raphael, der biblische Führer in's heilige Land*, Schaffhausen, 1860, pp. 280–2; O. Turk, *Pilgerfahrt nach Jerusalem . . .*, Biberach, 1874, p. 167; L. Oliphant, pp. 77–80; Millard, pp. 330–1; Strauss, p. 334.

90 L. Oliphant, p. 209; *Warte*, 30 October 1923, pp. 132–3, from a letter by C. Hoffmann dated 8 October 1868; Frankl, vol. 2, p. 318; Finn, vol. 2, p. 261: the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, future Emperor of Mexico, intended to pay a visit to the monastery with his suite. As he approached and perceived the French flag flying above it, he sent a messenger to the religious requesting that the flag be removed for the period of his visit. The community held a chapter meeting and returned a negative answer, being unwilling to offend their protector, France, even symbolically. The archduke there upon turned back and left without entering the monastery.

Chapter 4

1 On the Temple Society see: Friedrich Lange, *Geschichte des Tempels*, Stuttgart, 1899; Hans Brugger, *Die deutschen Siedlungen in Palästina*, Bern 1908; Carmel, *Die Siedlungen der württembergischen Templer in Palästina*; Paul Sauer, *The Holy Land Called: The Story of the Temple Society*, Melbourne, 1991.

2 Holbach, p. 2.

3 Inchbold, vol. 1, p. 221; Paulus, p. 35; Hassan Bey Shuqri, see *Ha-Aretz*, 31 October 1933, article on the inauguration of the new port in special supplement.

4 C. Alpert, 'The City of Haifa', *Middle Eastern Affairs*, 7 (1956), pp. 377–83.

5 Brugger, pp. 41–3; the suspicions of the Turks were possibly based on the fact that the Templers had collaborated with a French association, the declared aim of which was to reconquer Palestine for Christianity, though by peaceful penetration. The Turks at that time had suffered bitterly from the French presence in Lebanon.

6 The house, 11 Ben Gurion Avenue, was renovated more recently and houses the Haifa City Museum.

7 Brugger, pp. 5–53; Drexler, p. 142; Hoffmann, p. 5; Paulus, p. 35.

8 Drake, p. 63.

9 Hugo Grothe, ‘Bevölkerung und wirtschaftliche Lage der schwäbischen Ansiedlungen in Palästina’, *Palaestina*, 1 (1902), p. 233; Palestine Exploration Fund, vol. 1, p. 356.

10 Brugger, pp. 61–99; Paulus, pp. 34–8; Tamimi, pp. 254–5; H. Kunde, *Eine Pilgerfahrt in’s Heilige Land*, Dresden, 1895, p. 180.

11 *Palaestina*, 6 (1909), pp. 86–91, 109–14.

12 *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar*, p. 46. Hardegg is reported to have said in the spring of 1871, at the inauguration of the small mole for bathers at the end of the German Colony in Haifa: ‘Here, the Prussians will land, one day.’

13 Paulus, p. 34.

14 Berman, pp. 182–3; de Hamme, vol. 2, p. 399; Palestine Exploration Fund, vol. 1, p. 288; Rothschild, p. 6.

15 Ailbum, pp. 40–1.

16 Ibid.; Berman, pp. 182–3; Brugger, pp. 76, 98; Paulus, p. 37; Keller, p. 10.

17 Drexler, p. 147; the Franciscan monastery in Nazareth helped to finance the project, which was probably completed in 1875.

18 Keller’s report of 1902, in *Altneuland*, 1 (1904), p. 149.

19 Brugger, p. 63; Palestine Exploration Fund, vol. 1, p. 356; Paulus, p. 37; Curtis, p. 226.

20 Paulus, p. 37.

21 Brugger, p. 63.

22 *Warte*, 28 February 1935, p. 29; according to the Germans, since the traders of Haifa, before they settled there, were notoriously dishonest, they lost the opportunity of taking over the export trade from Acre after the Crimean War. On the other hand, there was the *haham* Yehuda Levi, one of the notables of the Jewish community in Haifa, who was remembered until recently by the older inhabitants of the town, both Jews and Arabs, with the epithet ‘Abu Kilme’ (man of his word), who displayed the price of every article in his shop and refused to haggle over it; see also, Inchbold, vol. 1, p. 238; Brugger, p. 98; Curtis, p. 212.

23 Holbach, p. 12; Paulus, p. 37; Rabinowitz, p. 42.

24 Brill, p. 196.

25 Ha-Yareah, p. 7, side 1; Paulus, p. 38; Rabinowitz, p. 42. The dairy was a combined enterprise of three German colonies, Haifa, Bethlehem of Galilee and Waldheim. Later, a Jewish colony, Merhavia, joined in.

26 Newton, p. 75; Francis Newton, an English missionary, at the beginning of the twentieth century, could not find a single Arab contractor to build a wall around the courtyard of her house, because of the objections of the Templers.

27 Inchbold, vol. l, p. 222.

28 Palestine Files, L2/71.

29 Brugger, pp. 59, 98; Hoffmann, p. 189; Walker, p. 13.

30 Tamimi, pp. 256–7; the members of the Survey, undertaken by orders of the governor of the *vilayet* of Beirut, express their astonishment at the group singing of the women's choir of the German Colony.

31 Oliphant, pp. 19, 209; Brugger, p. 59; Keller, pp. 9–10; the German vice-consul recounts that an Arab Catholic priest said in a sermon that, because of their sins, God had sent the cholera in 1865, locusts in 1868–9 and, finally, the Protestants. Notwithstanding, Hoffmann had a good opinion of the Carmelite monastery, which he held up as an example to the Templers; see *Warte*, 11 February 1869, pp. 23–4.

32 Brugger, p. 59.

33 *PEFQS*, 33 (1901), pp. 2–3; the journal reports that at the end of August 1900, a tumult broke out near the mole of the German Colony, when local Arab Catholics came to bathe there at the hour set aside for the bathing of women. A Turkish soldier tried to prevent them approaching, but as his rifle was not furnished with ammunition, he was beaten up and he fled to the nearby German hotel. His pursuers broke into the place, doing much damage to it. The rumour spread that the Christians were preparing to massacre the Muslims. The writer then adds that the episode was part of the quarrel between the Germans and the French; his explanation was not far off the mark. The German ambassador in Istanbul ordered the German consul-general in Beirut to make a full inquiry into the incident and to see that punishment was dealt out to the guilty party, partisans of the French; see Bonn, FO Archive, Turkish File 134, vol. 17, 4 September 1900, for the telegram of Marschall von Bieberstein to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin.

34 Keller, p. 29; many of the older inhabitants of Haifa had never visited Mount Carmel, except, perhaps, to go to the monastery. That was their surprised answer to my question in the mid-1960s: 'How did one get up there?' The mountain was the refuge of criminals pursued by the law.

35 Brugger, p. 59.

36 *Havazelet*, 5 Sivan (1871), p. 71.

37 Oliphant, p. 21; Sziel, p. 18.

38 Ibid., pp. 14–19; Oliphant, p. 282; Florencio, pp. 503–6; Keller, pp. 13–17; Raboisson, vol. 2, pp. 239–40.

39 Oliphant, p. 282; Brugger, p. 60; Sziel, pp. 13–14; Keller, pp. 15–16.

40 *EH*, 'Oliphant, Laurence', vol. 2, pp. 884–5; Brill, p. 194; Goodrich-Freer, p. 248; M. Oliphant, vol. 2, p. 265; *Guide*, vol. 2, p. 28; Yehiel Pines, 'Seven Weeks in Galilee', *Ha-Zvi*, 30 Tishrei 1885, pp. 6–7; John Lamond, *Modern Palestine, or the Need of a New Crusade*, Edinburgh, 1896, p. 222; MacMillan's Guides, *Guide to Palestine and Syria*, London 1910, p. 96.

41 L. Oliphant, pp. 77–80, 210, 282–4. According to Oliphant, the income of the monastery was derived from the granting of indulgences.

42 Florencio, pp. 503–6; Raboisson, vol. 2, pp. 239–40.

43 L. Oliphant, p. 282; Florencio, pp. 506–7.

44 Ibid., p. 503; Oliphant, pp. 282–3; Keller, pp. 21–3.

45 Sziel, pp. 17–18.

46 Keller, pp. 21–6; *Warte*, 21 June 1888, p. 194.

47 Sziel, p. 18; Brugger, p. 60; *Warte*, 21 June 1888, p. 194; Florencio, pp. 507–516. Only Florencio gives a detailed description of the entire affair, but he is an unrepentant partisan of the Carmelite side only, so that the facts he adduces in his book have to be filtered; though his documents are authentic in general, this is not the case with them all, as, for example the reports of the contacts between Gotti and Keller; Keller, pp. 23–5.

48 Ibid., pp. 18–33; Newton, p. 69.

49 Ibid; Keller, pp. 18–33; for the older people of Haifa, the nearby house was called 'Kasr al-Sitt', and, as from 1909 onwards it was the residence of the English missionary, Miss Francis Newton, a well-known personality in her time in Haifa, it was thought that the 'Sitt' in question (i.e. 'Lady') was none other than Miss Newton herself (Al-Bahri, p. 15); but that is not the case. When Miss Newton bought her (also German) house in 1909, the site was already known as 'Kasr al-Sitt' (see Newton, p. 69). The 'Kasr' had been the house of Keller in the courtyard of 2 Keller Street of today (the house was destroyed in the 1990s and a modern apartment house was built there instead).

50 *Warte*; 21 June 1888, p. 194; 6 September 1891, p. 249; Keller, pp. 24–43.

51 Pross Hotel was opened in 1893, to judge from the inscription above the entrance: 'Willkommen 1893'. In 1909 Miss Newton bought the house from Pastor Schneider, who then built a large mission house in Hanassi Avenue of today (no. 109). This house was demolished in the 1980s, and the 'Panorama Centre' was built there instead. Schumacher had his

house nearby in today's Hanassi Street (no. 136); it was destroyed in 1968 as well, and a shopping mall was built instead. The Lange's house was torn down in the 1970s.

52 Brugger, pp. 91–4; Luncz, *Almanac*, 1912/13, pp. 51–2; Newton, pp. 68–75; Vice-consul Keller was the determining factor in planning the German settlement on Mount Carmel. He also undertook the forestation of the mountain. Before dying in 1913, he told Dr E. Auerbach, director of the Jewish Hospital in Haifa that he himself had planted 'three hundred thousand trees for the Jews on the mountain'. His granddaughter, Mrs Irene Biermann, remembered in the 1960s that after the planting was finished, Keller said, 'The Jews are destined to take over these trees.' Keller was aided in the execution of his project by Mrs Bertha von Bannwarth, who later settled on the mountain as its first permanent resident; see *Warte*, 5 February 1914, pp. 4–5, for panegyric on the death of Friedrich Keller.

53 Hahsharat Ha-Yishuv, File L18/124/8 (Hebrew). Abraham Spektor provided me (in the mid-1960s) with information concerning the Birring–Engelhardt affair. He was one of the pioneer Jewish settlers on the mountain.

54 On Schumacher's map, 1898, the German Colony appears as 'Gharb Prusianije' (Prussian Quarter).

55 Brugger, pp. 53, 65.

56 *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar*, p. 88; *Warte*, 22 December 1913, p. 403; 5 February 1914, pp. 4–5; Newton, pp. 68–75; Florencio, p. 507; Keller, p. 47; the Consul Münchhausen, from Jerusalem to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin, 19 July 1877, in the Turkish File, 108, vol. 11; the ambassador, Prince Reuss, to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, von Bülow, 29 November 1877, ibid., 126; from 17 December 1877 and 12 January 1878, ibid.

57 A.J. Grant, and H. Temperley, *Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, London, 1952, p. 320.

58 The previous Kaiser had been Friedrich Hohenstaufen, who landed in Acre with a Crusader army in 1228; see *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar*, pp. 86–7.

59 On the Kaiser's voyage see: *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar*; Carmel and Eisler.

60 *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar*, p. 85; Brugger, p. 46; *Havazelet*, 10 June 1898, p. 244; *MNDVP*, 1898, p. 59; Keller, p. 43.

61 Brugger, pp. 91–4; Newton, p. 68; the obelisk became covered with vegetation. It stood near the entrance to the public garden opposite house no. 59, Yeffe-Nof Street, and was restored on 22 March 1982,

in the presence of the Kaiser's grandson, the late Dr Louis Ferdinand Prinz von Preussen.

62 Brugger, pp. 88–94; *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar*, pp. 87–90; Keller, pp. 43–6; Curtis, pp. 214–15.

63 *Warte*, 14 June 1915, pp. 189–90; Hahsharat Ha-Yishuv, File L18/124/8.

64 *Hapo'el Hatsair*, 31 January 1913, pp. 12–14, reports that the number of Jewish boarding-houses in Haifa was then about twenty.

65 Ailbum, p. 6.

66 Ibid., pp. 11–52, 76; Isambert, vol. 2, p. 412; Berman, pp. 180–2; Brill, pp. 31–3; Gaon, vol. 1, p. 223; Ha-Yareah, p. 7, side 2; *Hapo'el Hatsair*, Tevet 1908, pp. 13–14; *Havazelet*, 7 May 1885, pp. 227–9; Luncz, *More derekh be-Erets Yisrael we-Surya*, p. 264; Silman, pp. 29, 33, 42; *Census*, vol. 2, pp. 2–4; Palestine Exploration Fund, vol. 1, p. 283; *Palaestina*, 5 (1908). p. 196; Tamimi, p. 251.

67 *Hapo'el Hatsair*, 10 May 1910, pp. 16–17; 3 October 1910, pp. 13–14.

68 Ibid., in the two places cited; also 12 April 1911, pp. 13–14; *Ha-Herut*, 16 August 1909; *EH*, vol. 6, pp. 508–518.

69 *Palaestina*, 5 (1908), p. 196; the two schools of the 'Alliance' had 200 boys and 160 girls; Aharonowitz, p. 4; Inchbold, vol. 1, p. 240. The new quarter, Hadar Ha-Carmel, had nothing to do with the present quarter of that name. Its Arabic name was Ard al-Yahud, 'land (quarter) of the Jews'.

70 Gaon, vol. 1, p. 225; *Ha-Herut*, 3 January 1910; 12 October 1913; 8 February 1914; *Hapo'el Hatsair*, 29 July 1909, pp. 11–12; 4 September 1910, pp. 13–14.

71 Ibid., Tevet, 1908. pp. 14–15; Aharonowitz, p. 7; Anglo-Palestine Company, 1902/3–1912/13. Jaffa–London 1912/13, p. 24; Bein, p. 106; *Ha-Herut*, 18 March 1910; 19 June 1913; Wilbusch, p. 198; *Havazelet*, 7 May 1885, pp. 227–9; Hillel Yafe, *Dor Ma'apilim*, Tel Aviv, 1938/9, p. 64; *Palaestina*, 5 (1908), p. 196, Palestine Files, L2/71.

72 Auler, vol. 1, p. 23–4; *Toldot ha-Technion be-reshito*, pp. 3–4, 13.

73 Ibid., p. 5; Aharonowitz, pp. 22–3; Bein, p. 106; Dowling, p. 191; *Hapo'el Hatsair*, 31 January 1913, pp. 12–14; *Warte*, 9 March 1913, pp. 180–1; Palestine Files, L2/94/II and L2/71: the letter dated 13 February 1914 dealt with loans that some inhabitants of Haifa requested to build a new residential quarter.

74 Barron, p. 33; for the British census of 23 October 1922, the first reliable census ever taken in the town.

75 *Havazelet*, 21 May 1885, pp. 244–6.

76 Efraim Cohn-Reiss, *Mizikhronot Ish Yerushalaim*, part 2, Jerusalem 1935/6, pp. 78–84.

77 Hahsharat Ha-Yishuv, File L18/124/8; for letter of Yehuda Grasovski (Gur) to Arthur Ruppin from 12 August 1918; *Palaestina*, 5 (1908), pp. 27–9.

78 Tamimi, pp. 237, 240–2, 251–2; compare his opinions of Muslims and Christians.

79 The name of the railway came from its destination, the region of the Hejaz, in the western part of the Arabian Peninsula, where the two towns, Medina and Mecca are found. The railway line reached Medina in 1908, but the Turks never succeeded in bringing it as far as Mecca.

80 'Haifa–Acre', p. 7; Hecker, p. 784.

81 L. Oliphant, p. 212; Hecker, p. 788; *Warte*, 11 October 1883, pp. 1–4.

82 *Havazelet*, 30 December 1892, p. 90; see, also: Dowling, p. 190.

83 Keller's report for 1902, in *Altneuland*, 1 (1904), p. 117; Dunning, pp. 161–2; *PEFQS*, 1899, p. 339; 1906, p. 5; *Warte*, 6 August 1891, pp. 249–51; 31 May 1906, pp. 174–5; 7 June 1906, pp. 181–2; 21 June 1906, pp. 198–200; 30 September 1931, pp. 140–1; Keller's report for 1901, in *Palaestina*, 1 (1902), p. 201: Löytved Hardegg.

84 Auler, vol. 1, p. 32; Hecker, pp. 1065, 1315; *PEFQS*, 1899, p. 339.

85 Auler, vol. 1, p. 28. The author claims in 1906 that the 320-metre length of the barrage – a word which is perhaps more suitable – was insufficient and should be lengthened; Inchbold, vol. 1, p. 222; Keller's report for 1902 in *Altneuland*, 1 (1904), p. 149; *Warte*, 30 September 1886, p. 307; 10 February 1887, p. 42; 21 June 1888, pp. 193–5; *MNDVP*, 1906, p. 80; *Palaestina*, 4 (1907), pp. 204–205; 5 (1908), p. 196; Löytved Hardegg. Ben Artzi 1992, p.176-192.

86 *Ha-Herut*, 17 February 1914; *Warte*, 30 September 1931, pp. 140–1.

87 M. Hartmann, 'Die Mekka-Bahn', *Orientalische Literatur Zeitung,* 15 January 1908, p. 12.

88 Ibid., especially 'Introductions', pp. 3–18; Auler, vol. 1, p. 2; see introduction of General von der Goltz; Hecker, p. 1063; Newton, p. 112.

89 Hecker, table 2 and p. 1315.

90 Auler, vol. 1, pp. 42–3; vol. 2, pp. 63–4; *Altneuland*, 1 (1904), pp. 309, 312; Dunning, p. 162; Wilbusch, p. 197; *Palaestina*, 4 (1907), pp. 204–5.

91 Auler, vol. 1, pp. 39–40; Dunning, p. 162; *ZDPV*, 1914, p. 270; *Hapo'el Hatsair*, 31 January 1913, pp. 12–14; Wilbusch, p. 197.

92 Löytved Hardegg; the report of the German vice-consul for 1911 notes that the 25,000–30,000 Muslim pilgrims, 15,000 Christian pilgrims and 5,000 Christian tourists annually leave at least 2 million marks in the Holy Land.

93 Ibid.; *Hapo'el Hatsair*, Tevet 1908, pp. 14–15; Hecker, p. 769; *Warte*, 21 June 1906, pp. 198–200; 30 September 1931, pp. 140–1; Keller's report from 1901 in *Palaestina*, 1 (1902), p. 201;Schulman, p. 191.

94 *Havazelet*, 9 January 1910, pp. 136–7.

95 L. Oliphant, pp. 208–9; Hecker, p. 1318; according to the author, who lived in Haifa, on the eve of the war Acre had 12,000 inhabitants and Haifa had 23,000; Walker, p. 9; *Warte*, 18 May 1914, pp. 157–8.

Chapter 5

1 Goodrich-Freer, p. 252; *Warte*, 21 June 1888, pp. 193–4; Tamimi, p. 229.

2 *Warte*, 30 September 1886, pp. 306–8: Schumacher's Map of the German Colony, 1898, in the possession of the Haifa Municipality.

3 *Ha-Herut*, 27 July 1910; *MNDVP*, 1910, p. 78.

4 L. Oliphant, p. 21; Walker, p. 13.

5 Ibid., pp. 15–16; Inchbold, vol. 1, p. 222; Goodrich-Freer, p. 247; Holbach, p. 2; *Hapo'el Hatsair*, 1 December 1911, pp. 21–2; Curtis, pp. 213–14; Tamimi, pp. 247, 269; J. Jost, *Ein Frühlingsritt durch Syrien*, Berlin, 1910, p. 92.

6 The most outstanding among them were Mustapha Pasha al-Halil, son of Ibrahim Pasha al-Halil, and Hassan Shuqri who married a daughter of the family. These two Muslim families originated in the Caucasus, from where they emigrated to Turkey. The last mayor under Turkish rule was Hassan Shuqri, who continued in his office under the British Mandate. His father had been *kaimakam* of Haifa at the time of the visit of Kaiser Wilhelm II to Palestine in 1898, and received a certificate of merit signed by the Kaiser, preserved by his grandson, Suheil; see also Nissim Cohen, 'Sihronot al ha-yishuv ha-yehudi be'hefa', *Nivenu* (publication of the workers in the Haifa Municipality), August 1962, pp. 22–3. The improvement in the quality of the Turkish officials who were employed in Haifa did nothing to change the fact that bribery remained the most persuasive argument with the municipality or with the local government administration. Keller complained about it to Midhat Pasha, governor of Syria, one of the most enlightened statesmen of the Ottomans; the latter said

in reply: 'Of the 2,300 officials working for me, all take bribes,' see Keller, p. 22. The official annals of the central government in Istanbul unfortunately offer only few details concerning the local government of Haifa; see *Salname Devleti Aliye Osmaniye* for Hegira years 1312 (1894/5), p. 581; 1314 (1896/7), p. 621; 1324 (1906/7), p. 754; 1325 (1907/8), p. 750, and 1328 (1910/11), p. 595.

7 *Ha-Herut*, 5 January 1913; *Hapo'el Hatsair*, 15 January 1911, pp. 14–15; *Havazelet*, 21 May 1885, pp. 244–6; Tamimi, pp. 234–5.

8 Ibid., 248–9; *Hapo'el Hatsair*, 1 December 1911, pp. 21–2.

9 So, in any case, were letters distributed in 1907, according to Abraham Spektor; Miss Newton (p. 58) also reproaches Haifa for its poor postal services (at the beginning of the twentieth century). She tells the story of X who sent a telegram announcing his imminent arrival. He arrived to find that the telegram had never been delivered. When he complained to the post office the employee expressed his astonishment that he had sent a telegram at all, if he intended visiting the place himself anyhow; Löytved Hardegg; Tamimi, p. 269.

10 Newton, p. 60; Palestine Files, L2/99 I (Report of Dr E. Auerbach, director of the Jewish Hospital, Haifa, 23 December 1912); Tamimi, pp. 237, 248, 254–5, 269.

11 *PEFQS*, 1887, pp. 169–91. For unknown reasons, the first two Christian communities are described in Schumacher's tables as 'Greek Catholics' and 'Catholics'. The two communities were 'Greek Catholics' and 'Greek Orthodox', not otherwise mentioned in the table. Since the 'Greek Catholic' – called 'Catholic' by Schumacher – was the larger (cf. L. Oliphant, p. 208), it follows that the term 'Greek Catholic' refers to the 'Greek Orthodox' and that is how we have treated the term in the following table as well; see *Warte*, 30 October 1923, pp. 132–3; David Amiran and Aryeh Shahar, 'Ha'arim Ha-gdolot shel Yisrael. Hashva'a geografit', *Yediot Hahevrah Lehaqirat Erets-Yisrael ve-Atiqotehah*, 23: 3–4 (1958/9), p. 139. According to this investigation the population of five cities grew between 1870 and 1922 as follows: Haifa from 4,200 to 24,634 souls (*c.* six-fold); Jaffa from 6,450 to 32,524 souls (*c.* five-fold); Jerusalem from 20,000 to 62,578 souls; Nazareth from 6,000 to 7,424 souls; Gaza from 16,000 to 17,480 souls; Löytved Hardegg; L. Oliphant, 'Chaifa und Carmel', *Jerusalem*, 2 (1887), pp. 1–2.

12 Aharonowitz, p. 277; L. Oliphant, p. 282; Isambert, vol. 3, p. 412; Keller's reports for 1902–3 in *Altneuland*, 1 (1904), p. 149, 309; Baedeker (1880), p. 244: Barron, p. 2; Hecker, p. 1318; *Warte*, 29 September 1881; Luncz, *Luakh Erets Yisrael*, 1895/6, p. 29; 1898/9,

p. 26; 1907/8, pp. 61–2; 1908/9, p. 41; 1910/11, p. 161; Luncz, *More derekh be-Erets Yisrael we-Surya*, p. 264; Sepp, vol. 2, p. 543; Palestine Exploration Fund, vol. 1, p. 283; *Palaestina*,. 5 (1908) p. 195; Yitshak Rol and Ya'akov Yis'ar (eds), *Haifa 1954 – Book of the Municipality* (Hebrew), Haifa, 1954, p. 197; J. Schattner, 'Hefa ir Ha-namal, in *Teva va-Arets*, vol. 6, booklet 4, September 1939, p. 220; Tamimi, pp. 231–2, 241.

13 See sources in the previous footnote.

14 Barron, p. 33; *Census*, vol. 2, pp. 2–4.

15 Al-Bahri, pp. 12–13; *Ha-Herut*, 1 May 1914; *Hapo'el Hatsair*, 15 January 1911; Newton, p. 61; Tamimi, pp. 231–2, 237, 247–9.

16 Goodrich-Freer, pp. 248–9; De Hamme-Rotthier, vol. 2; p. 399; *Warte*, 24 February 1913, p. 63; Newton, pp. 61–2; Palestine Exploration Fund, vol. 1, p. 282; Florencio, pp. 533–5; Israel State Archive, file Haifa, temporary number 301; Latin Church, Haifa, for documents.

17 Inchbold, vol. 1, p. 230; Baedeker (1904), p. 199; Goodrich-Freer, p. 249; Dowling, p. 190; Abraham Samuel Hirschberg, *Be-Erets Ha-misrah*, Vilna, 1909/10, p. 107; *Hapo'el Hatsair*, Tevet 1907/8, pp. 13–14; 15 January 1911. pp. 14–15; Walker, pp. 15–16; Newton, p. 57; Löytved Hardegg; Tamimi, pp. 249–51.

18 Ibid., pp. 550–7; *Hapo'el Hatsair*, Tevet 1907/8, pp. 13–14; 15 January 1911, pp. 14–15; *Warte*, 9 June 1913, pp. 180–1; *Havazelet*, 7 May 1885, pp. 227–9; Newton, pp. 68–9; P. Nathan, *Palästina und palästinensischer Zionismus*, Berlin 1914, p. 27; *Toldot ha-Technion be-reshito*, p. 12; Israel State Archive, File A XXVIII, vol. 1, for letter from German Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the consul in Jaffa, dated 7 April 1908, recommending him to help Paul Nathan, representative of the Ezra Society, in his campaign to erect schools in the country and, especially, a technical college in Haifa; see, also ibid., file Haifa, temporary no. 301, for letter from the consul, Dr Löytved Hardegg, dated 16 May 1913.

19 Abd al-Rauf Karman, a notable member of the Muslim community of Haifa, told me in the mid-1960s that, like others, he subscribed to the newspaper, although he said he did not read it; but by so doing, he insured himself against harsh attacks by Nassar.

20 Palestine Files, L2/89 for letter dated 15 July 1913, from the Jüdischer Verlag, a large Jewish publishing company in Berlin, asking a bookshop in Jaffa to subscribe to *Al-Karmil* on the company's behalf, but insisting twice that the name of the subscriber should not be revealed to the editor of the newspaper; ibid., L2/26 II for reports from the Palestine Office in Jaffa on *Al-Karmil*; Newton, p. 124. The memoirs

of Miss Newton were translated into Arabic (Beirut, 1947); in the frontispiece she is given the epithet 'Friend of the Arabs'. *ZDPV*, 1912, pp. 211–15; *Ha-Herut*, 6 June 1910; 4 September, 1910; 15 September 1911; 27 July 1914; *Hapo'el Hatsair*, 26 December 1913; Luncz, *Luakh Erets* Yisrael, 1913/14, p. 185; Rabinowitz, p. 15; *Toldot ha-Technion be-reshito*, pp. 11–12.

21 *Ha-Herut*, 27 February 1913; 2 September 1914; *Ha'olam*, 27 November 1913; Ben-Zion Dinur, (chief ed.), *Book of the History of the Haganah* (Hebrew), vol. 1, part 1, Tel Aviv 1954, pp. 190–2; Palestine Files, L2/39; Von Miquel from Istanbul to Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg in Berlin, 1 September 1911, in Turkish File 189, vol. 2; ibid., 134, vol. 32, for report of Admiral Trummler dated 13 May 1913 (Foreign Office, Bonn).

22 L. Oliphant, p. 282; *Hapo'el Hatsair*, 15 January 1911; Newton, p. 57; Friedrich Lange, *Geschichte des Tempels*, Jerusalem, 1899, pp. 810–11.

23 Ailbum, p. 41; *Havazelet*, 7 May 1885, pp. 227–9; Keller, pp. 9, 13, 22, 30–1; Turkish File 134, vol. 22, for communication from Padel of the German consulate in Beirut to Chancellor von Bülow in Berlin, dated 8 September 1908; ibid., vol. 25a, for report of German vice-consul in Haifa, Weber, cited in the letter of the ambassador to Istanbul, Marschall von Bieberstein to Chancellor von Bülow, dated 18 May 1909 (Foreign Office, Bonn).

24 *The Letters of Gertrude Bell*, London 1947, p. 115; Myron H. Phelps, *Life and Teachings of Abbas Effetidi*, New York, 1912, pp. xxxii–xli; *EH*, 'Bahaim', vol. 7, pp. 646–50; Holbach, pp. 4–5; *Havazelet*, 7 May 1885, pp. 227–9.

25 Ibid., Walker, p. 14; Wilbusch, p. 196; Newton, pp. 56–7, 111.

26 Walker, p. 9; 'Haifa–Acre', pp. 7–8; *Warte*, 9 June 1913, pp. 180–1; *Palaestina*, 5 (1908), p. 73; George Lenczowski, *The Middle East in World Affairs*, Ithaca, NY, 1952, pp. 70–2; Herzl, as is well known, surpassed them all in his vision of Haifa as the 'city of the future', in his book *Altneuland.*

27 *Atlas of Israel*, Jerusalem, 1955/6, Transport, 3/XIV; *Altneuland*, 1, (1904) pp. 308–14; *Warte*, 29 September 1881, for the report of the consular representative of America in Haifa, Jacob Schumacher; *Palaestina*, 1 (1902), pp. 200–2; Löytved Hardegg.

28 The drought in the Hauran, the prolonged closure of the Haifa port due to epidemics and as a result of the Italo-Turkish War that broke out in 1911 acted contrary to the general tendency.

29 Baedeker (1904), p. 198; Hoffmann, p. 189; *Guide*, vol. 2, pp. 27, 37–8 and map facing p. 28; Löytved Hardegg; Tamimi, pp. 232–3.

The latter's figures are unreliable. He reports that the revenue from customs dues at Acre 'at the beginning of the century' fell from 4–5 million piastres to 100,000 piastres on the eve of the war, while those of Haifa rose from 100,000 to 5 million. At most his figures may be said to indicate a general tendency.

Postscript

1 Al-Bahri, pp. 40–1; *Census*, vol. 2, p. 2; Florencio, p. 537; Rothschild, p. 7; Palästina-Amt. File J/la.

2 Ibid., L/2/110 and J5/88; Al-Bahri, pp. 37–45; Abraham Almaliah, *Eretz Yisrael ve'Suriya bime milkhemet ha'olam*, Jerusalem, 1928/9, vol. 2, pp. 256–8; *EH*, vol. 6, pp. 515–18; Drexler, pp. 142–6; Silman, p. 49; Tamimi, p. 242.

3 The event was the main topic of conversation for a time in Haifa. The Germans quite rightly denied responsibility for the destruction of the French monument. The Templer newspaper discussed the affair in detail, but, at the point where the writer of the report began to explain why the German consul was not in any way to blame, the Turkish censor suppressed the passage. *Warte* was then printed in Jerusalem. In 1916, the event was recalled in the Hebrew-language newspaper *Ha-Herut*, where the Haifa journalist praised the consul's presence of mind in ignoring the bombardment and continuing to work as usual. The Germans, who were closer to the sources of truth, held that the warning of the commander of the ship suffered a long delay and was not received by the consul until the very moment that the bombardment began, so that he barely escaped with his life and his wife had hardly time to snatch her hat as she fled from the house. Carmelite sources add with satisfaction that 'The good doctor with his family fled without a halt until they reached Damascus.' The affair was remembered quite well by older inhabitants of Haifa, for apart from the day on which the town was captured by the British, the bombardment of the consul's home was the most outstanding action of the war. In addition to the German consul's house, a petrol depot in the eastern part of the town was also bombarded. On another occasional a German factory was bombarded, as well as a bridge and the railway line near Haifa. See Al-Bahri, pp. 36–7; Drexler, p. 145; *Ha-Herut*, 4 February 1916; *Warte*, 14 June 1915, pp. 189–90; Florenzio, pp. 549–50; Rothschild, p. 6.

4 Ibid., pp. 12–13; Drexler, p. 146; with regard to the arms which the Turks were looking for in the monastery. Yehiel Pines recounts that already in 1885, 'In the caves and tunnels under this fort are stored and hidden a great quantity of arms and gunpowder, in view of a war.' See *Ha-Zvi*, 19 Av 1885, pp. 163–4; Florencio, pp. 537–49.

5 Al-Bahri, pp. 42–5; Cyril Falls, *History of the Great War; Military Operations*, *Egypt and Palestine*, Part II, London, 1930, pp. 534–8.

6 Ibid.; Al-Bahri, pp. 42–5.

Select Bibliography and Abbreviations

Abbreviations

Census	*Census of the Jews of Palestine*, Palestine Office, Jaffa, vols 1–2, 1917/18–18/19.
EH	*Encyclopaedia Hebraica*, Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, 1948/9–82.
EI	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden and London, 1960.
Guide	*A Guidebook to Central Palestine*, published by *Palestine News*, 2 vols, 1918.
'Haifa–Acre'	'Haifa–Acre and Damascus Railway', *Blackwood's Magazine*, January 1879.
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal.*
MNDPV	*Mitt(h)eilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Leipzig, 1895–1912.
Palästina-Amt.	Files of the Palästina-Amt in Jaffa, Zionist Archive, Jerusalem.
PEFQS	*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, London.
PPTS	Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, 1931–50.
RGG	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, 7 vols, 4th edn, Tübingen, 2000-2005.
Warte	*Die Warte des Tempels*, Stuttgart, 1845 (Templer newspaper published 1845–76 as *Süddeutsche Warte*; 1912–17 as *Jerusalemer Warte*).
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins*

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